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THE TARIFF AND THE EXPORT TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES

In considering the effect of a protective tariff upon the export trade of the United States, I shall look at the question from a business point of view, and attempt to measure the influence of the tariff as it is developed in business relations, and shown in practical results. I shall discard all discussion of theory, and avoid all doctrinaire conclusions. I do not attach much importance to these considerations, in comparison with the actual results of a fiscal policy, as determined by experience extending over a long period of time.

Neither do I believe that it is worth while to borrow trouble about the possible effects of our own tariff policy in determining that of other nations. We have heard much recently about the probabilities of a general combination among European nations; for retaliatory legislation for the exclusion of American-made products from these countries, on the ground that their own products are excluded from the United States by customs rates which are practically prohibitive in direct competition with American-made goods of the same general character. Fear has been expressed that the United States will ultimately find the great manufacturing nations of the world united in a trade league against us. I cannot share in this apprehension. Nothing is more selfish than commerce, and no sentimental consideration of national resentment against the United States because of its protective policy, can ever bind the European nations together in such a movement, and can never induce the individual traders of any one of these nations to consent to such a movement. Men will buy and sell wherever they can turn a profit thereby. For such trade as is possible with the United States, there will always be the most intense competition, not only among the nations, but among the individual manufacturers and merchants of each nation; and always with the expectation that the time will eventually come, as it undoubtedly will, when the American tariff barriers will be lowered, and the nation and the individual who already occupy some of the field, will be in the best position to take advantage of the larger opportunity to follow. The foreign trade of the United States is so enormous,

in comparison with that of other countries, and its possibilities are so unlimited and so alluring, that no country will bind itself, by treaty or compact, to exclude itself from future participation in it. Whatever we may think of Mr. Chamberlain's conversion to protection, along the line of preferential tariffs with the British colonies; whatever may be the effect of the adoption of his policy upon our trade with Great Britain, the motive of retaliation against the United States forms no part of it.

The whole course of the foreign commerce of the United States, under a protective tariff, justifies the conclusion that retaliatory legislation need not be feared, and that high duties on foreign products entering this country, do not interfere, in any perceptible degree or measurable manner, with the outflow of American-made products. During the last twenty-five years, although the volume of the imports into the United States has nearly doubled, there has been practically no increase in the value of the manufactured or partly manufactured articles imported. This branch of foreign trade has remained practically stationary, although our population has doubled, and our wealth quadrupled in the interval.

Contrast this fact with the growth of our export trade in manufactures. In 1860 these exports amounted to about \$40,000,000 out of a total export trade of \$316,000,000, the manufactured articles thus comprising 12.7 per cent of our total exports at that time. In 1902 the value of domestic manufactures exported had risen to \$403,641,401 in a total export trade of \$1,355,481,861—an increase in the export trade of 328.9 per cent, and in the export of manufactured articles of over 900 per cent since 1860. But in truth the increase in manufactured exports was far greater than is shown by the above figures from the Commerce and Navigation reports of the Treasury Department. These reports exclude from the category of manufactures a great number of articles which the Census Office classifies as manufactures, and which must be so classified, in my judgment, in order to present any fair picture of our export trade of this description.

Among the commodities which the Treasury Department classifies as products of agriculture, and the census classifies as products of manufactures, may be enumerated such articles as flour, corn meal, bread, biscuits, oils, glucose, glue, oleomargarine,

lard, sugar, molasses, wines, preserved fruits and vegetables, lumber, etc. Some of these articles may be said to lie on the borderland between the two branches of industry; but in every case they are products of agriculture or of forestry which have been increased in value and transformed from their original condition, by definite processes of manufacture. If all such articles, which in a strict sense of the word are products of manufacture, were so classified in the figures of our exports, the sum total of the exports of manufactures for the year 1902 would at once be increased from \$403,641,401 to over \$800,000,000, or more than double what the official figures show these exports to be. This fact should certainly be borne in mind in any attempt to measure the immensity of our export trade in manufactured articles, and the phenomenal rapidity of its growth. Only one nation on the globe, Great Britain, exports an equal value of manufactures, if the census classification is followed.

The record seems to demonstrate that in order to build up a foreign trade in manufactured articles, it is not necessary to correspondingly increase our purchases of similar goods abroad. We have conclusive evidence in Mr. Chamberlain's speeches, that he has studied and been impressed by these remarkable figures. The whole argument might be rested on them, with safety. They are in the nature of a practical demonstration that the tariff does not militate against the growth of an export trade. But it will be well to examine the actual situation with some detail.

So far as our agricultural products are concerned, the question of the influence of the tariff upon the export trade in them, is hardly worth considering. The world takes our foodstuffs, as much of them as we can spare ourselves, because it cannot get along without them. It takes our raw cotton, because it has no other sources of supply that can meet its demands, either in quantity or quality. It takes our meat products and lumber products because they are better and cheaper than it can get elsewhere. It can find no substitute for American-grown tobacco.

The factory and the farm have been joined together in a partnership which means much to both, and which is of great significance in its effect upon our export trade. If we can supply the world with wheat more cheaply than any other country, we can more cheaply supply it with the increasing number of manufactured

foods produced from wheat and other grains. The same is true of lumber, and all the varieties of the manufactures of lumber. To our immense exports of raw cotton there has recently been added the rapidly growing export trade in the various products of the cotton seed. Wherever we have a natural advantage in the production of the raw materials of manufactures, some portion, at least, of that advantage must lie with us when we seek foreign markets for the goods made out of those raw materials. The natural resources of the United States, due to the diversity of our soil, the variety of our climate, the richness of our forests, and the fecundity of our mines, exceed those of any other civilized country. Whether our tariff shall be high or low, this advantage must continue.

If the above considerations are sound, it follows that the tariff can exercise a direct and detrimental effect upon the further extension of the export trade of the United States, only through its restrictive features, and the possible influence of these features upon the relative advantages of our domestic manufacturers, in competition with those of other countries seeking the same trade. In so far as import duties upon imported materials which are necessary for the manufacture of articles intended for export, may add to the price of those materials, they must, of course, affect in some degree the development of our export trade. To determine the extent of this handicap, it is necessary to look a little closely at the manner in which the existing tariff law deals with raw materials of foreign origin.

The first fact to impress us is that nearly 45 per cent of the total imports into the United States, during every year that the present tariff law has been in operation, have entered free of all customs duty. Naturally the great mass of these free entries, aggregating \$353,590,060 per annum, on an average, are raw materials imported by and for our manufacturers. So far as the raw materials which they use are upon the free list, the American manufacturers are in precisely the situation of their most favored foreign competitors, and the tariff does not affect their export trade in any degree. Those not familiar with the subject will be surprised to learn, by an examination of the free list and an analysis of the Treasury returns of imports, how nearly universal is the free admission of manufacturers' raw materials. We need long-stapled cotton from Egypt, to supplement our own in making

finer yarns; we get it as free of customs as the Lancashire spinner. We need raw silk from China, Japan and southern Europe, to feed the looms of our wonderfully developed silk manufacture; we get it on the same terms as England; and within the comparatively short period since this manufacture has taken root in this country, we have passed far beyond the highest point attained by Great Britain before the silk manufacture began to languish and decay in that home of the textile industries. We need rubber from tropical countries, for a rubber industry greater in its extent and its variety of products, than that of any other country. In every line of manufacture which depends upon raw materials of tropical or sub-tropical growth and character, our export trade is unhampered by tariff restrictions.

On the other hand, there are certain raw materials upon which duties have been imposed—it is not necessary to argue here whether wisely or unwisely—for the purpose of encouraging the production of similar raw materials in this country, on the theory that they can be grown or produced here as advantageously as anywhere else, and that they will be grown or produced as cheaply as anywhere else, as the result of the home competition thus engendered.

In a few industries the effect of the duty upon the raw materials has unmistakably been to prevent any systematic attempt to build up an export trade. The most striking instance of this character is the wool duty. The effect of this duty is perceptible, not only upon the price of home-grown wool, which is enhanced by some considerable part of the duty, but also in its curtailment of importations of the most desirable varieties of Australian and South American fleeces. For this reason among others—and there are several others of importance—there has thus far been no serious attempt to develop an American export trade in woolen goods. The one possible exception to this rule, is in the case of carpets. The American inventions in carpet machinery, and American skill in devising attractive patterns, have enabled some competition in this line, notwithstanding the handicap of the wool duty. But in the matter of woolen and worsted cloths, we have done nothing and can do nothing, and it is of very little moment, so far as our general export trade is concerned, that we cannot.

The best statistics available indicate that the total value of

the exports of all classes of woolen goods, from all countries, do not equal \$300,000,000, which is less than half the total value of the world's exports of cotton goods, and is an insignificant sum, in comparison with the great total of the world's manufactured exports. The tariff duties on the raw materials of the linen manufacture might be cited as another instance of restrictive influence; but the facts show that the world's export trade in linens, instead of increasing, has a tendency to decline, and there are many economic reasons why it is hopeless for the United State; to attempt to build up a linen manufacture even sufficient for home consumption.

The same considerations apply in a more limited degree in a few other directions, and there has been much complaint regarding the duty on iron ore, and the 15 per cent duty on raw hides. I am convinced that the effect of these duties, in the matter of our foreign trade in manufactured articles requiring the use of foreign materials thus taxed, has been greatly exaggerated. The duty on hides, first imposed in the tariff of 1897, was roundly denounced as an impediment to the development of an export trade in boots and shoes. An impediment it certainly is; and I doubt if it has been of the slightest benefit to a single American farmer engaged in raising cattle. I should like to see that duty wiped out; it is of no moment as a source of revenue, and of no value as a protective duty; but it has not stopped the irresistible advance of American-made footwear in the markets of the world. It is worth while to prove this statement by the official statistics.

In 1897, when the tariff duty on raw hides was first imposed, our exports of boots and shoes consisted of 1,224,484 pairs, valued at \$1,708,224. In 1903, notwithstanding the tax, the exports of boots and shoes had risen to 4,197,566 pairs, valued at \$6,665,017. In a word, our foreign trade in these products has increased more rapidly in the seven years since the duty was imposed upon raw hides, than in any twenty-five years prior to that time. In all the other manufactures of leather, there has been an increase in exports equally notable, and the value of our exports of leather itself, has grown from \$19,161,446, in 1897, to \$31,617,389 in 1903. If, therefore, the high duty is an impediment to the growth of our export trade, resort must be had to some other source than the official statistics to prove the fact.

And here another consideration enters, of importance to an understanding of the question. I refer to the drawback provisions of the tariff law. Under these provisions 99 per cent of the duties paid upon imported raw materials used in the manufacture of exported articles, will be refunded by the Treasury Department, under certain conditions and regulations. These conditions and regulations are cumbersome and often difficult to comply with; nevertheless, resort to the drawback privilege is general among manufacturers regularly engaged in the export trade. A measure is now pending in Congress, with every prospect of ultimate passage, the purpose of which is to so liberalize and extend the drawback privilege that resort to it may become universal without detriment to the use and value of home-grown materials. The enactment of this measure will, in the judgment of our largest and most experienced exporters, do away with the single impediment to the further extension of our export trade, growing out of duties levied upon imported materials.

There is another side to the question to which I now ask attention, as throwing an important side-light upon a correct conclusion. It refers to a phase in the development of American manufactures which has thus far received little attention from economic students, but which, as I view it, is of paramount importance, in any attempt to get at the fundamental truth. In many lines of manufacture, American supremacy is so completely assured, for one reason or another, that American control of the world's markets has become chiefly a mere matter of business administration and facility. The foreign trade has outgrown the capacity of the home establishment; in considering the question of enlargement to meet the business directly in sight, these manufacturers have been brought face to face with an economic problem which they have settled on ordinary business principles. To illustrate: an American sewing-machine company finds its foreign trade increasing so rapidly as to compel the erection of a new factory: it decides to erect that factory, not in the United States, but in England, where its foreign sales are the largest. Its business still increasing it erects another factory, this time in Germany, or perhaps in France. Here, under the supervision of American superintendents, sustained by American capital, protected by American patents, inspired by American business energy and enthusiasm,

it continues the manufacture and sale of American sewing machines. Two paramount considerations have brought about this transplantation. Questions of freight and transportation are of great moment in it. The matter of wages is obviously of even greater moment. I suppose it is true that, given American patents and machinery, American energy and system in administrative positions, and American methods of the subdivision of labor, manufacturing can be carried on in European countries more cheaply than it can in the United States, by something like the difference in wages paid in the two countries. In this statement I do not take cognizance of the effects of trade-union regulations which result in a greater restriction of output per employee, in certain foreign countries, England in particular, than occurs in the United States. Nor do I take cognizance of the further fact, that, man for man, the average American working-man can accomplish more work, in a given time, and better work, than the average working-man of any other country, and can thus offset, in a very considerable degree, the difference in wages between our own and all European countries. Conceding both these points, it remains the fact that a constantly increasing number of our great manufacturing corporations are constructing vast plants abroad to supply their foreign customers; and of course they would not do this unless experience proved that there was advantage in it. I have before me a long list of these establishments. It indicates that more than fifty million dollars of American money is now invested in European plants devoted to the manufacture of various American specialties, including all descriptions of electric apparatus, sewing machines, belting, radiators, shoe machinery, steel chains, machine tools, hoisting machinery, boilers, pumps, blowing engines, mining machinery, printing machinery, coal-conveying apparatus, elevators, match-making machinery, pneumatic tools, and photographic apparatus.

The Western Electric Company, of Chicago, is interested in extensive factories in London, Paris, Antwerp and Berlin, not all of them carried under the name of that company, but all of them established and controlled by its capital. The General Electric Company has three or four such establishments, and has recently constructed a huge new factory at Rugby in England. The Westinghouse Company has just finished, at Trafford Park in

England, one of the largest electric factories in Europe, employing two or three thousand men, and it has other factories in Havre, France, and St. Petersburg, Russia. The Singer Machine Company has three large plants in Europe, under its direct control. The Chicago American Tool Company is building a plant at Frazerburg, near Aberdeen. The Hoe printing presses are made in London, as is also American linotype machinery. The Draper Company has recently completed its new factory in Lancashire, to supply the greatest cotton-manufacturing district of the world with the American fast-running Northrup loom. This list might be extended indefinitely, and a fine field for investigation is opened for the full measurement of this remarkable transplantation.

Much has been written about the invasion of foreign manufacturing capital into the United States, for the construction of factories to supply the American market, in competition with American manufacturers. A great deal of such capital has found investment here, particularly in the textiles; but the sum total of this American investment of foreign manufacturing capital is a bagatelle in comparison with the American manufacturing capital which has found investment in European countries within the last fifteen years, and is now engaged in manufacturing what are known as American goods on foreign soil. The irruption of American wares, of which the foreign manufacturers have complained so loudly of late, is an interesting and significant phenomenon in connection with the question under discussion. Far more significant, it seems to me, is this construction of American factories on foreign soil, to construct American machinery and appliances by American methods, in direct competition with the strongest foreign establishments, and in bold and avowed determination to control the markets of the world.

Can it be fairly argued that the protective tariff is driving these American manufacturers abroad in order to obtain advantages for competition in the world's market, of which that tariff deprives them at home? To make the claim, is to concede the contention of protectionists, that the tariff is necessary to preserve the high standard of American wages; for, as this paper has endeavored to show, higher wages are the only handicap of American manufacturers seeking foreign markets, of any moment, which can be directly or indirectly attributed to the existence of the tariff. On

the other hand, the question may fairly be asked whether our manufacturers would have been able to invade foreign markets from the vantage-point of foreign soil, if they had not grown so powerful and so masterful, under the protective laws which gave them complete control of the American markets during the period of their infancy and adolescence? To argue this question is to plunge into the polemics of the subject; and this is ground upon which it is no part of my purpose to enter.

I will conclude, therefore, by brief allusion to an aspect of the subject suggested by this remarkable invasion of American manufacturing capital and enterprise into European countries, for the purpose of hand-to-hand competition on their own soil. It will necessarily result—it has already resulted—in a large diminution of our export trade in American manufactures.

Instead of making in America electrical apparatus, cotton looms, all kinds of machinery, tools, etc., to ship abroad for sale, our manufacturers will increasingly produce these wares abroad for their foreign trade, and the statistics of our exports will be correspondingly reduced. They are already so reduced in value and amount to many millions of dollars every year. It may easily come about, in the course of time, that the volume of our foreign trade in manufactures, instead of increasing by leaps and bounds, as it has been doing, will gradually become stationary, and even show a decline. And yet all the time, the actual contribution which the United States makes to the world's commerce in manufactures, will have continued to increase, and will be hidden in the export statistics of the countries to which they have transplanted their mills and machine shops.

All this adds another to many evidences of the rapid advance of what may be called the internationalism of trade. The geographical boundaries of nations are ignored in the stupendous enterprise of modern industrialism. Tariff laws cannot restrain it or control it. Local prejudices cannot circumscribe it; the world is the field of the twentieth century *entrepreneur*; and in the competition for the world's trade, the American manufacturer has the advantage over all the rest. He has behind him a country of unlimited resource; he has the daring and adventuresome spirit which our institutions and our conditions encourage and develop; he has the command of the unlimited capital which our industry and

enterprise have created; and, not the least among his advantages, *he knows how to do it*, because his American training has taught him how. To what extent the protective policy has played a part in the matter, I do not undertake to say. But I declare my belief that the American tariff is no obstacle whatever in the way of the eventual outcome. Many of us will live to see the day when the supremacy of the United States, as the world's manufacturer, will be an undisputed and self-evident fact.

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THE TARIFF RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

At the present time customs duties, at revenue rates, are collected by the insular government upon practically all goods imported into the Philippines and upon certain goods exported therefrom. The import taxes apply to goods coming from the United States in precisely the same manner as to goods from foreign countries. But the export duties apply only in part to wares going from the Philippines to the United States, for a drawback equal to the export tax is allowed whenever products of the islands are entered for use and consumption in the United States. Similar taxes have been imposed in the islands ever since the occupation of Manila by the American troops. The revenues derived from these taxes are paid into the insular treasury and are expended for the support of the government in the islands. They constitute over 80 per cent of the gross receipts of the government, or about 95 per cent of the net receipts available, under the present arrangements, for general purposes. Their loss would be a very serious matter to the government in the islands.

At the present time, also, customs duties are levied at the rate of 75 per cent of the Dingley tariff upon all products originating in the Philippines imported into the United States and at full rates upon all other goods coming from the Philippines. The revenue derived from these taxes, which is not very considerable, is, also, appropriated to the benefit of the insular government.¹ From the time of the American occupation of the islands to the approval of the act of March 8, 1902, which established the present tariff relations between the islands and the United States, duties were collected at the regular rates of the Dingley tariff, except for the interval between the decision of the Supreme Court (December,

¹ In one sense this arrangement results in a loss to the insular treasury. For in 1902 the drawbacks allowed on account of the export duties paid amounted to \$385,000, while the duties collected were only \$73,000, a net loss, over what would have been received had the export duties been retained, of \$312,000. See the "Monthly Summary of the Commerce of the Philippine Islands," for December, 1902, p. 636.

1901) in the case of "Fourteen Diamond Rings," *Emil J. Pepke, claimant, vs. the United States*, and the approval of that act.²

For reasons which will be discussed more fully below, the customs duties collected in the islands are considered indispensable on account of the revenues they yield. These duties, if collected at all, must apply equally to goods from the United States and to goods from Spain, because under Article IV of the treaty of Paris, this country agreed, for a term of ten years, ending April 11, 1909, to "admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States." This provision of the treaty would be comparatively unimportant if Spain were the only country beside the United States to enjoy under it any privileges in the way of free trade or tariff reduction that may be arranged for the benefit of our manufacturers. But the view has been advanced that under "the most favored nation clause" in our commercial treaties so many other nations will claim the right to participate in these privileges that the insular revenue from the customs system will be seriously impaired. It may, of course, be argued that the agreement with Spain was a special concession in the nature of part of the purchase price of the islands and that other countries cannot claim the same privilege. But it would be better if the necessity for raising the question could be avoided. There are no very cogent economic reasons which can be urged in favor of giving the United States any advantage over other nations in selling wares in the islands, when the sole obstacle is a tariff to raise revenues which are much needed in the islands and which cannot be had so well in any other way. The political argument that the revenues are needed overrules any plea of mere sentiment. Moreover, even if the exemptions were confined to the United States and Spain, it would be extremely difficult to prevent the products of other nations from coming in, via Spain. The old Spanish tariff allowed a heavy preferential on Spanish merchandise, and the merchants of other European countries took advantage of this provision by establishing houses or factories in Spain in order to make their goods technically Spanish. These old arrangements could be more easily be revived, now that Spain has no interest to limit or prevent them.

² The force of the decision was that the duties collected on goods from the Philippines after the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of Paris, and until the approval of the act of March 8, 1902, were illegal. This period was from April 11, 1899, to March 8, 1902.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this paper to review the intricacies of the arguments or to analyze the decisions in the famous insular cases in which the Supreme Court passed upon the constitutionality of these tariffs. It is sufficient for our present purpose to state the results. So far as the tariff in the islands is concerned, the decisions of the Supreme Court established two periods during each of which the legality of these duties rested on a different basis. First, there was the period during which war continued, presumably both the war with Spain and that with the insurgents, namely, from the occupation of Manila down to the Fourth of July, 1902, when the President issued his proclamation declaring that peace existed in the Philippines, except in the territory occupied by the Moros.³ During this period the right to collect duties in the Philippines, both upon imports and exports, no matter what their origin, rested on the power of the President as commander-in-chief of the army to do whatever may in his judgment be necessary for the successful prosecution of war. A decision by him that the imposition of duties is necessary in the territory where war exists cannot be reviewed by the courts. The duties collected by the civil government, so called, under Governor Taft, rested at first on the military authority of the President, just as did those collected by the military government which preceded it; for the source of its authority was the same, the distinction between military and civil in the affairs of the islands being simply one of convenience.

The second period was that after peace had been declared. It continues to the present time. The authority for the duties now imposed is found in the act of March 8, 1902, the constitutionality of which is to be assumed from the fact that a precisely similar act applied to Porto Rico was found to be constitutional. This had been called in question because of a supposed conflict with that clause of the Constitution which requires that "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." The

³ The Supreme Court of the United States has not passed directly upon the duties collected in the islands in the period from the close of the Spanish war to the passage of the act of March 8, 1902. The statement in the text is to that extent merely the opinion of the present writer; but it is sustained by several decisions of the Court of Customs Appeals of the Philippine Islands, notably in case No. 18. The doubtful points are: whether an insurrection not represented by any organized government calls into being the military authority of the President to the same extent as a war with a foreign nation; and whether the "insurgents" were more than bands of robbers incapable of creating "war."

Supreme Court, by inventing a distinction between "foreign territory in an international sense" and "foreign territory in a domestic sense," found a way to sanction the lack of uniformity in duties between our insular possessions and the rest of the United States. It also decided that the power to provide a government for territory acquired as were the Philippines, rested wholly in Congress; and that Congress could constitutionally sanction the levying of duties in such territory. The act of March 8, having sanctioned the tariff prepared and put in force by the United States Philippine Commission, the present duties are fully sustained.

The constitutionality of the export duties collected in the islands forms, in the minds of some people, a separate and distinct question, on account of the special reference to export duties in the Constitution and of the novelty of such duties in American practice. They rest, however, upon precisely the same grounds as the import duties levied in the islands and were equally legal in each of the same two periods. The Federal Constitution declares that Congress has no power to levy a tax or a duty on articles exported from a State. But the Philippines, according to the Supreme Court, are not even analogous to a State and therefore these duties do not come under this prohibition. The Constitution further declares that no State shall levy export duties without the consent of Congress, clearly implying that such duties might be levied with the consent of Congress. If, therefore, the Philippines should be regarded as analogous to a State, the consent of Congress having been obtained the insular government could collect export duties. On either horn of the dilemma these export duties are legal.

The constitutionality of duties levied on goods coming from the Philippines to the United States rests on different grounds in each of three distinct periods. The first was the period of the war with Spain, during which the Philippines remained foreign territory in every sense, and consequently there could be no question as to the application of the regular duties to goods coming from them. This continued until the sovereignty of the United States was fully confirmed by the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of Paris.

The second was the period from the ratification of the treaty of Paris, when the islands were ceded by their former sovereign and could no longer be considered foreign soil, until Congress

determined what the duties should be by the act of March 8, 1902. This was a sort of interregnum during which any duties levied on goods coming from the Philippines were illegal.

The third or present period is that since the passage of the act of March 8, 1902. The duties now levied upon goods coming from the Philippines to the United States rest upon the same grounds as those upon goods from the United States to the Philippines. They may be of any character that Congress shall provide.

Whatever may be thought of the general logic of the decisions of the Supreme Court in the insular cases as to the limits of the Constitution, and however much the fact that the court was so evenly divided may seem to detract from the weight of the rulings in these cases, their effect is eminently beneficial to the islands. Moreover, the only other conceivable line of decisions would have entailed very serious misfortunes for the islands. Ordinary nothing is more futile than to speculate as to what might have been, had history taken a different turn at a parting of the ways. But, inasmuch as Congress is persistently urged to put into force by statute, which it has the power to do, the only other principles which the Supreme Court could conceivably have followed, it is not altogether a waste of time to state briefly what the consequences would be. It is conceivable that the Supreme Court might have decided that the Constitution extended *proprio vigore* to the territory acquired as a result of the war. The consequences of such a decision would have been the same as if Congress were now to draw the Philippines within the wall of the Dingley tariff and establish free trade between the islands and the United States. Waiving, for the moment only, the possibility that under the treaty of Paris free trade between the United States and the Philippines means free trade between the Philippines and Spain and may mean free trade between the Philippines and all the leading commercial nations and a possible breaking down of the tariff wall at that point, we may state briefly what the consequences would be under the assumption that the wall would stand.

The Dingley tariff was designed especially to foster and protect manufacturing industries, in a country lying in the temperate zone. It is no more suited to the industries and commerce of a strictly tropical country than are the garments worn in a temperate climate suitable for wear in the sweltering heat of Manila. The

protective features would not benefit the islands, for the industries we foster in this way cannot exist there; and carrying the increased cost of all manufactured commodities would impose a staggering burden on the productive industries of the islands. The very things, the price of which we strive to enhance by our protective duties, are the things which the Filipino takes in payment for the products of his soil and the fruits of his labor. To raise their price in order to protect industries he cannot have is like making him wear a heavy ulster to protect him from icy winds that never blow, and uselessly frittering away his strength by compelling him to wear it under the fiery rays of a coppery sun. The advantages of free trade between the islands and the United States would relieve him to some extent, but not enough to offset the burden.

Possibly, however, under the interpretation of the treaty of Paris suggested above, all the leading commercial nations would, if free trade existed between the United States and the Philippines, enjoy free trade in the Philippines and the tariff wall might be broken down at that point. It would, of course, still be possible to prevent foreign goods thus imported free of duty into the islands from being transshipped free of duty to the United States, but it would be troublesome. The most serious consequence, however, would be that the insular government would be deprived of its largest and best source of revenue and would either have to be subsidized from the general treasury of the United States, or resort to heavy internal taxes which would at this stage be highly inexpedient. It is unnecessary and would as well be unjust to the people of the United States to make them pay the cost of government in the islands. That can be and should be borne by the Filipinos themselves.

As the main argument for the retention of the customs duties in the Philippines is the necessity for revenue, that may be considered first. It is the plan of the present government of the islands to depend almost entirely for the support of the central or insular government upon the customs duties and to reserve such other taxes as may be developed for the support of the provincial and municipal governments. The considerations which underlie this policy are partly temporary in their nature and partly permanent. The industries and commerce of the people need time to recover from the ravages of war and a long series of other disasters

recently suffered. Such recovery would be more or less retarded by any very vigorous attempt to collect heavy internal taxes, unless the money were immediately turned back in the form of internal improvements. Customs duties will interfere with the recovery far less. The work of building roads and bridges and in general of facilitating the internal development of the country was sadly neglected under Spanish rule, and almost everything in the way of public equipment, except churches, has to be provided from the bottom up, so that the provincial and municipal governments are in sore need of funds. The educational system has to be developed and expanded and calls for large local contributions. For very obvious political reasons, until the loyalty of the people is thoroughly assured, all money collected by internal taxes and hence consciously paid should be expended immediately under the eye of the taxpayers. Such a use of taxes collected is an innovation in the islands, for the Spaniards sent all that could be collected into Manila and but little was expended for the benefit of the people; but its very novelty will emphasize the tendency of such a policy to create and promote a healthy interest in good government. The same general considerations of political expediency recommend that the central or insular government, whose important functions are not performed under the eye of the taxpayers, should be supported, so far as possible, by taxes the payment of which is not directly called to the attention of the taxpayer. It is again the old problem of how to get the necessary amount of feathers with the least amount of hissing. As the customs duties now in force are very much lower than those under Spanish rule and are far more equitably adjusted, the people cannot but feel a sense of relief rather than of increased burden in these taxes. The best evidence of this is the increased importations.

Under Spanish rule only about 30 per cent of the revenues was had from the customs. But the Spanish administration of the customs duties was woefully deficient. In the best year of the Spanish administration, 1894, the customs in every branch yielded but 4,702,952 dollars Mexican, or about \$2,352,000 gold. Our administration took the same tariff with some important reductions and applied it to the trade which remained after the war and made it yield \$4,400,000 (in 1899). This confirms the statement of merchants that they evaded duties under Spanish rule.

The wares which passed through the customs in the best year under Spanish administration were reported as worth 61,600,000 dollars Mexican, or \$30,800,000 gold at the rate of exchange in that year. In our first complete year they were \$44,000,000 gold and have been rising rapidly ever since. The small returns from customs duties obtained by Spain were due to three causes: first, the trade of the islands was smaller, the average annual tonnage of vessels entering and leaving the ports of the islands during the last five years of Spanish rule being only half what it was during the first two of American, and the prices especially of the great staples like hemp were lower than they have been since the American occupation, so that the expressed values were lower on similar quantities; second, the exemptions granted on Spanish merchandise amounted to about \$500,000 per annum; and third, there was notoriously collusion between the customs officials and the importers, which resulted in loss to the revenue and a falsification of the statistics by an amount which cannot now be determined.

Our present tariff in the islands is eminently more equitable than was the Spanish. The old tariff fell heavily on necessities and lightly on luxuries, in which respect ours is the exact reverse. The Spanish tariff included many prohibitive duties; ours is more nearly uniform at 20 per cent. This alone tends to stimulate importation. As imports have steadily exceeded the exports, by an amount which cannot be explained by differences due to freights alone, there is ground for supposing that our tariff has encouraged importation for investment and for the establishment of stocks of goods.

The advisability of depending on customs duties for the support of the central or insular government becomes more apparent when we consider the possible substitutes for them. Under Spanish rule about 45 per cent of the revenues came from the "cedula" or personal poll tax, which was a direct descendant of the "tribute," a tax feudal in origin and conception.⁴ The collection of these heavy poll taxes was enforced by means which were decidedly oppressive and it became the chief center and means of corruption

⁴ For a full description of this and of the other revenues of the Spanish government, see two articles by the present writer in the "Political Science Quarterly," Vol. XVI, No. 4, and Vol. XVII, No. 1.

in the government. This tax was abandoned during the war, and as it has so unsavory a past and is out of accord with the spirit of our institutions, it is doubtful whether it would be wise to revive it save possibly in the form of a light registration tax for local purposes. The remaining one-fourth of the income of the Spanish government came from miscellaneous receipts, of which the most important were the income tax, the opium monopoly and the lottery. The income tax should certainly be retained by our government. It was in a form most admirably adapted to the conditions, was equitable and easy to collect and is not unpopular. But for the time being its yield will not be large and should be devoted to the support of the local governments. It is the best means at hand for making the Chinese traders contribute their fair share to the support of government. The lottery, of course, we cannot revive; but the opium monopoly offers a source of revenue admirably suited to the uses of the central government to supplement the customs. It can be made to pay about a million dollars per annum, the burden of which would fall almost solely on the Chinese, and it would make it possible to confine the use of the drug. This is practically the only one of all the old sources of revenue that is suitable at present for the central government. The new land tax is appropriated already to local purposes and must be kept inviolate for that; it is in no way suitable for the central government. There is at present under tentative consideration by the government of the islands a plan for the eventual introduction of indirect internal taxes similar to those in the United States, and it is thought that these may eventually be made to yield a good revenue. But this added burden should not be imposed at present. It would inevitably be more costly and more troublesome in operation than the customs duties. When everything is considered, it seems beyond question that the customs duties now collected in the islands are necessary and should be retained.

The tariff now in force in the islands was well planned, and the only amendments it may need are those of detail to bring some few items in the schedule into more perfect accord with the original plan and purposes. This tariff was first prepared by the Commission in the islands. It was slightly amended by the War Department before it was finally approved, was passed September 17, 1901, went into effect November 15, 1901, and was re-enacted by Con-

gress March 8, 1902. It is a tariff as strictly for revenue only as is possible to draw. It was drawn carefully with a view to an equitable distribution of the burden. It imposes a gross burden of about 14 per cent on the whole commerce of the islands, and the import duties alone amount to about 23 per cent on the total imports. With a few unimportant exceptions the duties are all specific.

Normally, by far the most important item of importation into the Philippines is cotton cloth, which amounted under Spanish rule to about \$4,000,000 per annum, and in 1902 to \$7,200,000. Most of this comes from Germany and England, although the trade with the United States in cottons is growing. The next important item is rice, which of late has come mainly from the French possessions in China. This is the chief staple of diet and used to be an article of export. But since the opening of the Suez Canal the market for the great staples of export, hemp, sugar, tobacco and copra, has so improved that the Filipino can turn his energies to much better use than the cultivation of so unremunerative and laborious a crop as rice. The best interests of the people lie in the direction of the greatest possible development of the products in which they have so marked an advantage over other parts of the world and in the adoption of a more nutritious diet, so the falling off in rice culture need cause no solicitude. The rest of the imports are of a miscellaneous character. The most important are animals, animal products and meats, a little over \$2,000,000; flour and cereals, mainly from the United States, \$1,000,000; liquors and beverages, \$1,500,000; iron and steel, \$2,000,000.

If the import duties need amendment anywhere, it is in the direction of lessening the duties on food products. Like all tropical countries, the Philippines are short of products of high nutritious value. The common idea that the tropics are rich in food is mistaken. Vegetables and fruits run to fibrous growth, and contain relatively little concentrated nutriment, while meats are scarce and hard to conserve. The canned, dried and preserved fruits, vegetables, fish and meats, as well as wheat flour and other high-grade cereals of the temperate zone, are needed in the tropics to develop more strength and physical vigor in the tropical races than a diet of rice and cocoanut oil will impart.

The exports of the islands upon which duties are levied are

great staples which command a good place in the world's markets. The export duties are light and are to be regarded as in lieu of other taxes. These great industries which flourish under the protection of the government contribute in practically no other way to its support.

So long as it remains necessary, as it is at present, to raise revenue by customs duties in the Philippines, questions of tariff reform in the islands will be largely matters of detail. No general principles are at stake. The tariff relations between the islands and the United States, especially in so far as they affect the duties on insular products imported into the United States, involve far more serious considerations. At present Philippine products imported from the islands to the United States pay 75 per cent of the Dingley tariff and enjoy a rebate of the export duties levied in the islands. The United States Philippine Commission asked for a reduction to 25 per cent of the regular rates. The bill which came most nearly to passage in the last regular session of Congress, but which was talked out in the Senate on the day before adjournment, offered a reduction to 50 per cent only.

As the matter now stands, there are practically only two products of the islands that are likely to be affected by any changes in the rates. These are sugar and tobacco. The Philippine exports are: abaca (commonly known as Manila hemp, or simply Manila), 67 per cent of the total exports; sugar, 12 per cent; cigars, 7 per cent; copra (dried cocoanut), 9 per cent; and a miscellaneous list, all of which are small, amounting to about 5 per cent. In the time of the Spaniards these proportions were different, owing mainly to the fact that sugar entered more largely into the exports. The proportions then were: abaca, 40 per cent; sugar, 37 per cent; tobacco, 11 per cent; and all other, 12 per cent. Coffee and rubber (or gutta-percha) are among the important probabilities of the future. Abaca or hemp, which constituted, in 1902, \$19,290,610 out of the total of \$28,671,904 of exports, is now admitted free for use and consumption in the United States, and enjoys a rebate of the amount of the export duties levied in the islands. No question has arisen as to the tariff position of abaca, save as to the advisability of remitting the export duty. It seems of doubtful propriety to continue this exemption, because the islands enjoy a practical monopoly of this valuable product, and the industry, at

present the most important in the Philippines, contributes practically nothing beyond the export duties to the support of the government under which it lives. Copra is not much used in the United States, most of that which leaves the islands going to France, where the oil is extracted and manufactured into fine toilet soaps. It is free of duty here already, as are also coffee, rubber and gutta-percha.

The question therefore narrows down to sugar and tobacco, and in connection with these there are many important considerations to be taken up. The Philippine Commission in urging the reduction said that these products would not be dumped on the market in the United States in sufficient quantities to injure any American industry and that the relief afforded the islands would be important to them. The beet-sugar interests in the United States took alarm, their anxiety being already aroused by the possibility of reciprocity with Cuba. There was more or less opposition expressed on behalf of the tobacco interests, but it never came to such vehement expression as that on behalf of beet sugar, because Manila tobacco has no prestige in the United States and its competition with American and Havana tobacco here will probably not be serious for some time to come. Manila tobacco enjoys an excellent market in certain parts of Europe, and until a taste for it is developed in the United States it cannot be introduced here at all unless fostered by very heavy differentials in its favor in the customs tariff. Even if the duty were entirely removed, so that it stood on the same footing with the domestic tobacco, it is doubtful whether its competition would be serious save for Havana tobacco. The diversion of any of the Manila tobacco from Europe would tend to raise the price of all tobacco there and stimulate to that extent a better demand for our domestic product abroad. The only American interests at all affected, or likely to be affected, by the reduction of the duty on Manila tobacco are those which have capital invested in the Cuban tobacco trade.

The beet-sugar industry, however, lives so much in the shade of the heavy protective duties that its representatives have felt the possible introduction of more tropical sugar to be a serious menace. The danger from the side of the Philippines, however, is not very serious. The amount of sugar which can be or is likely to be produced in the Philippines cannot be very definitely stated.

How much of it will reach European markets, how much will go to China and Japan, and how much will stay in the Philippines themselves, are equally problematical. The insular consumption itself is always considerable and grows "with leaps and bounds," as does that of China and Japan with every increase in prosperity. The statistics with relation to Philippine sugar are extremely difficult of interpretation, and it is very troublesome to reconcile the different estimates with one another.⁵ The exports of sugar during the years of Spanish rule when affairs were fairly normal was about 200,000 tons per annum. During the war it fell off, and even in 1902 amounted to but 97,038 tons. It will be a sanguine estimate which places the output for the next few years at a possible 200,000 tons. The world's production of cane sugar for 1903-1904 is estimated at 4,342,800 tons, against which the Philippine product is but $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or less than 2 per cent of the combined output of cane and beet sugar. The total consumption of sugar in the United States is about 2,400,000 tons per annum, of which the total output of the Philippines, even at the estimate of 200,000 tons, is but one-twelfth. The increase in a single year in the output of sugar in Hawaii, which comes in free of duty, was more than the probable output of the Philippines. In 1902 we received but 5,000 tons of sugar from the Philippines, in spite of the fact that this sugar came in at a 25 per cent reduction in the duties of the Dingley tariff and enjoyed the advantage over sugar going to

⁵ For the exports of sugar in Spanish times the best data are the statements in kilograms in the *Estadística General del Comercio de las Islas Filipinas*, published annually by the customs in Manila. But the valuations given in those publications are not very trustworthy. The next source is the reports of the Chamber of Commerce in Manila. These give *piculs*. The *picul* of the islands is ordinarily 139.469 pounds, but sometimes the picul of 137.9 pounds is used in making reductions to other weights and sometimes the China picul of 133 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds is used. Care should be taken therefore in any citations from the reports of the Chamber of Commerce to ascertain what figure was used in making reductions to other weights. Philippine sugar is part "wet," part "dry" and part "clayed," and runs in many grades, of which the United States Custom House has established tests for nine, on which the duty runs from 1.125 to 1.37 cents per pound less 25 per cent. Great difficulty is involved in ascertaining from the reports what grade of sugar is referred to. Manila, Cebu and Iloilo are usually reported separately and this affords a partial clue. The most serious difficulties arise from the uncertainty of the crop year. Ordinarily Philippine sugar is harvested in December and the grinding, etc., goes on into March. But large quantities are often shipped as late as August. This renders it almost impracticable to compare receipts in the countries of destination with reported shipments in the islands. Much sugar goes through Hong Kong and its final destination is unknown to the officials in the Philippines. Willett and Gray's and Mr. Licht's estimates are those most frequently quoted. But these seem to understate the Philippine exports. The extensive collection of statistics relating to sugar in the "Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance" for November, 1902 is the most available source of information, and the different statistics cited there are better reconciled than usual.

other markets of a rebate of the export duty of five cents a hundred kilos, amounting roughly to 1 per cent. It would seem, therefore, that the contention of the Commission is sustained and that the introduction of Philippine sugar at reduced rates would not seriously affect the beet-sugar industry of the United States. In comparison with the million tons per annum which Cuba will probably produce, the Philippine output seems very small. But while the Philippine sugar industry seems small when placed in contrast with the gigantic resources of the sugar market as a whole, or even with the very considerable consumption in the United States, it is a large industry in the islands and means a great deal to the people there. The concession asked would be a small one for the people of the United States to grant, but it is a large one for the Filipinos to receive. The abolition of the beet-sugar bounties recommended by the Brussels Sugar Convention of March 5, 1902, which took effect in September, 1903, promises such improvement in prices that the beet-sugar industries of the United States have been inclined to modify their opposition to the proposed reductions in the sugar tariff. Possibly the reductions prayed for will be granted in the near future.

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PROTECTION, EXPANSION, AND INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

The era of free trade that opened with the Anglo-French treaty of 1860 awaits adequate interpretation. The low tariffs that were spread over Europe by the subsequent network of commercial treaties were hailed as an omen of regenerated, almost beatified, industry by the worshipers of free trade. The vigorous reasoning, which gave so much vitality to the intellectual movement that accompanied it, lent to the results of that analysis an appearance of finality essentially deceptive, and encouraged swelling sentiments of perfectibility that were decidedly premature. This reasoning was based on a presupposition of finality and the analysis was one of an assumed static condition. In the light of subsequent experience and in a world that has vastly increased in population, in wealth, in complexity, and in sensitiveness of organization, we are now enabled to study more deliberately the development of trade regulation and specifically of those attempts of governments to increase the well-being of the societies over the destinies of which they preside, by means of tariff laws and the corresponding and accompanying commercial treaties.

Tariff laws and commercial treaties are not expressions of benignant idealism. The real influences at work in a tariff campaign are very human; and yet it is probable that some general principles may be discovered through the mist of class and party strife. While Cobden and Bright were presenting the moral and stato-economic aspects of free trade, the English laborers were clamoring for cheap food and the English manufacturers for cheap labor. They won the day against aristocracy and rent-rolls.

In France, an autocrat in the first flush of his power, fresh from military victories due to luck rather than to genius, desirous of conciliating England for disturbance of European equilibrium, entered into engagements with that country for the reduction of tariff duties, on his own responsibility and against the general opposition of the industrial classes. Napoleon needed but to add the Mexican expedition to the Cobden treaty and his empire was doomed, Sedan or no Sedan.

In Germany, however, the veil of special interests that concealed the general principle of development at work, was still more opaque. The tariff policy of Prussia turned about precisely the same axis that centred the rest of her statecraft. "Freedom with science" was the motto of the fatherland. The reforms of Stein and Hardenberg had been the means of throwing off the yoke of the first Napoleon. The question of the middle of the century was how to throw off the yoke of Austria. In 1853 Prussia made a temporizing treaty with Austria, agreeing to common rates of duties against third countries and lower rates between the two parties to the treaty. It became a maxim of Prussian politics that Prussia could never free herself from the domination of Austria so long as she retained a high tariff. Every effort was therefore made to convert the country to free trade. The Austrian treaty was not to expire till 1865. Nevertheless, Bismarck, as ambassador to France, and later in the same year (1862), as Prussian minister of foreign affairs, entered into a treaty with France conceding the most favored nation clause. Thus Germany obtained from France the advantage of concessions made by that country to England. In 1865, the year when the Austrian treaty was to have expired, Austria made a treaty with England containing the most favored nation clause.

Austria had looked upon the tariff as the first move in the scheme of incorporating Prussia into the Austrian empire. The policy of using a tariff as a step preparatory to political union was clever, and has succeeded in some other cases. The disappointment of Austria, therefore, was greater in the case of the failure of its tariff policy than in the affair of Schleswig-Holstein; the battle of Koeniggratz followed.

The special incidents, therefore, that brought about free trade in the three principal European countries were entirely different, and yet the coincidence of the free-trade movement in the different nations of Christendom, to which the tariff acts of 1846 and 1857 in the United States belong, is pronounced. We look in vain for some general principle in the endless variety of particular political influences and class interests. The social point of view is different from the individual; in fact it begins to dawn upon us that if we are to understand the general tariff movement we must observe it over a considerable period. If we look upon tariff policy as inter-

national, we cannot establish its laws by the observation of a single phase.

But a new phase was not long delayed. The crisis of 1873 was followed by severe industrial depression sooner or later in the several manufacturing countries, and sick industry felt the need of alterative medicine. The return to protection in France and Germany was accompanied by domestic phenomena not so dissimilar as those which were manifested in the respective states before 1860. The phylloxera and war taxation in France, and the reaction from over-speculation in Germany, made those nations long for a change. They both enacted moderate tariff laws as the eighth decade was passing into the ninth, and curiously enough, soon after, in the same years, 1885 and 1887, they both put duties on wheat and raised them. It was the agricultural classes that especially needed protection. In Germany it was the agricultural classes that had been free traders, but they swung rapidly into the protectionist ranks in the middle of the eighth decade and were enabled then, as before and after, to dictate Germany's tariff policy. There were even indications of uneasiness in England. Agricultural distress was great.

In 1874 England had performed the last act in the evolution of free trade by abolishing the sugar duties completely. Soon afterwards, however, the agitation for protection was renewed, and first in the specific form of a demand for sugar duties. In 1880 a report was made by a Parliamentary commission on the sugar question. In Germany the change had been still more sudden. The protectionist law of 1879 was passed only a year or two after the last of the iron duties was to have disappeared, under a decreasing scale agreed to in 1873; and France was no sooner free from the yoke of Louis Napoleon than she sought to return to a policy which agreed at once with the national genius and with the exigencies of indebtedness created by the war and by the five-million indemnity.

We have seen that whatever may have been the adventitious circumstances of the free-trade movement, it accompanied the more or less contemporaneous consolidation and at least temporary political completion of four great nations, England, France, Germany, and the United States. Looking again away from the special phenomena of the return to protection, we observe that the new tariffs are cotemporaneous, in a rough way, with a move-

ment for expansion, which, slowly gathering strength after the crisis of 1882 (France), 1883 (England), 1884 (United States), appeared in full force as the world movement of expansion after the crisis of 1890-93.

And now England becomes the chief actor. The protectionist question was still agitated through the opposition to sugar bounties, and the agitation was continued through many international conferences until at last success was achieved in the Brussels conference of 1902. Protectionism in a bad form was thus checkmated by protectionism in a more approved form. The defeat of protection in this form, however, has caused its forces to be concentrated in England along another line, more closely connected with the policy of expansion. The proposition is now made by Mr. Chamberlain that the mother country seek to consolidate the empire by means of an imperial customs union. This movement is at least coeval with the new protectionism. In the height of the triumph of free trade and *laissez-faire*, Englishmen talked of the colonies as an incumbrance and expressed the hope that they would go off and take care of themselves—the sooner the better. But with the revival of protectionism, which, as we have just seen, was in England connected with the sugar bounties, came an earnest discussion about the loose connection of the colonies with the mother country. In 1884 the Imperial Federation League was founded. The discussion has since been as to whether the political object was to be attained directly or through an imperial tariff wall that should cement the empire, which was felt to be falling to pieces. A great colonial conference, including representatives of all the self-governing colonies as well as of all the important crown colonies, was held in London in 1887. It led, however, to no decisive result. The protectionist colonies could not agree to surrender any portion of their freedom in the matter of taxation. Nevertheless, the movement bore fruit, for it led to a lively agitation in the colonies and finally to the passage in 1897, by Canada, the most important of the self-governing colonies, of a tariff law giving the preference to English imports over those of other countries.

The English chambers of commerce hold a convention every four years, and in 1892, 1896, and 1900 the motion for an imperial customs union has passed in some form or other. Mr. Chamberlain is making no new departure so far as his own politics is concerned.

As early as 1895, just after the re-entrance of the Conservatives to power, Mr. Chamberlain, as the new Colonial Minister in the Conservative-Union Cabinet, sent a circular to the different colonies inquiring as to the effects of foreign competition upon English exports. The answer came that there was no general tendency to exclude them. The principal immediate result of the inquiry seems to have been the establishment of a museum in London containing a collection of samples of foreign goods that enter into competition with English goods in the colonial trade. About the same time, the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia was founded, which, within the scope of its purpose as semi-official exploiter of foreign markets, includes a similar exhibition. In fact the movement for commercial museums and commercial education has been tremendously stimulated by the international competition of recent years and by the international segregation indicated by rising tariffs, since such museums, through their display of domestic products, are intended to intensify the art and individuality of the national production. In 1896 Mr. Chamberlain broached the idea of the imperial zollverein, but met with so much opposition that he was obliged to represent his position as merely tentative and to drop the matter for the time being. Now at last it would look as though he had burned his bridges behind him.

More interesting, however, than English expansion is the idea of the "United States of Europe." The reaction from expansion is counter-expansion; the reaction from the United States of America is the "United States of Europe." The idea of uniting Europe against American grain export is as old as the export itself.

"America had formerly by its Morrill tariff aided the efforts of Napoleon to create a network of treaties in central Europe."¹ In 1878 the economist Molinari suggested to Bismarck a European customs union. The stimulus for European international expansion went out from American agricultural competition. Books were written and quite naturally agricultural congresses were held, those held in Austria being of especial importance, in the interests of a European customs union. The commercial treaties concluded in 1892 by Germany, were looked upon as a means towards the end of commercial union. But two great countries held aloof: England was opposed to protection and did not share in the commercial

¹ Lotz, "*Die Ideen der deutschen Handelspolitik*," p. 193.

jealousies of the grain-growing states; and France, although one of the greatest wheat growers in the world, was pursuing a policy of economic isolation, for reasons apparently as much political as economic. Moreover, important treaties stood in the way—the treaty of 1828, between Prussia and the United States, and the treaty of peace made at Frankfort in 1871 between Germany and France.

The Frankfort treaty secured to France the lowest rates granted by Germany to third states, and of course the middle European states (*i. e.*, Austria-Hungary) are third states. The inconvenience of such an arrangement to a Germany seeking further expansion is obvious, and in making their treaty of 1891 with Austria, the Germans expressly stipulated that if they should make a formal customs union with "third" countries, they should not be obliged to concede to Austria the duties of the new zollverein. Of course this stipulation was meant rather as a model for future treaties than for application to Austria herself, since she is now the country most likely to enter a customs union with Germany. However, in 1895, upon the renewal of the Triple Alliance, the idea of developing it into a customs union was abandoned in official circles. Nevertheless, parliamentary debates and political tracts have constantly brought the matter forward: in the Reichstag in 1891, 1895, 1897, 1898, 1899, and, of course, in the debates on the new tariff in 1902; in international agricultural congresses at Budapest in 1896, and at Vienna in 1898, where the delegate of the German agricultural union declared:

"Our highly civilized states should unite and take common measures against the injuries caused by over-sea competition."²

And in the manufacturers union, at their meeting in Berlin in 1900. In 1897 Count Goluchowski declared before the Hungarian representatives that the

"European states must march shoulder to shoulder, and defend themselves against the common peril with every weapon in their political armories."³

On the other hand, in 1899, Count Kanitz declared in the Reichstag that a European customs union was useless, and in 1900

² Ernst Francke, "*Zollpolitische Einigungsbestrebungen in Mitteleuropa*," p. 221.

³ *Id.*, p. 224.

the Social Democrats in convention at Mayence passed a resolution in favor of commercial treaties between European states, but supported the continued use of the most favored nation clause, and opposed a tariff war with the United States. The Socialists are therefore again on record as opposers of the manifest course of events, which clearly unites protection with expansion.

The protective system that came into being about the year 1880 was intensified by the introduction of the maximum and minimum system by France in 1892. This system had been clearly foreshadowed in the French debates of 1881 and again in the reciprocity clause of the McKinley tariff. The French system spread to Spain, Russia, Brazil, Greece, and Norway, while the Dingley tariff with its reciprocity clauses is an example of practically the same policy. And Germany has at last fallen into line with the comparatively high protective tariff of 1902. That "expansion" has been the keynote of international politics for two decades at least needs only mention to carry conviction. The overflow of Germany into Africa and South America, of France into Africa and Madagascar; the dispute as to whether Dutch-British Africa should be united as an independent state or as part of a more "expanded" British empire; the onward march of Russia in Asia; the impending dismemberment of China and attribution of its parts to European powers; the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands by the United States, and her protectorate over Cuba and the Isthmus of Panama; the personal union of a vast area of central Africa with the kingdom of Belgium; the federation of the Australian colonies, are but examples of the general tendency.

There appears, therefore, to be a general coincidence between the world movement for expansion and for protection on the one hand, and, on the other, for political relaxation or at least the policy of *statu quo* and for free trade. If this is so, we may infer that the tariff is rather a political than an economic policy, or that it is an economic policy subordinate to a political purpose, or that it is partly a reaction from economic and partly from political conditions.

It is next in order to inquire whether there is any ascertainable connection between increase of wealth and success in international competition on the one hand, and the existence of tariffs, on the

other. Of course this is an old inquiry, and the general conclusion has been that it is a quest unattainable by the inductive road. The arguments usually made by politicians will not stand careful examination and are often absurd. Among students the usual idea has been that we are not yet ripe for conclusions other than those of the *a priori* order. Nevertheless, some of the general facts of international competition and of national production are interesting, suggestive, and worthy of mention.

The question whether tariffs have any effect at all on the course of trade, first claims our attention. It would seem that we have an opportunity here for economic experiment, since England has remained a free-trade country while other nations were putting up their tariffs. Now it is true that there has been a comparative and in some cases a positive decline of English exports to the Continent since the opening of the protectionist era, and that this decrease of exports has been accompanied by an increase in imports from the same group of countries into England. At the same time, England's exports to exotic countries have increased. So far as appears, therefore, the Continental tariffs have excluded English imports and caused England to seek other markets. But there are other facts that oppose or modify this conclusion. Exotic investment has not been confined to England. The Continent has been a liberal investor in the southern hemisphere as well as in the United States, China and the Orient. We have only to remember that Australia draws most of her imports from the Continent and not from England, that Germany makes large investments in American railroads and in African mines, and that France exports heavily to South America.

Therefore, if the Continental tariffs have changed the course of England's trade, it must be rather because they have fostered home production than because they have in the long run directly excluded English imports. On this point again, it is difficult to reach definite conclusions. No clear difference can be drawn in respect to the stimulus to production and the resulting increase in wealth and commerce, between periods of high and those of low tariff.

The production of iron is recognized as a most significant index of industrial prosperity, and an inspection of the accompanying table will be so instructive as to call for little commentary.

PRODUCTION OF PIG IRON—TONS.

[From Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics," pp. 332, 757.]

Date.	Great Britain.	France.	Germany.	United States.	Various.	Total.
1840	1,390,000	350,000	170,000	290,000	480,000	2,680,000
1850	2,250,000	570,000	402,000	560,000	640,000	4,422,000
1860	3,830,000	900,000	530,000	820,000	1,100,000	7,180,000
1870	5,960,000	1,180,000	1,390,000	1,670,000	1,710,000	11,910,000
1880	7,750,000	1,730,000	2,730,000	3,840,000	2,090,000	18,140,000
1885	7,420,000	1,630,000	3,690,000	4,050,000	2,310,000	19,100,000
1889	8,250,000	1,720,000	4,530,000	7,600,000	3,060,000	25,160,000
1895	8,020,000	2,010,000	5,790,000	9,450,000	.....	29,300,000
1899 ^b	7,928,647 ⁵	2,714,000 ⁴	8,150,000	15,878,354 ⁵	.....	.....

Under approximate free trade, or at least a descending scale of duties, iron smelting made its most rapid progress in Germany from 1860 to 1880. It is true that the progress was more rapid before 1873, when the pig-iron duties were removed, than in any other period; but the absolute additions to the output were larger in the free-trade era, 1873-1879, than previously or than in any subsequent period, except the remarkable development since 1895. Under practically prohibitive tariffs, the increase in the United States has fluctuated with good and bad times, while the figures for England show decided effects of foreign competition. That these effects could have been avoided had England adopted a protective tariff is possible. England's great surplus of imports was long ago shown by Giffen⁷ and others to be caused by an income account due from foreign investment; a protective tariff would perhaps work out as a tax on foreign-created income for the sake of home-created income. In France we find a slight increase since the tariff of 1892. Perhaps the increase in France and the decrease in England may measure the difference between tariff and no tariff on iron. It is well to remark at this point that French exports increased from 1890 to 1901 by 11 per cent and English exports by 6 per cent; but that French imports have not increased at all in the same period, while English imports have increased 24 per cent, which puts the advantage in rate of progress on the side of England.

⁴ 1900.⁵ 1901.⁶ This line is taken from the respective statistical abstracts.⁷ Essays in Finance, First Series VI, "The Excess of Imports."

A comparison of the recent economic progress of the United States with that of European countries will help us to form some conclusion as to the influence of their several tariff policies and of that which is common in all their tariffs.

In 1901 our foreign commerce was still only 2.2 billion dollars compared with a domestic commerce of 28 billion dollars; and the volume of goods exchanged between different parts of our country was twenty-four times our foreign commerce. Our total *trade*, domestic and foreign, was much more than the combined total trade of Great Britain and Germany.

Taking production rather than commerce as the test of prosperity, we find again that, according to impartial statistics and estimates, the American *manufactured product* is equal to that of Great Britain and Germany combined. The fact that a British depression and a severe crisis in Germany are contemporaneous with the greatest boom that the United States has ever enjoyed, renders this estimate extremely probable, though less exciting as a jingo argument.

Among domestic products, iron, from its universal employment, has always been taken as the best barometer of good and bad times. Our pig-iron product in 1899 was 50 per cent greater than Great Britain's and 70 per cent greater than Germany's. In the same year our *steel product* was nearly equal to Great Britain's and Germany's combined.

Of course our development has been remarkable, and yet, in many respects, it has not been so rapid as that of Germany. Since 1890 Germany has nearly doubled her production of pig iron and trebled her production of steel, while in the United States the production of iron increased but 50 per cent and of steel but two and a half times. There was little progress in England in the same items. In iron production there has been an exciting and close race between the three great nations, United States, England, and Germany, in recent years. In pig iron the United States passed England first in 1889 and again for good in 1894; while Germany surpassed England in steel first in 1894 and again for good in 1896. The United States passed England in steel first as early as 1886, and again for good in 1889. Germany has never reached England in pig iron. Thus we find the United States easily leader in the iron race, coming in on the home stretch in a canter, as it were, while

England and Germany are making a dead heat by themselves and well in the rear, England having the advantage in iron and Germany in steel.

Iron is the material of our tools, but our tools and land supply a much more interesting product, food. As iron is the typical tool material, so is wheat the principal food material. Speculation is rife as to the future of wheat production; and it is quite essential to include wheat in our general review, as we produce more wheat than any country in the world, or 23.4 per cent of the world's crop, while all Europe, with five times the population of the United States, produced in 1898 little over twice as much (53.8 per cent of the world's crop, 2,879,000,000 bushels).

Writing in 1896 Mulhall says that "one farming hand in the United States raises as much as two in the United Kingdom, three in Germany, five in Austria, or seven in Russia."⁸ We must remember, however, that the wheat acreage and product of the United States slightly declined between 1880 and 1895. It is true that since then there has been a large increase in area, from 34 to 44.5 million acres in 1899 and in production to 675 million bushels in 1898. The period of decline in the United States was outweighed by the great increase in the Argentina production; and curiously enough, since American production has increased again, that of Argentina has receded. But Canada has not been so accommodating to us in her wheat competition as Argentina. Canada's acreage has developed recently with great rapidity. In recent years, it is estimated, a couple of hundred thousand immigrants have found their way to the wheat farms of the Canadian Northwest. Many went from this country and became foreign competitors in wheat growing.

In the production of corn, however, the United States is not only ahead of each and every foreign country, but of them all put together. She possesses a national monopoly in corn, furnishing 76 per cent of the world's product (in 1900), compared with 23 per cent of the world's wheat crop. Her cotton monopoly is almost as great as that in corn, or 71 per cent of the world's crop. Three-fifths of the crop is exported, forming the most important of all of our exports, manufactured or crude, although breadstuffs do not fall far behind. We also raise more oats than any other country

⁸"Dictionary of Statistics," p. 613.

(or 25 per cent of the world's crop). Our stock of cattle and hogs is greater than that of any other country in the world. On the other hand, our production of sugar, including beet sugar, has grown but little until recently.

Since 1850 our production of wheat, corn, and potatoes has increased faster than our population, while our production of sugar, always inconsiderable, has increased but half as fast. The Continental bounties to the exports of sugar, ruinous to Continental treasuries, are to cease. It remains to be seen whether our sugar industry is to profit by the change. We are the greatest producers of tobacco, flaxseed, lumber, coal, iron, and copper. Our forest industries are equal to our woolen, cotton, and leather combined. We produce one-third of the world's coal, and one-half of the world's copper. In the production of petroleum, Russia is ahead of the United States in quantity; but in value we are far ahead. We are the greatest producers of silver in the world, and we were the greatest producers of gold during the suspension of the Rand mines. (In the production of gold we were momentarily overtaken by South Africa in 1898.) Our fishing and canning industries are very important.

While therefore our agricultural interests are still by far the most important, our larger progress has been in manufactures, and the general progress of the country, which is greatly indebted to agriculture, is nevertheless taking its tone from manufactures; we hear more about non-agricultural industry than ever before. The iron industries have claimed the most attention, although none have escaped the recent reorganization and new impetus. From 1860 to 1900 the value of manufactures increased more than seven-fold. The industries which have shown greatest increase are iron and steel, cotton and clothing, boots and shoes, and food products.

While it is true that England has been unable to compete with American agriculture for her home supply of grain and provisions, she has been able to turn her land from the comparatively unprofitable industry of producing wheat to the more profitable industry of raising cattle. During the agricultural depression in England which began in 1875, we notice that the number of cattle increased considerably (20 per cent between 1870 and 1887). Since 1890 the stock of cattle in the United States has remained stationary.

Again, the United States has sold considerable quantities of

its iron manufactures to England in the last few years. (From \$4.6 million worth in 1895 to \$25.1 million worth in 1901.) Of all kinds of manufactures, in totals, our exports to the United Kingdom increased two and a half times from 1892 to 1902. This does not include exports of agricultural or food products. The inference, however, that our export movement is accompanied by a decline in British industry is hardly warranted. The fact that England is able to buy more of us, notwithstanding that the exports in some cases appear to be similar to those produced in England, would seem to indicate a probable increase in England's purchasing power. While in certain lines England is unable to compete with us, yet in others she is holding her own and even gaining, as in cotton manufacture, shipbuilding, and ocean transportation. The claim that in the long run we are able to produce pig iron more cheaply than England, is questioned in well-informed quarters.⁹

We must remember again, that while the United States was undergoing the severe crisis of 1893-96, not experiencing any considerable revival until 1898, Europe was enjoying a boom which culminated in 1899-1900; so that just as we came to our zenith in 1900 or later, there was a new period of crisis abroad. It is unfair, therefore, to compare contemporaneous conditions—Europe in the throes of crisis and the United States on the crest of a boom. The New World receives its prosperity in large measure by transmission from the Old. While prices were so low in the United States, caused by the crisis of 1893, our exports were stimulated. The Old World bought freely of us then, and this stimulus in foreign trade was communicated to our whole industrial machinery. Europe has passed along to us the palm of prosperity and it ill becomes us to deride her, exhausted with the exertions that have been so beneficial to us.

The boom lasted in England from 1896 to 1900. In this period the price of iron rose by fourteen to seventeen shillings per ton and that of coal by two shillings. The profits of the iron industry in this period are estimated to have been two hundred and seventy-two million pounds greater than in the preceding five years, and the profits of the coal industry ninety-two millions greater. While the end of the boom was due, as M. Raffalovich

⁹ Jacob Schoenhof, "Iron and Steel in England and America," *Journal of Political Economy*, December, 1901.

suggests,¹⁰ to American iron exports, they were not a fundamental cause of hard times in Europe. At any rate, our exports of iron began to increase as early as 1895, and notably in 1896, to England as well as to other countries. The earlier exports may have stimulated rather than injured the English and German booms, by offering needed complementary articles; the later exports were perhaps more truly competitive. The high prices which we asked, however, caused a reaction; our purchases of English iron increased, and the depression in English and German trade has been of late much relieved by American buying. While the United States is the acknowledged leader in iron and steel, England easily retains the lead in cotton products, with her forty-five million cotton spindles, against thirty-two millions on the whole of the Continent, and seventeen millions in the United States.

At the present moment, indeed, the tables are turning again, and the conditions favorable to selling abroad are returning. In the United States, all over the country, money is tightening. Wall Street is in a state of collapse; and a general reduction of industrial activity is inevitable. The West, independent in its agricultural wealth, does not yet feel the shock; nor will it suffer seriously so long as crops are good. It is now the creditor section. In 1893, when it was a debtor section, the crisis rolled from the West to the East. Now the sweep of the financial storm is backwards from the Atlantic coast toward the Rockies.

Abroad the financial storm center has been in Germany. There was a great electrical boom in Germany from 1895 to 1900. In Prussia the income subject to tax increased from 5,578 million marks in 1894 to 7,257 millions in 1899, the tax on capital affected 63,917 million marks in 1895 and 69,906 millions in 1899. Iron production rose from 4.5 million tons in 1889 to 5.4 millions in 1895, and 8.5 in 1900; coal from 64 millions in 1891 to 72 millions in 1895, 89 in 1898, 94 in 1899, and 101 in 1900. In 1900 the bubble of electrical and other speculation in that country burst,¹¹ and since then the Germans have been scrutinizing critically and almost suspiciously their trade relations with the United States. Our exports to Germany increased from 92 million dollars in 1895 to

¹⁰ "Le Marché Financier" 1901-02, p. 15.

¹¹ Due to the fall in iron on the American market in the spring of 1900. Richard Calwer, "*Handel und Wandel, Jahrgang 1900*," p. 11.

187 millions in 1900—five years—while our imports increased only from 81 million dollars to 97 million dollars. Our exports of wheat increased from 608 thousand dollars in 1896 to 7.6 millions in 1899, falling to 6.5 millions in 1900. Now this unfavorable trade balance is a matter of great grief to our worthy Teuton friends. They are fond of twitting the British with being a nation of shopkeepers and the Americans with barbarous materialism, but they themselves are undoubtedly extremely sensitive on the question of the pocket-book; and certainly it would appear that they have discovered some ground for controversy in their tariff relations with the United States.

In 1892 they made a commercial treaty with Austria, in which the duty on wheat was placed at about 25 per cent (22.5 cents per bushel). By virtue of the reciprocity treaty of 1828 between Germany and the United States, under the most favored nation clause, the United States has since 1892 enjoyed the benefit of the rates contained in the Austro-German treaty. Since that year, however, the United States has gone on making tariffs at its own sweet will. When the rate of 1892 came in force, the McKinley tariff prevailed in the United States, and this country readily granted to Germany free importation of German sugar. Subsequent American tariffs have placed a high duty on foreign sugar and a still higher duty on such sugar as is said to be "bounty-fed," as was the case with German sugar. Notwithstanding that Germany has effected a sort of reprisal by discriminating rates against some American products on her state railways and by various edicts against imports of American meat products, the Germans believe that they still have the worst of the bargain and feel particularly sore about the growth of American exports; so that they have at length put up their tariff, especially upon American foods. With the cessation of the German bounty, the American discrimination should cease, and less excuse should exist for exacting high grain duties.

Some German statesmen and economists question whether their country ought to make an expensive dinner-pail by raising agricultural duties; while others are trying hard to prove that foreigners pay the tariff. They admit that a tariff war with the United States would be an expensive luxury, but they seem to be determined upon it. They are speculating as to whether Russia might not be a source from which they could get all of their food supplies and

thus make them independent of the United States and of Argentina; and very likely it is in this desire to find in Russia a granary that the reason for the inaction of Germany in the Eastern question lies; for the Germans have flatly refused to co-operate with England, Japan, and the United States, in hemming the progress of Russia in the Orient. Russia, by her wily diplomacy and through her favorable situation, has completely stayed the hand of both France and Germany in the Eastern question.

“In case it is necessary to enter into a tariff war with the United States,” says Dr. Carl Ballod,¹² “there is no question but Russia can fully supply the place of the United States. Russian wheat is even better than the hard American winter wheat and hence better calculated to mix with the fancy varieties of English wheat cultivated in Germany, which are heavy but lack protein. For fattening cattle, Russian barley is superior to maize. The Russian barley export could easily be made to equal the American maize export to Germany. Germany might give up all imports of meat, raising it at home, and importing still more fodder from Russia. In the case of cotton, it would be harder to replace the American product. Germany imports three-quarters to four-fifths of her raw cotton from America and will probably continue to do so, notwithstanding that Russia, by a very high duty, has succeeded in greatly extending her cotton industry in Central Asia in the course of ten years. As to American copper, Germany could find no substitute for that.” Beginning therefore with a confident declaration of the ability of Germany to dispense with American breadstuffs, Dr. Ballod concludes with the admission that she can find no substitute for American cotton and copper.

In the most recent period as in the earlier ones, we cannot positively assign increase of wealth or of permanent trade advantage to tariffs. Under a very high tariff the United States has made enormous progress; Russia has made considerable progress; and France very modest gains. On the other hand, under a moderate tariff, Germany has in many items surpassed the United States; while England, with no tariff, has done far better than France.

But the most instructive comparison is that of periods taken

¹² “*Die Deutsch-Amerikanischen Handelsbeziehungen, Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik.*” Cf. also, on this point, Richard Calwer, “*Die Meistbegünstigung der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika,*” Ch. IV, who admits that there is no substitute for American corn available to Germany.

as wholes. We find that so far as rate of economic progress is concerned, no broad distinction is to be drawn between eras of free trade and eras of protection. Progress is uniform through them all. Is the conclusion then that the tariff policy is merely *brutum fulmen*? By no means. We cannot know what would have happened without protection during a given period, and suppositions contrary to fact are not instructive. The different effects of tariffs on different countries at the same time lead one to infer that they are quite subjective phenomena, and that in different periods taken as wholes they may also be of quite different importance. Tariffs are a part of the general attitude of mind of the producing class. In some periods national industry calls for segregation, integration, and the development of national capitals, methods, processes, and organization; at other times it claims a free intercourse by virtue of which the attainments of the period of isolation—the above-mentioned processes, etc.—may be exchanged, compared, and enjoyed in common, with the result of a general leveling of economic differences, opportunities, values, and sources. This process of alternate isolation and congregation is so utterly natural and truly biological as to claim all the probability that may attach to reasoning by analogy. The tariff is then a condition of progress in so far as it is a part of the institutional or subjective environment of its period.

Naturally, again, the period of protection is also the period of expansion. It is when a nationality is not sure of itself, when it is seeking to include new territory and amalgamate a new population with the nation, that it would naturally embrace protectionism as a means of consolidation. We thus arrive at the double principle that *periods of expansion and protection coincide*, and on the other hand that *periods of non-expansion and free trade coincide*; and again, that *in both periods the world's wealth goes on increasing with little change*; while the competitive fortunes of nations vary as much in one period as the other.

The outlook then is for a continuance of the protectionist era so long as expansion continues to be an active political principle. The fact that the United States has always been in a condition of active expansion has kept it constantly in the protectionist line, so that it has reflected less than other nations the cosmopolitan alternations of free trade and protection.

INDUSTRIAL CAUSES AFFECTING AMERICAN COMMERCIAL POLICY SINCE CIVIL WAR

The public is familiar with the statement that the present tariff policy of the United States is a legacy of the Civil War; that the high protective schedules now in use are substantially the same as those then adopted; and further, that these schedules, put into operation, as they were, to meet a great fiscal emergency, have been continued ever since that emergency passed, without either fiscal or economic justification. In the discussion which follows, only the last of these points is to be considered, viz.: the economic or industrial causes for the continuance of the high tariff schedules imposed during the Civil War. Or, since the tariff policy is only a part of a larger theme which is both fiscal and commercial, it is desired to approach this larger theme from the commercial side, as stated in the title of this paper. Stated more fully, the question proposed for investigation is as follows: What are the industrial or economic causes which have influenced, or which, from the nature of the case, should have influenced, the commercial policy of the United States during the last half century—a policy whose most characteristic expression is to be found in its tariff schedule?

The commercial policy of the United States, throughout the greater part of its history, may be summarized as a fostering of the *home market* and a comparative indifference toward the foreign. Why this has been so is a matter of common information. It was inevitable from the beginning that a country resourceful in raw materials would not long continue to ship those materials across an ocean 3,000 miles away, and back again, before they could be consumed as merchantable goods. Sooner or later the factories were bound to migrate to this side of the Atlantic, just as they are still migrating within the country whenever called to do so by the demands of the market. Naturally enough, political aid was summoned to *hasten* this immigration, and thus the commercial policy was established which still continues.

The elements of a market, then, may be stated as: First, a community producing raw materials; second, a community which

changes these into finished products—both of which are in turn consumers of these products; and third, the minimum cost of transportation between them. The natural tendency, other things being the same, is for the second element to seek the first and thus to continually reduce the third. As long as these are not threatened with over-production the foreign market is a matter of indifference. Therefore, as long as the American producer, whether of raw materials or of manufactured products, can find a market for his wares at home, it is evident that the fostering of the home market, even at the expense of the foreign, is wise commercial policy, provided that the fostering doesn't cost too much. So far as to the commercial policy.

The Civil War marks the beginning, for the United States at least, of an industrial revolution second only in importance to the Industrial Revolution in England which preceded it just one hundred years. The earlier revolution has been characterized in its first phase as the triumph of the machine over hand tools in production, the growth of the factory system; the second phase as the triumph of the machine in transportation, the growth of the railway system. The later industrial revolution has been characterized as the triumph of the machine in business organization and management—the corporation; but this fails to take note of other industrial changes of the same epoch which do not fall within that category.

There are two principal changes which are associated with this epoch, although they have no causal connection with the Civil War; namely, the development of the Middle West, the great food-producing section, and the development of the means of transportation from this to the manufacturing centers. A third principal result, growing out of the Civil War, was the abolition of slave labor in the South. Around these three changes may be grouped by far the greater part of those industrial causes which have influenced our commercial policy since that time. Let us notice them somewhat in detail.

The development of the Middle West had been going on for several decades. The migration of population from eastern State to western was but little affected by the great struggle of the sixties, and the soldiers' claims and homestead acts drew many a family into unsettled regions immediately after its close, so that

by 1870, more than the normal increase of population per square mile is recorded for that decade.

Again, the war called the able-bodied men to the front. Who were left to take care of the fields? The scarcity of labor must inevitably have called women into the field, had not invention come to the rescue. It will be remembered that it was just at this time so many improvements were made in farming machinery, the improved plow, the corn-planter, grain drill, cultivator, and greatest of all in its labor-saving power, the reaper and mower. With the disbanding of the army, the opening up of new lands, and with the placing of improved machinery into the hands of competent men, the production of cereals and other crops was vastly augmented. It is not too much to say that a farmer of the present day, by means of his modern machinery and implements, can manage from three to six times as many acres as he did in the days of the reap-hook, scythe and flail. This means the augmentation of production in the same ratio. The significance of these statements is seen in the following table from the United States Census Report of 1900 (Vol. VI, p. 23):

Total Production of Corn in Bushels, and Increase, and Per Cent of Increase, by Decades—Summary, 1850-1900.

Census Year.	Total Production.	Increase in Decade.	Per Cent of Increase.
1900	2,666,440,279	544,112,732	25.6
1890	2,122,327,547	367,735,871	21.0
1880	1,754,591,676	993,647,127	130.6
1870	760,944,549	¹ 77,848,193	¹ 9.3
1860	838,792,742	246,721,638	41.7
1850	592,071,104	.....	.....

Thus it appears that corn, the most valuable of the cereal crops, and the most characteristic of our best agricultural region, increased in production in the decade preceding the war 41.7 per cent, suffered a decrease of 9.3 per cent during the war, and from '70 to '80 made the enormous gain of 130.6 per cent. The decrease of 9.3 per cent during the war is surprisingly small when the amount of labor necessary for its culture is taken into consid-

¹ Decrease.

eration, and this fact together with the increase of the following decade shows what strides were being made just at this time in the settlement of the country and the invention of machinery for increasing production. It might seem, from the commercial viewpoint, that the agricultural products are relatively of much less importance than the mineral, since the railway ton mileage of the latter was 52.59 per cent of one year's traffic, while during the same year the ton mileage of agricultural products amounted to only 13.22 per cent for the whole country. But ton-mileage, it need hardly be said, does not express value, and is therefore no index of the relative commercial importance of commodities.

It will be assumed that enough has been said to show that the production of raw materials, which was necessarily retarded during the Civil War, went forward thereafter with an acceleration which was due to something more than the temporary stoppage occasioned by the war. Increased production, however, results simply in the reduction of prices, unless the surplus product can find a larger market. To find a larger market it is necessary that the cost of transportation be low enough. Before the days of railroads nothing but a limited market was possible. With them came the possibility of reaching a world market and good prices. Now, what were the transportation facilities prior to and immediately succeeding the Civil War?

In 1830 there were 23 miles of railway in the United States.

1840	2,818	1880	93,296
1850	9,021	1890	163,597
1860	30,635	1900	193,346
1870	59,914		

The comparatively slow progress from 1840 to 1850 was followed by a very rapid increase in mileage in the next decade, due, in part, to the discovery of gold in California. Again, with the close of the war and the largely increased agricultural production, there followed another period of a rapid increase of mileage from 1867 to 1873, an increase which was largely responsible for the business depression that followed.² By this time the main lines of railway had been laid down and the thoroughfares of traffic established.

But the freight rates were still too high to allow low-grade freight to travel far to market. It was about at this juncture,

² See "American Railway Transportation," p. 27, E. R. Johnson.

early in the seventies, that another great advance was made in railway improvement, second in importance, perhaps, only to the invention of the locomotive itself. This was the substitution of the steel for the iron rail, made possible both by the perfection of the process of manufacture and by lowering the cost of production. The significance of this improvement is that it permits the indefinite increase of the train load, so far as the track is concerned, whereas the iron rail would bear but a limited burden. The increase in the train load means a vast saving in the cost of transportation, since it decreases the relative proportion of dead freight. Hence the decline in average freight earnings from \$1.77 per ton mile in 1872 to \$1.10 in 1882, and to 72.9 cents in 1900, has enormously increased the world's commerce by making it possible for the traffic to move. In 1868 it cost 30.49 cents to send a bushel of wheat from Chicago to New York by the "all rail" route, ten years later 17.56 cents, ten years later 14.5 cents, and in 1898 11.55 cents.

Let us dwell for a moment upon the significance of these two events, which, in their approximate coincidence, are enough in themselves to mark an industrial transition of revolutionary importance. On the one hand, a vast region of unsurpassed resources, the population a nation not only of good producers, but of large consumers as well, having the tastes and desires that go with a high standard of living, and the means to gratify them. On the other hand, the railway, regarded originally as a mere handmaid to canal transportation, outrun at first by the population, it may be said to have caught up with it and passed it eventually, stretching clear across the continent, with the Civil War about central in point of time to the period of its greatest achievements. Then again, emerging from the Civil War, the network of railways still incomplete, the steel rail makes its appearance in the early seventies, freight rates decline in spite of pools and agreements, and the impetus given to commerce is mighty.

The lowering of transportation to the seaboard, in fact, had several important results. In the first place the Western farmer could now raise grain for the European market to an unprecedented extent. Thus in 1867 only about $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the entire wheat crop was exported. This increased to over 20 per cent in 1870 and over 40 per cent in 1880. Another

important result was that with a large amount of inland produce thus laid down at our seaports—just the kind of commodities that Europe most wanted—a large ocean trade was inevitable. This in turn, reacting upon the ocean carrying trade, was influential, together with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, in the further improvement of ocean transportation, and the further reduction of freight rates. This improvement is seen in the substitution of steam for sailing vessels, the improvement of the marine engine, the consequent shortening of the time and expense of transit, and the establishment of numerous additional transatlantic liners. A third result, consequent upon the foregoing and more immediate in its bearing upon this investigation, was that the cheapening of land and ocean transportation gave foreign goods a much easier access to our markets. Moreover, since the home demand for raw products could by no means keep pace with production, the sale of our raw products in foreign markets created a counter-demand for foreign goods. With a low tariff, such as preceded the Civil War, there is no question as to what would have become of the home market. Undoubtedly the continuance of the high tariff schedules alone saved it to the home manufacturer. Here, then, we have a series of industrial causes which were influential in continuing the high schedules previously adopted on fiscal grounds. It is evident at the same time that the fostering of the home market had comparatively little interest for the producers of raw materials, whose surplus commodities must needs find a foreign market. They might well ask themselves whether or not they were paying too high a price for it.

Among the producers of raw materials the people of the South are no less to be mentioned than those of the West. Natural conditions would have made the commercial interests of the two sections identical, but slavery changed it all. Because of slavery, immigration passed by to the North and West. For the same reason the white population of the South, which was not too poor to migrate, or not too well established to care to, was also moving to a territory of free competition in labor. Manufacturing and other diversified industries could not flourish in a society based on slavery. With the freeing of the slaves the South found herself almost destitute of white laborers, for whom the freed blacks were by no means an economic equivalent. An industrial as well as

a political reconstruction was needed. The slow recovery from the devastation and chaos resulting from the war is evidenced by the fact that the cotton crop, the most representative of Southern industries, did not reach the figures for 1860 for nearly twenty years thereafter.

It has been shown above that with the development of the Middle West and the lowering of the cost of transportation, the surplus product found a foreign market, and the relative importance of the home market to the Western farmer declined. With the Southern farmer the same was true in a much greater degree. The foreign demand for cotton has usually taken from 60 to 75 per cent of the entire crop. Likewise the foreign demand for tobacco is greater than the home demand. Thus, if the Western farmer had reason to question the expediency of fostering the home market any longer, the Southern farmer had much more. Evidently, the defense of the home market had to be shifted entirely upon the manufacturing industries.

“The growth of the manufacturing industries of the United States since 1860,” to quote from a well-known³ writer, “has been so extensive and varied that it is difficult to select the industry, or group of industries, that forms the most striking feature of the period.” The census for 1900 gives the capital employed in manufacture as follows:

1850	\$533,245,351	Per Cent of Increase from	
1860	1,009,855,715	1850 to 1860	89.4
1870	2,118,208,769	1860 to 1870	109.8
1880	2,790,272,606	1870 to 1880	31.7
1890	6,525,156,486	1880 to 1890	133.9
1900	9,835,086,909	1890 to 1900	50.7

Thus the amount of capital invested in manufacturing increased ninefold in the last forty years of the century. Manufactured products likewise show a continuous, though by no means uniform increase, viz.:

1850 to 1860	85.1 per cent.
1860 to 1870	124.4 “ “
1870 to 1880	26.9 “ “
1880 to 1890	74.5 “ “
1890 to 1900	38.9 “ “

³Carroll D. Wright, “Industrial Evolution of the United States,” p. 159.

A comparison of the agricultural and the manufacturing interests in the matter of magnitude shows that the total value of all farm property in 1900 was more than twice as great as the total amount of capital invested in manufacturing. In the relative growth of the two classes of industry the range of per cents for the successive decades is higher for manufacturing than for agriculture, showing that the former may be expected to surpass the latter in the not distant future in the amount of capital it represents. Compared as to the relative value of exports, manufacturing again shows an almost constant percentage increase over those of all the extractive industries, including agriculture, mining, forestry, fisheries, and miscellaneous; *e. g.*:

	Extractive Industries.	Manufacturing Industries.
1860.....	87.24	12.76
1870.....	85.	15.
1880.....	87.52	12.48
1890.....	82.13	17.87
1900.....	68.35	31.65

Thus the ratio of exports of manufactured to unmanufactured products has gone up from about one-eighth in 1850 to nearly one-third in 1900, the last decade showing an increase more than twice greater than any preceding.

The shifting of industries within the United States is another cause which is likely to affect our commercial policy. The center of manufacturing has advanced steadily westward from a point a little east of the center of Pennsylvania in 1850 to a corresponding point near the center of Ohio in 1900. The progress has been by no means uniform, but in the last half century it has gained upon the advancing center of population, and at the present rate it bids fair, in time, to overtake it. Now how is this likely to affect our commercial policy? It would be rash to predict; but it is evident that the sectional support of the policy of protection is liable to be considerably affected. Whether the Eastern manufacturer will still find protection advantageous to his interests will depend largely upon whether the Western manufacturer is a stronger rival than the foreigner, or otherwise. On the contrary, both the Western farmer and the Western manufacturer can better afford to be indifferent upon the subject, the main consideration

being the finding of a market on favorable terms: for manufacture as well as protection will ultimately be carried on at the greatest advantage in the West, because of the reduction of the cost of transportation to a minimum. This will apply, at least, to the manufactures of the products of that section.

Similar to this is the beginning during the last twenty years of the migration of cotton manufacturing toward the South. The immediate effect of this movement is to create a local demand for the protection of that group of industries, a demand, however, which is not likely to make itself heard politically because it is coupled politically with the question of race dominance. The ultimate effect, should the movement continue, will probably be to lessen this initial demand, since the supply of cotton fabrics will far exceed the needs of the home market.

The relative increase of the manufacturing over the extractive industries, as shown in the capital invested as well as in the products exported, may be regarded by some as a cause and by others as a result of our commercial policy. More likely it is something of both. Still more likely is it that the manufacturing interests would have increased more rapidly than the extractive, either with or without the stimulus of Federal aid in the shape of a tariff. However, it is hardly to be doubted that our commercial policy has hastened the development of manufactures, granting that it has done no more. The degree to which it has hastened them, the economic gain by so doing, the cost of the hastening process, and the ultimate expediency of it all, are topics which call for a descent into detail, a careful study of specific industries and a compilation of results such as lies beyond the bounds of our present inquiry. Moreover, it is not the *results* of our commercial policy, but its *causes*, that especially concern us.

The industrial causes which have influenced our commercial policy since the Civil War have been pointed out (with the greatest brevity) under the heads of production, transportation, manufacture and the shifting of industries. Another cause, of growing importance, remains to be noticed, namely: the great development of the corporation in the United States.

The corporation is not a new creature. In point of magnitude and importance, however, its large growth in this country but little antedates the seventies. Up to that date the question with

the people was how to get railroads built; with the railroads the question was how to control the territory. The answer to both was the development of the corporation. The success of the corporation in railway management led to its spread over the whole industrial field, except such industries as are necessarily local.

Now the significance of the great development of the corporation in America to our commercial policy is apparent in several ways: First, as affecting prices, both by means of the economy of large-scale production, and by means of monopoly control of prices; and second, as affecting our ability to compete in the foreign market and the counter-effect of this competition in the shape of retaliatory legislation. With regard to our ability to compete in the foreign market in manufactured products the facts have already been pointed out. It needs to be added that this growth of manufactured exports has been coincident with the spread of American corporate enterprises. Of the four hundred million dollars received for exports of such goods in 1900, more than one-fourth was for "iron and steel and manufactures of, not including ore"—an increase of over 377 per cent during the decade—and more than one-half was for steel, mineral oil, copper and leather in the order named, all now controlled by corporations, and mostly developed by corporations. It is idle in accounting for this to neglect the fact of corporate production as a prime element in American commercial expansion. It is this power of the corporation in commerce and industry no less than the ingenuity and skill of the workman that has aroused the apprehensions of other countries. Moreover, the corporation has not yet reached the limit of its powers. What it has done in the association under one control of a whole group of related industries it may yet accomplish in international trade.

The principal outcome of the development of the large corporation as affecting our commercial policy is the demonstration of the fact that we have reached the point where the home market must yield something to the demands of the foreign market; or, in other words, when protective duties should be removed or reduced, whenever we may thereby gain access to other markets, or, by the same act, destroy monopoly control of price in the home market. The utility of protection as a part of our commercial policy in hastening the establishment of industries may be readily granted, provided, as was said before, that it does not cost too

much. But that utility has certainly ceased when the protected industry is able to say what the price shall be in the home market. It was wise commercial policy that dictated the protection of steel rails, and thus hastened the establishment of their manufacture here, the consequent cheapening of transportation and the great advancement of the country. It involves no surrender of the principle of protection, and but manifests a judicious employment of the policy, to refuse it whenever the commodity is sold at a lower price in a foreign market than at home.

Such, then, are the industrial causes in the main, which have influenced the commercial policy of the United States since the Civil War, or which, in the case of the corporation, may reasonably be expected to influence it fundamentally. To prove a causal connection it would be necessary to refer to the reports of the various Ways and Means committees, the testimony heard before them and the reports of the special commissions to investigate the tariff. So far as any causal relation may be discovered as existing between an industrial phenomenon and a commercial phenomenon as reflected in the tariff policy, it may be rather hazardous to assume that such relation was recognized and acted upon by those responsible for our tariff policy. But those who speak of "purely political motives" as responsible for the continuance of the war tariff should remember that back of every political motive is usually to be found an economic or industrial cause, and that as a consequence it is no condemnation of the tariff policy of the last forty years to say that it rests upon "political justification." It is getting much nearer the center of the discussion to assume the industrial causes as antecedent to the political, and to inquire how far these were local and how far national in their bearing. An investigation of the material presented by and before the Committee of Ways and Means makes clear one fact in particular: namely, that local causes and interests predominate and that national interests are approximated by the most judicious harmonizing of local interests that it is possible to bring about. It is easy to criticise such a method, but this does not condemn the purpose, and the injustice which has inevitably resulted is traceable to the crudity of the political machinery rather than to the policy attempted. The time is ripe for another tariff commission similar to that of 1882.

To sum up what has been said, the main conclusions are as follows: 1. The Civil War was a period of industrial revolution, the chief events of which were the development of the Middle West, the improvement of transportation, and the abolition of slave labor.

2. These causes made it impossible to hold the home market for the home manufacturer except by means of a high tariff. Granting the desirability of doing so, the high revenue tariff was wisely retained on commercial grounds.

3. The shifting of industries within the United States does not lead to a belief in the permanence of the policy of protecting the home market, except as against counter tariff regulations.

4. The phenomenal development of the large corporation in the United States has introduced economies in production that should obviate the necessity for protection except so far as may be necessary to meet counter-propositions from other countries. In other words, production has so far outrun consumption, both for the farmer and the manufacturer, that each needs a larger market than the whole country is able to give.

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RECIPROCITY IN THE AMERICAN TARIFF SYSTEM

The impression seems to prevail in some quarters that the cause of reciprocity, as a national policy, has been discredited and discouraged for many years to come by reason of the failure of the United States Senate to act favorably upon the several treaties negotiated and signed in 1899 and 1900, in accordance with the provisions of Section 4 of the Dingley tariff. These treaties, eleven in number and popularly called the Kasson treaties, were submitted to the Senate in the 56th, and again in the 57th Congress, and, although repeatedly renewed with respect to their exchange periods, have finally lapsed and are now of little interest to any one but the historian.

In so far as the reciprocity principle was outlined in and represented by these treaties, the view referred to respecting the status of the policy is not without some justification; but, on the other hand, our experience with reciprocity since 1897 has been far from unfruitful and discouraging for the future. In the first place, the people of the United States are distinctly favorable to the principle of reciprocity, and desire to see it applied whenever and wherever possible without injury to the best interests of domestic labor and capital, and without interference with our national revenue policy. President Roosevelt has earnestly commended the policy and clearly laid down the rules for its proper application in harmony with our established tariff system, repeatedly approved by the suffrages of the people. The Republican party, in its platform adopted in national convention in 1892, and again in 1896, and a third time in 1900, committed itself to this policy, and the leading statesmen of that party continue to advocate its judicious application.

The reciprocity negotiations initiated by the late President McKinley, in accordance with the Dingley tariff, have not resulted in the complete failure that many persons apprehend. It is true that the work under the fourth section has been without avail, but, on the other hand, the four commercial agreements concluded in 1898-1900 by authorization of Section 3 of the same tariff act, and put into operation by the proclamation of the President, without recourse to the Senate, represent a successful and interesting test of the reciprocity principle.

There has been complete continuity of policy pursued by the

administration in respect to this great question ever since the opening of negotiations for reciprocity in 1897. Everything within the traditional bounds of official propriety has been done by the executive branch of the Government to give effect to the statutory provisions looking to reciprocity arrangements contained in the tariff act of July 24, 1897. At the request of the interested governments, the treaties concluded under Section 4 were kept alive by the signature of supplementary conventions extending the respective periods for exchange of ratifications, in some cases as many as four times. Diplomatic arrangements were also made for the inclusion of the trade of Porto Rico in the commercial advantages secured to the United States by the agreements under Section 3. Furthermore, two important treaties giving further extension to the reciprocity policy have been concluded under the general treaty-making power, one with Cuba, already adopted, and the other with Great Britain on behalf of Newfoundland, still pending in the Senate.

The consistent attitude of the administration in these matters has created a most favorable impression in foreign capitals, and, in my opinion, has contributed largely in preventing international resentment and measures of retaliation against American trade in consequence of the high rates of the Dingley tariff. It is true that at the present time a strong protectionist movement prevails in Europe, and even threatens to control the tariff legislation in free-trade strongholds like the United Kingdom and the Netherlands; but if this movement is actuated and encouraged by any one trans-Atlantic influence more than another, it is the acknowledged success of the American system of high protection. The statesmen of Europe have come to recognize that the wonderful industrial and commercial prosperity of the United States has been firmly built upon the protective tariff system, and, consequently, in the recent revision of their own tariffs this idea has prevailed. There have been, it is true, two or three isolated instances of obviously retaliatory action against American trade, but the situation is far better than was predicted a few years ago.

It will be convenient to classify reciprocity arrangements under two heads, (1) the perfected reciprocity treaties and agreements, and (2) the unperfected, that is, those which, although formally concluded (in the diplomatic sense), have failed of final adoption.

Perfected Reciprocity Treaties and Agreements of the United States.

I. PERFECTED TREATIES.

Administration.	Concluded with	Signed	Went into Effect	Terminated
Pierce	Great Britain for British Possessions in North America. (Marcy-Elgin Treaty.)	June 5, 1854	March 16, 1855	March 17, 1866.
Grant	Hawaiian Islands (Fish-Allen and Carter Treaty.)	January 30, 1875	September 9, 1876	Virtually by annexation, July 6, 1898; but customs features operative until April 30, 1900 do.
Arthur	Hawaiian Islands (Frelinghuysen - Carter Treaty.)	December 6, 1884	November 9, 1887	
Roosevelt	Cuba (Bliss-Zaldo and Montes Treaty.)	December 11, 1902	December 27, 1903	In force.

II. PERFECTED AGREEMENTS.

Administration.	With	Concluded	Proclaimed	Effective	Terminated
Harrison . . .	Brazil	Jan. 31, 1891	Feb. 5, 1891	April 1, 1891	All practically abrogated by provisions of U. S. Tariff Act of August 27, 1894.
Harrison . . .	Dominican Republic	June 4, 1891	Aug. 1, 1891	Sept. 1, 1891	
Harrison . . .	Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico.	June 16, 1891	Aug. 1, 1891	Sept. 1, 1891	
Harrison . . .	Salvador	Dec. 30, 1891	Dec. 31, 1891	Feb. 1, 1892	
Harrison . . .	Germany	Jan. 30, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	
Harrison . . .	Great Britain for Barbados, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad (including Tobago), Windward Islands (excepting Grenada) and British Guiana.	Feb. 1, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	
Harrison . . .	Nicaragua	March 11, 1892	March 12, 1892	March 12, 1892	
Harrison . . .	Honduras	April 29, 1892	April 30, 1892	May 25, 1892	
Harrison . . .	Guatemala	Dec. 30, 1891	May 18, 1892	May 30, 1892	
Harrison . . .	Austria-Hungary	May 25, 1892	May 26, 1892	May 26, 1892	
McKinley . . .	France	May 28, 1898	May 30, 1898	June 1, 1898	In force.
McKinley . . .	Portugal (including Azores and Madeira Islands).	May 22, 1899	June 12, 1900	June 12, 1900	In force.
McKinley . . .	Germany	July 10, 1900	July 13, 1900	July 13, 1900	In force.
McKinley . . .	Italy	Feb. 8, 1900	July 18, 1900	July 18, 1900	In force.
Roosevelt . . .	France (Porto Rican trade, etc.).	Aug. 20, 1902	Aug. 22, 1902	Aug. 22, 1902	In force.

Our Experience with Reciprocity with Canada.

The Marcy-Elgin treaty of 1854, which regulated our reciprocal commercial relations with the British North American provinces now composing the Dominion of Canada, besides the independent colony of Newfoundland, is noteworthy as being the first instance of the successful adoption by the United States of the reciprocity principle in treaty form. It established limited free trade in natural products between the two countries, the conventional list (identical on both sides) including 28 articles or classes of articles, the produce of the farm, forest, mine, and fisheries. It also provided for liberal fishing privileges for American fishermen and mutual transportation rights.

This treaty was in actual operation, as respects its customs features, during a period of exactly eleven years. It was terminated March 17, 1866, having been denounced by the United States one year previously in compliance with an act of Congress. The value of the reciprocal arrangement to this country has long been the subject of much discussion and radical difference of opinion. At the outset it was certainly beneficial to both contracting parties, but as time progressed the preponderance of commercial advantage was heavily in favor of Canada. There are several important reasons for this result. In the first place, the outbreak of the great Civil War created a most serious disturbance in the activities of our foreign trade, exports being speedily curtailed and the home consumption increased. Another disturbing factor was the unexpected action of the Canadian provinces in studiously and repeatedly increasing their import duties on manufactured goods, which commodities were, in strictness, outside the operation of the treaty, although perhaps within the spirit of its preamble and the intention of the negotiators. As a result, American exports to Canada in those lines steadily fell off; this situation was regarded at the time as wholly unwarranted and inequitable on the part of the Canadians, who were profiting so extensively by the treaty itself, and, in my opinion, it contributed not a little to the adverse attitude taken by Congress on the question of either renewing or modifying the treaty. But, of course, the circumstance, or rather series of circumstances, that particularly fired the popular indignation and opposition in this country was the

sympathy and assistance extended in Canada to Confederate refugees in their hostile movements along the border during the war. The abrogation of the treaty is usually ascribed to the just anger of our people on that account, and, in a lesser degree, to the unsatisfactory economic operation of the treaty. Still another sensible reason for the abandonment of the treaty—and one that has been almost entirely lost sight of by writers on this subject—was that the Government of the United States, at the close of the Civil War, was obliged to retrench expenditures and husband its revenues in every possible quarter; the special free list so long extended to Canada offered a resource for sorely needed revenue, and the opportunity was improved by Congress; the conventional notice of one year was given to the other high contracting party, and the treaty came to an end as stated.

So many factors enter into the matter that it is difficult, if not impossible, to satisfactorily demonstrate the influence of the treaty of 1854 by means of statistics. Without it, the trade would undoubtedly have increased to some extent, owing to the increase of population and industrial development, especially in the United States, besides the establishment of improved facilities of transportation. At any rate, in the earlier years of the reciprocal period there was a larger percentage of increase in the commercial movement between the two countries than at any time since 1820. The total exports of merchandise from this country to the North American provinces, in the fiscal year 1852-53, amounted in value to \$12,400,000, while our corresponding imports from that source were only \$6,500,000. The very next year the United States exports jumped to \$24,000,000 and the imports to \$8,800,000. In 1855 the figures were, exports \$27,700,000 and imports \$15,000,000; in 1856, exports \$29,000,000 and imports \$21,000,000. The last mentioned year witnessed the high-water mark of our exports to Canada under the treaty, while our imports from there rose in 1866, the last year of the reciprocal period, to the unprecedented figure of more than \$48,000,000. During the first half of the treaty period, therefore, the balance of trade was in favor of the United States, but in the closing years it had shifted in favor of Canada.

Earnest efforts, repeatedly renewed, have been made by the Canadians since 1866 to re-establish reciprocal relations between the two countries, but without avail. More than once the Liberal

party of Canada has gone to the polls with the pledge to accomplish this much-coveted result.

The unsuccessful efforts of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission of 1898-99 to reach an agreement upon the subject of commercial reciprocity, as well as upon any of the numerous other questions of difference submitted to its consideration, are fresh in mind. Many persons believe that a special arrangement satisfactory to both countries might have been made by that distinguished body, six plenipotentiaries on either side, had it not been for the determined position taken by the Canadian members, who insisted upon reaching an agreement upon all the twelve topics, including the Alaskan boundary dispute, before definitely disposing of any particular subject.

The happy removal of the question of the Alaskan boundary from the list of existing commercial differences would, therefore, seem to have eliminated a serious obstacle to a new reciprocity treaty. The outlook for Canadian reciprocity is therefore hopeful.

Reciprocity with Hawaii.

Our reciprocity treaty of 1875 with the Hawaiian Islands, signed by Secretary Fish, occupies an exceptional place in the history of the policy, inasmuch as its conclusion was dictated, on the part of the United States, by serious considerations of state rather than by purely economic motives. The superior rights and interests of this country in the islands had long foreshadowed ultimate annexation, and the treaty not only furnished an additional safeguard to Hawaii against possible aggressions by foreign powers, but it also gave to her principal product, raw sugar, an exclusive and effective commercial advantage in the vast market of the United States.

The treaty of 1875 virtually established free trade between the United States and Hawaii, the raw sugar and other natural products of the islands being granted free entry into the United States in return for like treatment by Hawaii of a long list of miscellaneous American products, practically comprehending the entire trade as it then existed. Hawaii also agreed not to lease or otherwise dispose of any port, harbor, or territory, or grant to any other nation the same privileges secured in the treaty to the United States.

This treaty was renewed in 1884 by a supplementary treaty, signed by Secretary Frelinghuysen, wherein Hawaii granted to the United States the exclusive right to establish a coaling station in Pearl Harbor, a valuable strategic advantage to this country. Besides the paramount considerations of national statecraft,—the security of the extensive American interests in the islands, the guaranty afforded against foreign encroachments, and the strategic value of a coaling station for the navy in its operations in the Pacific,—the treaty, in the end, was economically beneficial to the United States, for the preferential free admission of the crude sugar of Hawaii led to the establishment of the refining industry in California and built up the prosperity of the islands in which the entire United States now has equal interest. It is a noteworthy fact that for several years prior to annexation the United States took about 92 per cent of the entire exports of the Hawaiian Islands and in return furnished about 78 per cent of their total imports.

The Reciprocity Treaty with Cuba.

The recent adoption by the United States of the reciprocity treaty with the Cuban republic, signed at Havana on December 11, 1902, opens up an encouraging outlook for our export trade in miscellaneous manufactured commodities and food products.

The estimated remission in our revenues hitherto derived from Cuban sugar is considerable, but this objection is properly overborne not only by the dictates of the national sense of duty to Cuba, which under the Spanish regime (bad as it was), enjoyed a profitable and preferential market in the mother country, which is now largely lost, but also by the prospective value of the liberal preferential tariff concessions made by the young republic to our diversified export interests.

By the treaty just put into effect the United States grants a reduction of 20 per cent of the regular tariff duties upon all dutiable imports from Cuba. Reciprocally, that country agrees to admit at reductions of 25, 30, and 40 per cent of the regular duties, respectively, the articles of United States production enumerated in three schedules, while all remaining dutiable articles are to be admitted at a reduction of 20 per cent. The existing free lists of

the two countries are mutually bound during the term of the treaty, which is five years.

A most important fact for the development of American trade interests in the island is that the duty reductions of 20 to 40 per cent stipulated by Cuba must remain "*preferential in respect to all like imports from other countries*" during the treaty period. Such important tariff advantages, which are to be exclusively enjoyed by American exporters, should surely enable our trade in the island to expand enormously, and, while we now supply Cuba with less than half of what she buys abroad, we should soon, thanks to the treaty, virtually control the entire market.

In the calendar year 1902 Cuba imported goods to the value of 60 million dollars, of which the United States furnished 25 millions, or only 42 per cent—a poor showing, considering geographical advantages. The treaty should enable us to double this percentage. On the other hand, in the same year Cuba exported to the world goods to the value of 64 million dollars, of which 9 millions, or 77 per cent, was taken by the United States. The remission by this country of one-fifth of the Dingley duties on Cuban sugar and tobacco will materially benefit the producers on the island of those articles, but this is precisely what we should desire. If Cuba flourishes as never before, her prosperity will react in our favor inasmuch as she will need more goods from abroad, and will be able to buy more, and our preferential tariff treatment in her market will give us the control. For these reasons it is evident that our new Cuban treaty is a well-balanced contract from a purely economic viewpoint, justly redounding to the credit of the present administration and fulfilling the earnest hopes of the late President McKinley in respect to our commercial treatment of Cuba.

Reciprocity Under Section 3, Tariff of 1890.

All the commercial agreements made under the Harrison administration were negotiated and put into effect by Presidential proclamation under the provisions of Section 3 of the Tariff Act of 1890. That section, incorporated in the law following the suggestions of Secretary Blaine, was very simple. With the view of securing beneficial reciprocal relations with countries producing and exporting to the United States raw sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and

hides,—all which articles had been placed on the free list of the tariff—the President was authorized to suspend their free entry whenever such countries imposed unreasonable duties upon American products, and thereupon certain duties specified in this section should be collected upon the enumerated articles. It was reciprocity by indirection, being a declaration to the countries concerned that the United States would expect fair and reciprocal tariff treatment for its products in their markets, and the legislative threat of retaliation was the effective leverage.

The commercial agreements concluded under the tariff of 1890 were skilfully negotiated, on the part of the United States, by Secretary Blaine, with the able assistance of Mr. John W. Foster. In return for the simple guaranty of the retention upon our free list of sugar and the other enumerated articles, important tariff advantages were secured in behalf of American trade in the contracting countries. For example, Brazil agreed to admit free of duty a list of important products, including wheat, flour, pork, fish, coal, agricultural and mining machinery, and railway material, and conceded a reduction of 25 per cent in her duties upon another list of articles, including lard, butter, cheese, canned meats, lumber, and cotton goods. The concessions made by the other countries of Latin America were equally liberal; for instance, Cuba granted free entry to 39 classes of articles, a duty-reduction of 50 per cent on 17 classes, and of 25 per cent on 14 classes.

Germany abolished the prohibition of hogs, pork and sausages, an obnoxious measure which had been enforced against American products since the year 1883, notwithstanding the strenuous and persistent efforts of our Legation for its modification or repeal. Germany further conceded to the United States the full benefits of her conventional tariff upon agricultural products as set forth in a series of reciprocity treaties with her neighbors. These valuable commercial concessions were contained in the famous "Saratoga Convention," which, like all the other arrangements under the Act of 1890, was effected by the exchange of diplomatic notes, in this case at Saratoga, N. Y.

Austria-Hungary also guaranteed to the United States her best tariff treatment of imports. A complete repertory of the articles grown or manufactured in the United States that received the benefit of this arrangement embraced nearly 2,000 separate items.

These commercial arrangements were abrogated by the provisions of the Wilson tariff of August 27, 1894, in spite of a saving clause in Section 71, for the reason that sugar—the principal basis of all the agreements—was then made dutiable indiscriminately from the whole world. They were therefore in operation, for the most part, only about three years, 1891-94; the majority scarcely two years. It is not reasonable to demand brilliant results in such a short period, even under favorable general conditions; but, as a matter of fact, the years 1893-94 were notoriously bad for the development of our foreign trade; the country was staggering under a most serious industrial depression, the causes of which were independent of anything connected with the reciprocity movement. Nevertheless, the opponents of the reciprocity policy are fond of pointing out the fact that during the reciprocal period our total exports of merchandise to some—not all, by any means—of the countries of Latin America with which we had entered into arrangements showed little, if any, increase; hence they argue that the reciprocity movement was a failure. Ignoring the influences mentioned, they, of course, ignore the fact that it was largely due to these same reciprocity arrangements that our exporters were able to hold their own and make a good showing, notwithstanding the adverse conditions prevailing at home.

But on the whole the official statistics give evidence of the beneficial effects of reciprocity. For instance, take the total United States exports to the whole of Latin America:

In 1891, before the reciprocal period, they were	\$90,000,000
“ 1893, during “ “ “ “ rose to	103,000,000
“ 1895, after “ “ “ “ fell to	88,000,000

Or, take the experience with Cuba:

In 1891, our exports of merchandise amounted to	\$12,200,000
“ 1893, “ “ “ “ rose to	24,150,000
“ 1895, “ “ “ “ fell to	12,800,000

The milling industry of the United States, of paramount importance in our national industrial economy, was benefited immensely, particularly in the markets of Cuba, Brazil, and Germany.

In 1891, total U. S. exports of flour were	11,300,000	bbls.
“ 1892, “ “ “ “ “ “	15,200,000	“
“ 1893, “ “ “ “ “ “	16,600,000	“
“ 1894, “ “ “ “ “ “	16,800,000	“
“ 1895, “ “ “ “ “ “	15,200,000	“

It was officially stated that during the reciprocal period, Spanish flour was almost completely driven out of the Cuban market, and everywhere the American gains in trade represented a corresponding displacement of European products. When we consider that all this happened in the midst of an era of industrial stagnation, trade discouragement and uncertainty, it is wonderful that the results were so favorable.

Brilliant as was the conception of this our first legislative expression looking to the general application of the policy of reciprocity, and beneficial and satisfactory as were the results attained on behalf of our foreign commerce during the brief life of the several arrangements concluded thereunder, the scheme, from an academic point of view at least, is open to one criticism, — instead of retaliation being made the impelling force, the hope of preferential treatment (not, however, excluding to all others the right of identity of treatment) should have been held out as the inducement to candidates for reciprocity. In other words, the articles sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, should have been made dutiable, and the President authorized, in the reciprocity section, to admit them free by proclamation, when imported from those countries which extended fair and reciprocal tariff treatment to American goods. Indeed, this was the original idea of Secretary Blaine, as expressed in his letters to the framers of the McKinley tariff and, by implication, embodied tentatively in an amendment to the then pending bill, drawn by himself and introduced in the Senate by Senator Hale on June 19, 1890. If Section 3 of that tariff had been drawn upon the lines referred to, it is probable that the results would have been even more beneficial, although, as I have stated, there is no room for reasonable criticism on this score. At any rate, it is probable that the responses on the part of foreign countries desiring reciprocal relations would have been more numerous. Furthermore, it would have avoided the diplomatic misunderstanding and friction, as well as partial dis-

placement of our established trade, entailed by the legal punishment of Haiti, Venezuela, and Colombia, upon whose raw sugar, etc., President Harrison was obliged to impose the contemplated duties, by proclamation, on March 15, 1892.

The Reciprocity Features of the Dingley Tariff.

The Tariff Act of July 24, 1897, carried the idea of reciprocity to a higher point of development than the tariff of 1890, for it combined the principle of the reciprocity section of the latter law with entirely novel features, contained in Sections 3 and 4. The provisions of Section 4, in which there was a time-limit of two years expressed, have proved abortive; but those of Section 3, with no time-limit, have yielded excellent results and warrant careful consideration.

The plan for the attainment of commercial reciprocity established by the Act of 1897, is the exact antithesis of that of the tariff of 1890. In the present tariff certain dutiable articles of merchandise are selected, and the President is authorized to reduce, by proclamation, the regular duties thereon to definite concessional duties, when imported from countries which grant to the United States reciprocal and equivalent concessions. This scheme contains no suggestion of retaliation, and yet affords strong inducements to countries producing and exporting the enumerated articles to enter into the contemplated reciprocal relations with this country, for the extent of the concessional reductions of duty is material, as will appear in the following table:

Table Showing Tariff Concessions Offered by Section 3, Tariff of 1897.

Enumerated Articles.	General Rate.	Concessional Rate.	Percentage of Reduction.
Argols, or crude tartar or wine lees, crude.	1 to 1½ cent per pound.	5 per cent ad valorem...	Average 70
Brandies, or other spirits manufactured or distilled from grain or other materials	\$2.25 per proof gallon.	\$1.75 per proof gallon.	22 2-10
Champagne and all other sparkling wines, in bottles, containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint . . .	\$8 per dozen	\$6 per dozen	25
Each not more than 1 pint and more than ½ pint.	\$4 per dozen	\$3 per dozen	25
Each ¼ pint or less	\$2 per dozen	\$1.50 per dozen	25
In bottles or other vessels containing more than 1 quart each	\$8 per dozen, plus \$2.50 per gallon on quantities in excess of 1 quart.	\$6 per dozen plus \$1.00 per gallon on quantities in excess of 1 quart.	25
Still Wines, and Vermuth:			
In casks	40 and 50 cents per gallon.	35 cents per gallon . . .	12½ 30
In bottles or jugs, case of 1 dozen bottles or jugs, containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint, or 24 bottles or jugs containing each not more than 1 pint	\$1.60 per case.	\$1.25 per case.	21½
Any excess beyond these quantities found in such bottles or jugs	5 cents per pint or fractional part thereof.	4 cents per pint or fractional part thereof	20
Paintings in oil or water colors, pastels, pen-and-ink drawings, and statuary	20 per cent ad valorem.	15 per cent ad valorem	25

Provisions of the Commercial Agreements under Section 3, Tariff of 1897.¹

Country.	Concessions by U. S.	Concessions to U. S.	Terminable.
France (Operative from June 1, 1898.)	All the authorized concessions, excepting on champagnes and other sparkling wines.	Minimum tariff on canned meats, fresh table fruits, dried or pressed fruits (excluding raisins), logs, timber and lumber, paving blocks, staves, hops, apples and pears crushed or cut and dried, manufactured and prepared pork meats, lard and its compounds.	No term specified.
Germany . . . (Operative from July 13, 1900.)	Do.	Full conventional tariff, as granted to Belgium, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Roumania, Russia, Switzerland, and Servia, by reciprocity treaties of 1891-94 (the Caprivian treaties). Also, annulment of regulations for inspection of American dried and evaporated fruits, on account of San José scale.	Three months' notice.
Italy (Operative from July 18, 1900.)	Do.	Specified low rates (partly actual reductions) on cottonseed oil, pickled or preserved fish, agricultural machinery and parts, scientific instruments, dynamo-electrical machines and parts, sewing machines, and varnishes. Free entry of turpentine oil, natural fertilizers, crude, fresh or dried skins, and fur skins.	One year's notice (originally end of year 1903).
Portugal . . . (Operative from June 12, 1900.)	Same concessions as granted to above countries (excepting on vermouth) and, in addition, contemplated lower rates on sparkling wines (of which practically no imports from Portugal into United States).	Most-favored-nation treatment (Spain and Brazil excepted) of flour or cereals (except wheat), maize and wheat in the grain, lard and grease, mineral oils and certain products, reaping, mowing and threshing machines, machines for compressing hay and straw steam plows and parts, plowshares; instruments, implements and tools for the arts, manufactories, agriculture, and gardening. Specified minimum rates on most of above, including oils, and upon tar and mineral pitch.	June 12, 1905; then one year's notice.

The German Agreement.

The existing reciprocal agreement with Germany, signed at Washington in July, 1900, by Secretary Hay and Ambassador

¹ Switzerland is often included in the list of countries with which agreements under the Act of 1897 have been concluded. This is not exactly correct. By invoking a peculiarly worded most-favored-nation clause in her commercial treaty of 1850 with the United States, Switzerland obtained the benefit of the concessions granted to France for one year prior to March 23, 1900, when the clause in question was terminated at the instance of the United States.

von Holleben, for their respective governments, affords a striking illustration of the success attainable with small assets skilfully used by the American negotiator. In return for the identical concessional reductions which had been granted to France by the agreement of 1898, upon the few rather unimportant articles enumerated in Section 3, excluding sparkling wines, Germany formally conceded to all imports from the United States the full and unqualified benefit of her entire conventional tariff created by the series of reciprocity treaties concluded with her European neighbors during the chancellorship of Count von Caprivi. This assurance of continued equality of tariff treatment for our exports in that market, this guaranty against discrimination in any line of our export trade, so long as the agreement remains in force, is surely a concession of great value. Without the slightest disturbance of our established tariff economy, without injury to a single American industry, without eliciting a single murmur of complaint in this country, and at the expense of a comparatively slight sacrifice in national revenue, Secretary Hay secured for his country the best tariff conditions which Germany offers to imports from any country in the world. In fact, the United States could not improve its present position by the conclusion of an extensive regular treaty of reciprocity, excepting the conditions of denunciation, which it would be to our interest to have fixed, if possible, at a much longer period than upon a notice of three months.

In a political way, too, the happy conclusion of this agreement removed certain causes of irritation previously existing between the two governments, silenced threats of retaliatory action against the United States, and altogether promoted better international relations. It is therefore earnestly to be hoped that the same satisfactory commercial basis will be maintained in favor of our exports to Germany after the new reciprocity treaties, now in process of negotiation by that country, shall have replaced the treaties of 1891-94, referred to in the German-American agreement.

Commercial Effects of the Agreements.

Evidence is not lacking to prove that the reciprocity agreements under the existing tariff act have had a beneficial effect upon our export trade with the interested countries. This does not appear so plainly in the statistics of our total exports to those

countries, as in the growth of the exports of concessional articles. Take, for example, the case of France, where our agreement went into operation on June 1, 1898. Within the brief period of two years thereafter United States exports to France of the concessional articles (fruits, certain meats, lard, timber, etc.) increased more than 74 per cent in value, while our imports of goods from France affected by the agreement (argols, still wines, spirits, and works of art) showed an increase of only 5 per cent in value. Our total exports to the conventional countries have also shown a gratifying increase, due in part to these agreements.

Total Exports from United States to Contracting Countries.

Fiscal year ending Jun.	France.	Germany.	Italy.	Portugal.
1899	\$60 600,000	\$155,800,000	\$25,000,000	\$4,100,000
1900	83,300,000	187,300,000	33,300,000	5,900,000
1901	78,700,000	191,800,000	34,500,000	5,300,000

So far as statutory provisions looking to reciprocity are concerned, this part of Section 3 of the Dingley tariff presents an ideal method, capable of indefinite extension at the will of Congress and in perfect harmony with our present tariff system. By reason of the limited number of articles enumerated and their character, reciprocity under this section has been necessarily limited to a few countries, but the results already accomplished have been so favorable as to strongly commend the plan itself to the statesmen of the United States, and especially to the loyal advocates of the associated policies of protection and reciprocity.

Notwithstanding all that has been said in the last few years in opposition to any reciprocity involving our tariff duties on competitive imports, it will be observed that all the articles of merchandise enumerated in Section 3 are of this character, entering into competition with domestic products, and that the authorized reduction of the regular duties thereon is considerable, being as high as 70 per cent in the case of argols, 25 per cent for sparkling wines and works of art, 22 per cent for spirits and for still wines in bottles, and 30 per cent for the higher grade of still wines in casks. Nevertheless, the American producers of the articles in question have made no complaint whatever on this subject, and the commercial results have shown that they have not been injured

by the agreements already put into operation. For instance, the official statistics of imports from France for the first two years following the proclamation of the agreement of May 28, 1898, show no increase of imports of French brandy and still wines, as might have been feared.

Section 3 of the present tariff contains, in its latter portion, provisions for penalizing imports of coffee, tea, and tonqua and vanilla beans—all upon the free list of the Act of 1897—when imported from countries which impose reciprocally unequal and unreasonable duties upon exports of the United States. In such emergencies the President is authorized to suspend, by proclamation, the free entry of these articles from the offending countries, whereupon certain specified duties shall be collected thereon. Fortunately, the conditions have not, up to the present time, justified and required the infliction of this penalty. Tea was made, and remains, dutiable by the revenue law of 1898, while the imports of tonqua and vanilla beans are not very important; this feature of Section 3, therefore, mainly concerns the great coffee-producing country of South America, and this suggests the general kindly policy of our government toward all the countries of Latin America.

The Executive should be armed by the legislature with the strongest possible weapons for effective action against any country that willfully and persistently discriminates against American trade, and it must be conceded that the available measures in this direction might wisely be enlarged and strengthened; but, at the same time, as President McKinley declared in his farewell to the people, measures of retaliation are not in harmony with the spirit of the times, nor, it may be added, in harmony with the policy and attitude of the present administration.

Treaties which Have Failed of Adoption.

A list of the reciprocity treaties which have been signed and submitted to the Senate of the United States and have failed of final adoption is given below. The recently concluded treaty with Great Britain, on behalf of Newfoundland, appears at the end; this, however, is still pending action. No mention is made of mere *projets* of treaties, upon which the general injunction of secrecy covering diplomatic transactions rests; but reference should be made to the

Brown-Thornton draft-treaty of 1874 for reciprocity with Canada, which, although unsigned, was passed upon by the Senate and rejected; also to the Blaine-Bond *projet* of 1890 for reciprocity with Newfoundland, which, although not signed, was submitted by the British Minister at Washington to his government, which withheld its consent to its conclusion, because of Canadian opposition. Mention should also be made of two treaties with Great Britain on behalf of Trinidad, which were negotiated and signed by Mr. Kasson under the fourth section of the present tariff, neither of which was transmitted to the Senate. The first, signed on July 22, 1899, failed to receive the required adherence of the colonial legislature; while the second, signed on February 13, 1900, lapsed after a brief period. Besides the unperfected treaties mentioned below, there were two commercial agreements negotiated in 1892 under the tariff of 1890, which were not proclaimed by the President; one was with Costa Rica, which was not ratified by the legislative body of that country, and the other was with France, which, however, was virtually made effective from January 30, 1893, by a French law which gave to the United States the minimum rates upon a few articles of import.

Unperfected Reciprocity Treaties of the United States.

Adminis- tration.	Country.	Signed.	Disposition.
Tyler	Germanic States of the Zollverein. (Wheaton Treaty.)	March 25, 1844	Twice adversely reported. Tabled in Senate by vote of 26 to 18, in 1844-45.
Pierce	Hawaiian Islands (Marcy-Lee Treaty.)	July 20, 1855	No action—pressure of other questions.
Buchanan	Mexico (McLane-O'Campo Treaty.)	December 14, 1859	Rejected by Senate, vote of 18 to 27, May 31, 1860.
Johnson	Hawaiian Islands (McCook-Harris Treaty)	May 21, 1867	Rejected by Senate, June 1, 1870.
Arthur	Mexico (Grant and Trescott-Romero and Canedo Treaty.)	January 20, 1883	Ratified by Senate and proclaimed by President, June 2, 1884, but never effective, for want of stipulated confirmatory legislation by Congress. Twice extended by supplementary conventions of February 25, 1885, and May 14, 1886. Finally lapsed on May 20, 1887.

Adminis- tration.	Country.	Signed.	Disposition.
Arthur . . .	Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico. (Foster Treaty.)	November 18, 1884 .	Withdrawn from Senate (before action) by President Cleveland in special message of March 13, 1885. Never resubmitted.
Arthur . . .	Dominican Republic (Prelinghuysen Treaty.)	December 4, 1884 .	Also withdrawn at same time as foregoing.
McKinley ..	France (Kasson-Cambon Treaty.)	July 24, 1899	Lapsed September 24, 1903.
McKinley ..	Argentine Republic (Buchanan-Alcorta Treaty.)	July 10, 1899	Lapsed November 6, 1902.
McKinley ..	Great Britain on behalf of Barbados (Kasson-Tower Treaty.)	June 16, 1899	Lapsed April 26, 1903.
McKinley ..	British Guiana (Kasson-Tower Treaty.)	July 18, 1899	Lapsed March 12, 1903.
McKinley ..	Turks and Caicos Islands (Kasson-Tower Treaty.)	July 21, 1899	Lapsed March 12, 1903.
McKinley ..	Jamaica (Kasson-Tower Treaty.)	July 22, 1899	Lapsed March 12, 1903.
McKinley ..	Bermuda (Kasson-Tower Treaty.)	July 24, 1899	Lapsed March 16, 1902.
McKinley ..	Nicaragua (Kasson-Sanson Treaty.)	October 20, 1899 ..	Lapsed June 25, 1901.
McKinley ..	Denmark on behalf of St. Croix (Kasson-Brun Treaty.)	June 5, 1900	Lapsed November 9, 1903.
McKinley ..	Dominican Republic (Hay-Vasquez Treaty.)	June 25, 1900	Withdrawn by Dominican Government in August, 1902.
McKinley ..	Ecuador (Sampson-Peralta Treaty.)	July 10, 1900	Lapsed July 10, 1901.
	* * * *	* * *	* * * * *
Roosevelt ..	Great Britain on behalf of Newfoundland (Hay-Herbert Treaty.)	November 8, 1902 ..	Still pending.

This list of formally concluded treaties of reciprocity which, since the administration of President Tyler, have failed of final

adoption by our government (excepting, of course, the pending treaty for Newfoundland) shows, when compared with the previous list of perfected treaties, that reciprocity by this method has failed far oftener than it has triumphed; while, on the other hand, legislative reciprocity by Presidential proclamation has almost invariably succeeded. Perhaps this deduction may properly be regarded as a lesson for the future; but it must not be taken as a condemnation of the provisions of the treaties in the foregoing list, for something might justly be said in praise of each one of them.

The Kasson Treaties.

All the treaties concluded during the McKinley administration, eleven in number (besides the Trinidad convention), are commonly called the Kasson treaties, having been negotiated by the Reciprocity Commission, of which Mr. John A. Kasson was the head, appointed by President McKinley in October, 1897, to carry out the reciprocity features of the tariff of 1897. These treaties were framed in accordance with the provisions of Section 4 of that law, which authorized the President to negotiate reciprocity treaties providing for concessions to the contracting foreign countries, during a period not to exceed five years, upon the following bases, in exchange for equivalent advantages granted to the export trade of the United States:

(1) Reduction of the present duty upon any article imported from any country, to the extent of not more than 20 per cent.

(2) Transfer from the dutiable to the free list of any article which is a natural product of a foreign country, and, at the same time, not a natural product of this country.

(3) Guaranty of retention on the free list of any article now free.

According to a literal interpretation of Section 4, the American negotiator had, as his available assets in reciprocity, a margin of one-fifth the duties upon any articles enumerated in the dutiable schedules of the Dingley tariff, and, as the theater of his operations, the whole commercial world. The one valuable lesson which we can draw from the lengthy mortality list in the above table, is that the statutory recommendations,—or mandatory directions, if you

please,—for reciprocity contained in that section were entirely too general and indefinite.

Mr. Kasson, the American negotiator of the lapsed treaties, has been a life-long Republican and consistent protectionist; he sincerely believed that none of the treaties under Section 4 contained a single provision in violation of the cardinal principles of our protective tariff system, and that no proposed concession on the part of the United States threatened the prosperity of any American industry by impairing the security afforded it by the rates of the Dingley tariff. The proposed reduction in duties in no case exceeded 20 per cent, the amount specifically authorized in Section 4, but, in most cases, it was far below that limit, the average reduction in the French treaty being less than 7 per cent, applied to only 126 numbers of our tariff.

These treaties have lapsed, and their details need not be given here. I have discussed them at length in other publications at a time when it was believed that at least some of them would be ultimately adopted.² They contained many meritorious features for the promotion and wider development of our foreign commerce, and they presented no real danger to the continued prosperity of any of our home industries. Very important interests, however—notably the manufacturers of cotton-knit goods in the case of the French treaty, the fruit-growers of California in the case of the Jamaican treaty, and the wool-growers of the Middle West in the case of the Argentine treaty—believed that the stipulated tariff reductions would seriously injure their respective industries by flooding the American market with the foreign products, and thus causing disastrous competition. These opponents have presented their protests so forcibly that the treaties in question no longer remain in the theater of practical action, but are merely food for the historian, the theorist, and the moralist.

The Three Reciprocity Movements.

There have been three well-defined and organized movements for reciprocity as a proper means of extending our foreign trade. The first of these took place in the administration of President

² "The Development of the Policy of Reciprocity," *Forum* for August, 1898; "The Work of the Reciprocity Commission," *Forum* for December, 1900; "Expansion through Reciprocity," *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1901; "Reciprocity and Our Pending Treaties," *Collier's Weekly*, January 11, 1902.

Arthur, when a trade commission was despatched to the several countries of Central and South America with a view of bringing about more satisfactory commercial relations; and when the reciprocity treaties with Mexico, with Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico, and with the Dominican Republic were negotiated. This movement failed entirely, mainly because of a change of the party in power. The supplementary treaty of 1884 with Hawaii, which was perfected three years later in the Cleveland administration, might, however, be regarded as an exception.

The next movement began in 1889, under the administration of President Harrison, when the International American Conference assembled at Washington and recommended a series of Pan-American reciprocity treaties. The sequel was the amendment of the McKinley tariff of 1890, by the introduction of the reciprocity section, from which came the numerous Blaine arrangements, which were virtually terminated by the Wilson tariff of 1894.

The third and last movement was inaugurated in 1897 by the passage of the Dingley law with its triple reciprocity features: (1) reciprocity by treaty, with general limitations; (2) reciprocity by proclamation of authorized reductions, and (3) reciprocity based upon forbearance from the imposition of certain penal duties. The Kasson treaties and the existing agreements are the results of this movement, to which belong also the Cuban and the Newfoundland treaties, for these, although negotiated under the unhampered constitutional power of the Executive, carry out the true policy of reciprocity. The administrations of Presidents Arthur, Harrison, McKinley, and Roosevelt have therefore witnessed the highest development of this policy of fostering the export activities of the United States. There have been fatalities all along the line, but the actual concrete results show that the national efforts so far made during the third and existing reciprocity movement have not been in vain.

The Proper Functions of Reciprocity.

The highest object of reciprocity is to improve the tariff and kindred conditions under which the products of the United States are admitted into the ports of foreign countries; to remove existing, and prevent threatened, discriminating treatment and unrea-

sonable and reciprocally unequal duties. By the attainment of these objects our export trade will be greatly facilitated and promoted, and our producers will find increased profits, as well as enlarged markets. The true mission of reciprocity, then, is to do for the American exporter what protection has already accomplished for the wage-earner and his employer, to afford the measure of security requisite for the constant enlargement of his activities; and, of course, the welfare of our exporters means the welfare of our producers generally.

The need for reciprocity increases *pari passu* with the constantly increasing demand for new and wider markets, for easier entrance conditions and, above all, for equality of treatment with international competitors. The strength of this demand may be understood by bearing in mind that many of our largest industries, at their present rate of production, could entirely supply the home market by working only eight or nine months per annum, which means that the balance of the year would be consumed in manufacturing for export. In many lines of industry the international competition in the markets of Europe is extremely keen and sales are made upon a slight margin of profit. In such cases the application of discriminating rates to American products is sufficient to turn the scale against the successful entry of our surplus goods. Then it is that the aid of reciprocity may wisely be invoked for the correction of the discrimination and the establishment of satisfactory stable conditions. In fact, stability for the future with its reactionary chances is a most important consideration. The time is approaching when the enormous demands of our home market will be satisfied and then the welfare of our export trade will become a matter of grave national solicitude. When that time comes, reciprocity will be an international issue.

Reciprocity with foreign countries rests pre-eminently upon the motto *Do ut Des*. We seek what is valuable, and to obtain it, must make concessions of reasonable value. The proper extent of these return concessions is the crucial point in the whole question, and practically the entire opposition to the ratification of the Kasson treaties was predicated upon this phase of the problem. No one seriously questions the great desirability of securing, in some way or another, the benefit of the entire minimum tariff of France for American exports; or reduced duties and an enlarged free list

in the British West Indies; or better conditions of trade in Argentina, Nicaragua, Ecuador, etc. There is practical unanimity among our people on the subject of these *desiderata* for our export trade interests; the diversity of opinion, however, relates to the reasonableness of the concessions proposed by the United States.

These conventional concessions may properly embrace stipulations to the following effect: (1) the reduction of our present duties on certain articles; (2) a guaranty of continuance, during the conventional term, of the present rates on certain articles, in other words, the "binding" of such rates, and (3) the binding of the present free list, in part or whole, for the benefit of the contracting country.

Concessions under the last two heads excite little or no opposition; the real contest relates to the lowering of existing duties (or, of course, to the exemption from duties) on highly competitive articles. Experience—particularly in the case of the lapsed French treaty—has shown that a very slight reduction in duty, say of 5 per cent, arouses no antagonism; but when reductions of 20 per cent, or 15 per cent, or sometimes even 10 per cent, are proposed, serious objection is raised by the interested home industries. It is therefore highly desirable to find some reliable criterion for the regulation of the duty-revising effects of reciprocity with highly civilized countries like France.

The time has passed for seriously questioning the success of the protective tariff system in the United States; the people have repeatedly approved it and returned to it after brief and partial departures, and the material results achieved under it since 1897, the period of its highest development, have further emphasized its success as a national policy, its efficacy in stimulating industrial activity, supplying the needful revenues, and bringing and maintaining widespread prosperity. The question, therefore, of assigning proper limits to the revisionary tariff effects of the reciprocity policy is one of paramount importance.

It is true that reciprocity with one country may rest upon peculiar considerations and call for greater liberality of treatment than reciprocity with another country; a case in point is Cuba, where we have the regulation of a neighborhood trade. Nevertheless, it is possible to formulate a satisfactory general rule. The scientific justification of our protective tariff lies in the fact

that the duties on competitive articles have been made sufficiently high to counterbalance the disparity existing between the low wages prevailing in foreign countries and the higher wages paid in the same industries in the United States. The pursuance of this legislative method of safeguarding American industries is demonstrated, in a rough way, by the average duty collected upon foreign imports. The wages paid in almost any industry in Europe average at least 50 per cent lower than corresponding wages in this country, and, very properly, our average duty upon dutiable imports from Europe is 50 per cent ad valorem. There are, of course, inequalities here and there, and the industrial conditions are constantly changing to some extent, so that in time several schedules of the present tariff will require revision. Without discussing the probable nearness or remoteness of such time, it is to be hoped that when it arrives, those duties which shall then be found to be "no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home," may be "employed to extend and promote our markets abroad," to use the words of President McKinley at Buffalo.

Upon these important phases of reciprocity—its applicability in any future readjustment of the tariff and the rule for its judicious application—we can profitably follow the excellent recommendations to Congress contained in the Annual Messages of President Roosevelt.

The following paragraph is from the Message of 1901:

"Reciprocity must be treated as the handmaiden of protection. Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by the tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought for so far as it can safely be done without injury to our home industries. Just how far this is must be determined according to the individual case, remembering always that every application of our tariff policy to meet our shifting national needs must be conditioned upon the cardinal fact that *the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad*. The well-being of the wage-worker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation."

The rule to which I have called attention in the extract from the Message of 1901 offers a practical method of determining in a given case whether or not a duty-reduction proposed in reciprocity involves a violation of the essential principles of protection and

hence threatens to be hurtful to the domestic industry concerned. It is always possible to learn, with approximate exactness, the wages and net cost of production in a manufacturing industry both at home and abroad. In fact, the existing machinery of our government can supply the required *data*, the consular service in the foreign field and the Department of Commerce and Labor in the home market.

Reciprocity applied in accordance with the rule of action just mentioned will be, in the language of Secretary Hay's memorial address upon President McKinley, "the bulwark of protection—not a breach, but a fulfillment of the law."

Three Methods of Reciprocity Suggested.

In conclusion, there are three distinct modes for the attainment of commercial reciprocity with foreign countries which naturally suggest themselves to the student of the policy as desirable of adoption. These are,

1st. Reciprocity by commercial treaties made under the constitutional power of the Executive. This method is well adapted for the execution of a comprehensive and equitably balanced reciprocal commercial convention with Canada or Mexico, our great neighbors.

2d. Reciprocity by commercial agreements based upon legislative authorization similar to that contained in Section 3 of the present tariff, but with a greatly extended list of concessional articles to meet the conditions of our trade with the leading countries of the world. This method involves further legislation by Congress upon the lines of the first part of Section 3. I have pointed out the remarkably smooth workings of the existing statutory provisions of this section; the ease with which the negotiations were conducted, each contracting country knowing in advance precisely the full extent of the possible concessions by the United States; the silent and speedy manner in which the agreements were carried into effect in this country by proclamation of the President, without recourse to the Senate; the universal acceptance, without a murmur of disapproval, of the *fait accompli* by the industrial interests of this country supposed to be especially interested, and, lastly, the substantial commercial advantages and privileges secured to our trade through these agreements.

The great advantage of this system of reciprocity must be obvious to the reader. Congress has only to extend the present short list of argols, wines, spirits, and works of art, into a much larger list, applicable to all the great countries of the world with which we might profitably enter into more satisfactory commercial relations, putting into the new list articles of import which those countries would desire to see reduced in duty, and, while fixing the reduced duties at rates entirely consistent with adequate protection to home interests, an incentive would be offered to each of those countries to make really valuable concessions to the United States. It is an interesting circumstance to recall, in this connection, that the framers of the Dingley law themselves contemplated making the third section more far-reaching. As originally passed by the House of Representatives, this section provided for concessional reductions on chicle, sugar, laces of silk, and mineral waters, besides the articles enumerated in the law as enacted. The former articles, which were stricken out by the Senate, would have rendered reciprocity under Section 3 still more effective.

3d. Reciprocity by the adoption of a double tariff system, with maximum and minimum rates of duty upon the same articles—the higher rates to be applied to countries which discriminate against, or levy unreasonable duties upon, our exports, and the minimum rates to be enjoyed by those countries that extend their best tariff treatment to the United States. This system, which is in use by France, Russia, Spain, and Norway, has of late been favorably discussed by leading American statesmen and economists. The scheme is not so foreign to the reciprocity plan now in operation as might be imagined. Its adoption would simply mean the application to our entire dutiable list of the principle of Section 3, which, on a limited number of dutiable articles, has virtually established two rates, the general and the concessional. By the European system, in addition to the free list, the rates of the two tariffs are often identical on many articles.

One advantage of the double tariff as used by France is that the legislature preserves the right to raise the minimum tariff at any time, irrespective of existing treaty relations. Hence, the revenue powers of the government are in no way impaired, and in cases of emergency the entire minimum, as well as the maximum,

schedules may be increased *ad libitum*. This is the only important difference between the maximum and minimum system and the conventional tariff system used by Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland. In these countries the lower tariff is made up of the aggregate of reduced duties provided in special reciprocity treaties, and the benefits of such conventional reductions are mutually extended to third nations under the universal operation of the general most-favored-nation clause, in accordance with the well-known European interpretation given to that clause.

The first two methods above mentioned might be successfully used in conjunction, as at present; but the third method, the double tariff system, would seem to cover the whole ground and permit of no auxiliary arrangements. There is, however, one form in which this system might be utilized in perfect harmony with independent reciprocity negotiations. If a scale of maximum duties were created by Congress by a horizontal increase of the present rates to the extent of, say, 20 per cent, such maximum tariff could be reserved for retaliatory action against countries which wilfully discriminate against the United States, while, at the same time, the regular tariff could be applied to the rest of the world in general and be used, from time to time, as a basis of special reductions in reciprocity, effected either by regular treaties or by commercial agreements like those in force. A maximum tariff of this character would mean simply the enactment of penal duties to be applied in extraordinary cases by the executive branch of the government, in the manner of existing provisions in the tariff legislation of Germany and Belgium; but the combined system of reciprocity and penal tariff thus constituted would be comprehensive, harmonious, and effective in meeting all possible contingencies in the commercial relations of the United States.

JOHN BALL OSBORNE.

Washington, D. C.

THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE PRESENT FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

After years of comfortable satisfaction in its commercial and industrial supremacy, the United Kingdom has suddenly become conscious of the fact that its position is being assailed by the foreigner, and that something must be done to save it. As a result the attention of the English people is absorbed at present in a mighty campaign, the significant feature of which is that it involves the reversal of a time-honored policy of free trade, and the substitution therefor of a discriminative tariff, which, as directed against foreign countries, shall grant preference to the trade within the Empire. As might have been expected, this issue, involving as it does a radical departure from a policy which has virtually attained the character of a creed, has firmly set on foot the "spirit of inquiry." In fact, the most interesting feature of the whole struggle is the activity and zeal with which the discussion is carried on. Both sides to the conflict have within an incredibly short period of time overwhelmed the public with a mass of literature and statistical information, until practically every side of the United Kingdom's foreign trade has been stated over and over again. And yet, despite all that has been written and spoken, there is scarcely any subject concerning which there is greater uncertainty in the public mind.

Those who favor the existing policy of free trade base their action primarily upon the great progress which England has experienced during the last half century. Without entering upon a discussion of the causal connection between this progress and the existing policy, it should, nevertheless, be stated that the development of English trade and industry subsequent to the introduction of free trade presents, on the whole, a case of remarkable progress. Thus during the half century following 1850 the value of Great Britain's import trade has approximately increased by four times, while her export trade has increased nearly three times. Not only has her foreign trade increased more rapidly than her population, but by far the greater part of her colonial trade has been created within this period, the total trade figures in this respect rising from £53,666,588 in 1851 to £210,362,107 in 1901, or an increase of

nearly three times. Similarly, the per capita wealth of the country has approximately doubled and the national income has nearly trebled.¹ British shipping has increased its carrying power by about fourteen times, and has grown in magnitude so as to include over half the tonnage of the world.² Lastly the United Kingdom has become during this period a great creditor country, whose returns upon her capital, now invested in all parts of the globe, are annually swelling her imports to a higher and higher figure.

Time, however, is producing a marked change in the commercial position of the United Kingdom. The field of trade, which was secured to Great Britain by virtue of her naval power and her primacy in the art of modern manufacturing, and which, until recently, was enjoyed by her practically as a monopoly against the outside world, is now being invaded everywhere by commercial rivals equal to her in natural resources, in skill and in industrial organization, and only too eager to dispute her commercial supremacy wherever possible. The great nations of the world, in other words, have succeeded in availing themselves of the very advantages which constituted the source of England's commercial monopoly. The result has been that these nations have placed themselves upon a footing of industrial equality with England. For the first time Great Britain has been forced to face the serious competition of foreign rivals, and for the first time has the element of competition effectively entered the field of international trade.

With this shifting in the position of the United Kingdom in foreign trade, has gone a corresponding change in public opinion. Despite the great progress which we have noted in Great Britain since 1850, there has developed an influential party which declares that this progress has reached its limit, and which sees in the near future the possibility of England losing her position of first place in the world's markets through the successful competition of her rivals. It is held by this party that the English home market is not only unprotected to-day against the importation of foreign goods, but, also, that her foreign trade is being restricted from year to year by constantly rising tariffs; that there is even danger of England losing ground in the neutral markets of the world. In

¹ Mr. G. Armitage-Smith, "The Free-trade Movement and Its Results," p. 140.

² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

brief, British trade is characterized as "stagnant" and even "retrogressive." No hope is offered to anticipate any change for the better under present conditions. The United Kingdom, it is claimed, being bound hand and foot by her present fiscal policy, is rendered powerless to counteract the numerous evil tendencies which are revealing themselves in her foreign trade.

To determine, if possible, the extent to which these claims are justified will be the principal object of this paper. And in attempting this we shall confine ourselves almost entirely to an analysis of the statistics contained in the official Blue-Books and in the "Memoranda, Statistical Tables and Charts prepared in the British Board of Trade." We shall allow the facts as presented in these sources to assist us in giving, first, a brief analysis of the extent and salient features of British trade as it exists to-day; and, secondly, a statistical presentation of the tendencies of the foreign trade of the United Kingdom in its relation, first, to the colonies and possessions; secondly, to the principal protected nations; and thirdly, to the free-trade area.

Analysis of Great Britain's Import and Export Trade.

To understand fully the commercial position of the United Kingdom to the outside world it is essential that we first clearly understand the nature of her trade. For the purpose of acquiring this information the trade statistics of any recent year may be analyzed to advantage, preferably those of 1900, since the details for that year have been most carefully worked out. In examining, then, the statistics for this particular year, three principal features of British trade force themselves upon our attention, namely, first, the great preponderance of British imports over exports; secondly, the great extent to which the United Kingdom is an importer of food and raw material, and an exporter of manufactured produce; and, thirdly, the relatively small importance of Great Britain's imperial trade as compared with her foreign trade. These three characteristics take precedence over all others, and must be constantly borne in mind if we are to judge correctly the needs of the United Kingdom in her commercial relation to foreign countries.

Turning our attention first to the excess of imports over exports, we find that the aggregate value of imports into the United

Kingdom in 1900 amounted to £523,000,000, while the aggregate value of the exports, not including the £63,000,000 of re-exports of imported produce, amounted to but £291,000,000. This enormous difference between imports and exports commands our special attention when we reflect that the annual difference has been large for over half a century, and that, on the whole, despite variations in individual years, this difference has been a constantly increasing one. Thus, for example, it is found that the proportion of exports to imports has gradually declined from 66.9 per cent in the period 1854-1858, to only 52.8 per cent in 1899-1902. Furthermore, if we divide the forty-eight years, 1854-1902, into five-year periods, and then take the annual average of imports for each respective period, we shall find that with the exception of the years 1884-1888 each period shows a decided increase over the preceding one, the successive gains being as follows:³

	Total Imports (million £).	Percentage Increase.
1854-58.....	163.8	
1859-63.....	216.2	32
1864-68.....	282.2	30
1869-73.....	331.	17
1874-78.....	376.4	14
1879-83.....	402.2	7
1884-88.....	372.2	decrease, 7
1889-93.....	422.4	14
1894-98.....	437.8	3
1899-02.....	514.5	18

The total exports, on the other hand, increased rapidly in money value prior to the years 1872 and 1873. Subsequent to these years, however, no material advance occurred, on the whole, until the years 1899 and 1900, when the South African War and the Indian Famine caused the exports of British produce to reach a higher money value than ever before. Taking into account, however, the general decline in prices during the last thirty years, we would need to increase both imports and exports by probably some 30 per cent or more, thus showing an enormous increase in the imports of the United Kingdom, as well as a substantial increase

³ "Memoranda, Statistical Tables, and Charts prepared in the British Board of Trade on British and Foreign Trade," 1903, p. 5.

in the exports.⁴ Considered for the last ten years, the annual excess of imports of merchandise, bullion, and specie over exports has averaged £161,000,000,⁵ varying during this period from a minimum of £132,000,000 in 1893 to a maximum of £184,000,000 in 1902.

The explanation for this enormous excess is found in the fact that England holds the position of a creditor country, whose claims upon the outside world in the form of profit from foreign investments and payment for services are received in the form of imports. Thus England has loaned money to her colonies and to foreign countries for industrial and military purposes, the returns upon which are estimated by the British Board of Trade to greatly exceed £62,500,000.⁶ Next we must consider the profit going to persons engaged in international trade, and this has been variously estimated at £40,000,000.⁷ England is also the center for marine insurance and international banking, and receives commissions from these sources variously estimated at £18,000,000.⁸ To these enormous returns we must further add the earnings of the British carrying trade, now by far the greatest in the world and estimated at approximately £90,000,000,⁹ and also the returns sent to England in the form of salaries, pensions and annuities received by her citizens abroad. Other items of smaller importance, no doubt, exist, which, together with those already mentioned, furnish an ample explanation for the excess of imports over exports. Indeed, the balance is again partly restored by the fact that England is constantly exporting more money as investments, in 1902 to the extent of over £57,000,000,¹⁰ to her possessions and to foreign countries.

Equally important to Great Britain's position as creditor nation to the outside world is her increasing dependence upon the outside world for her food supply. In fact, the United Kingdom, owing to the increase of her population and the development of her

⁴ Mr. A. Sauerbeck, for example, has calculated that British prices of commodities were 32 per cent lower in 1899 than for the period 1867-1877.

⁵ "Memoranda, Statistical Tables and Charts prepared in the British Board of Trade on British and Foreign Trade," 1903 p. 99.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 103. Sir Robert Giffen has estimated that Great Britain receives in interest and profits about £90,000,000. "Journal Royal Statistical Society," 1899, p. 35.

⁷ Mr. Harold Cox, "The United Kingdom and Its Trade," 1902, p. 33.

⁸ Sir Robert Giffen, "Journal of the Royal Statistical Society," 1899, p. 35.

⁹ "British Board of Trade Statistics on British and Foreign Trade," 1903, p. 102.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 104.

manufacturing industry, has placed herself in a position of utter inability to supply her inhabitants with her own food products. That this is true can be readily shown by statistics. Thus in 1870 under the most favorable circumstances the total area of land devoted to the raising of wheat reached 4,000,000 acres. In 1900, however, this area had fallen to 1,900,000 acres, or a decrease of 52.5 per cent. Mr. Harold Cox, by assuming that all this land could again be brought back into wheat cultivation with the high average yield of thirty-one bushels per acre, shows¹¹ that the total additional yield to the present amount of home-grown wheat would be but 32,000,000 cwts., while the importation of wheat and wheat meal into the United Kingdom in 1900 amounted to 98,000,000 cwts., or three times as much as could possibly be procured by more than doubling the wheat area now under cultivation.

Still more marked does this dependence of the United Kingdom upon the outside world for her supply of food become, when we examine the import and export statistics themselves. From these it appears that while the home production of wheat and wheat flour has decreased from an annual average yield of 39,100,000 cwts. in the period 1885-1887 to 29,700,000 cwts. in the period 1900-1902, the importation of such products has, on the contrary, increased

TABLE I.

Wheat and Wheat Flour produced in and imported into the United Kingdom.

(Taken from the "British Board of Trade Statistics on British and Foreign Trade," 1903, Table III, p. 108.)

	1885-1887. Cwts.	1890-1892. Cwts.	1895-1897. Cwts.	1900-1902. Cwts.
(a) Total Quantities-				
Home Production	39,144,392	37,769,969	27,290,694	29,737,100
Imported	76,521,910	89,175,178	98,528,186	102,529,945
(b) Quantities per head of population:				
Home Production	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.7
Imported	2.1	2.4	2.5	2.5
(c) Percentage of Total Quantity:				
Home Production	Per Cent. 33.8	Per Cent. 29.8	Per Cent. 21.7	Per Cent. 22.5
Imported	66.2	70.2	78.3	77.5

¹¹ "The United Kingdom and Its Foreign Trade," 1902, p. 22.

during the same periods from 76,500,000 cwts. to 102,500,000 cwts. Home production of wheat and wheat flour has thus decreased in fifteen years from 33.8 per cent of the total necessary supply to only 22.5 per cent, while the importation has increased from 66.2 per cent to 77.5 per cent or over three-fourths of the total. Stated with reference to the increase of population, the per capita importation of wheat and flour has steadily increased from 1.4 cwts. in 1870-1872 to 2.5 cwts. in 1900-1902. During the same interval the per capita importation of meat and animals for food, the next most important item, has also steadily increased from 14.6 lbs. in 1870-1872, to 30.2 lbs. in 1880-1882, to 41.4 lbs. in 1890-1892, to 56.6 lbs. in 1900-1902. In the first case, that of wheat and flour, the per capita importation has nearly doubled in the last thirty years; while in the case of meat and animals for food it has increased by nearly three times.

Again, extending our examination not merely to the wheat and meat supply, but to the entire food supply, it appears that the United Kingdom has since 1870 increased its imports of food from £91,750,000 in that year to £219,839,229 in 1901, or a per capita increase of from £2 17s. 5d. in the former year to £5 5s. 7d. in the latter. It also appears that in the year 1900 the United Kingdom imported foodstuffs to the extent of £213,036,000, or over 40 per cent of the total imports, and exported such products to the small extent of £15,319,000, thus showing that the United Kingdom not only consumes nearly all her own food products, but is obliged to import fourteen times as much as she is able to export. So also in the case of raw material, the United Kingdom imports over 3.5 times as much as she exports, the figures for imports in 1900 standing at £155,361,000, and for exports at but £43,713,000. In fact, the only item of English trade which tends to turn the balance in favor of the exports is that of manufactured produce. Yet here the preponderance in favor of exports is by no means as great as is the preponderance of food and raw material on the side of her imports. In the case of partly manufactured articles, for example, England imports more than she exports, the figures for 1900 being £38,424,000 for imports and £35,846,000 for exports. Only in the case of finished manufactured goods does the United Kingdom export more than she imports, but even here

her exports of £192,460,000 in 1900 are largely offset by the formidable figure of £104,111,000 for imports.

This large proportion of imported manufactured goods to the exported has an added significance when we observe that the proportion of manufactured exports to the total exports is a constantly decreasing one. The truth of this may be conveniently shown by dividing the thirty-eight years from 1864 to 1902 into five-year periods, and taking the average for each period with a view of comparing the total exports of the United Kingdom with the exports of manufactured or partly manufactured goods. Two striking facts are revealed by such a comparison. First, that the money value of manufactured exports from the United Kingdom has on the whole remained practically constant between the years 1873 and 1899; and, secondly, that the proportion of manufactured exports to the total exports has shown a decrease of from 92.3 per cent in the period 1864-1868 to 81.6 per cent during the years 1899-1902. On the other hand the average annual value of imported manufactures has steadily increased during the same five-year periods from 16.4 per cent of the total imports in the years 1864-1868 to 27.8 per cent during the period 1899-1902.

TABLE II.

The Imports and Exports of the United Kingdom (Merchandise only) compared with the Imports and Exports of Manufactured or Partly Manufactured Goods. ("British Board of Trade Statistics on British and Foreign Trade," 1903, p. 5.)

Annual Average for	Total Imports of Merchandise. Million £.	Total Imports of Manufactures. Million £.	Proportion of Manufactures to Total Imports. Per Cent.	Total Exports of Merchandise. Million £.	Total Exports of Manufactures. Million £.	Proportion of Manufactured Exports to Total Exports. Per Cent.
1854-58	163.8	23.0	14.6	100.6	98.9	89.3
1859-63	216.2	32.6	14.9	132.4	120.5	91.0
1864-68	282.2	46.3	16.4	175.0	161.5	92.3
1869-73	331.0	58.6	17.7	224.8	204.2	90.8
1874-78	376.4	75.4	20.0	211.2	189.3	89.6
1879-83	402.2	80.3	20.0	226.2	201.1	88.9
1884-88	372.2	84.6	22.7	223.0	196.9	88.3
1889-93	422.4	98.7	23.3	240.8	208.8	86.7
1894-98	437.8	115.1	26.2	229.8	197.0	85.7
1899-02	514.5	143.1	27.8	271.8	221.8	81.6

In brief, this examination of the three items of food, raw material, and manufactured or partly manufactured produce, leads to the following conclusions:

(1) That the United Kingdom is dependent upon the outside world for a very large percentage of her food and raw material, and that this dependence is an increasing one.

(2) That although manufactured produce constitutes by far the most important item among her exports, the United Kingdom, nevertheless, imports considerably over half as much manufactured produce as she exports.

(3) That the value of her net imports of food and raw material exceeds the value of her gross exports of manufactured or partly manufactured goods by over 40 per cent, and exceeds the value of her net exports of such goods by over three and one-half times; and

(4) That the importation of manufactured produce into the United Kingdom, despite the fact that it already equals over half the exports of such goods, shows a constant proportionate increase, while the exportation of manufactures, on the other hand, shows a constant proportionate decrease.

Great Britain's Trade with her Colonies.

What we are especially interested in is not so much the momentary position of Great Britain's trade, as the dynamic side of it, *i. e.*, we are primarily interested in tendencies. It is essential, therefore, to inquire into the development of British trade in connection with her colonies and possessions, with her protected competitors, and with that portion of the globe which may still be described as a free-trade area. For the sake of convenience we may begin with a discussion of Great Britain's colonial trade. Let us attempt to determine its absolute and relative importance, and to see whether the share of this colonial trade falling to the United Kingdom is becoming proportionately greater or less in extent.

It may be observed in the first place that the trade with her possessions forms but a comparatively small part of the total trade of Great Britain. This appears clearly from an examination of Tables III and IV, which present the total British imports and exports of merchandise during the period 1858 to 1902 as compared with the imports and exports sent to or derived from the colonies.

TABLE III.
The Total Value of Imports of Merchandise into the United Kingdom and
the Amount Imported from British Possessions.

["British Board of Trade Statistics on British and Foreign Trade," 1903, p. 407.]

Annual Average for	Value of Total Imports of Merchandise. Million £.	Value of Imports from British Possessions. Million £.	Proportion of Imports from Possessions to Total Imports. Per Cent.
1858-60	184.3	40.0	21.1
1861-63	230.6	67.3	29.1
1864-66	280.3	79.6	28.4
1867-69	288.3	66.0	22.8
1870-72	333.0	72.6	21.8
1873-75	371.0	82.3	22.1
1876-78	379.3	84.0	22.1
1879-81	390.3	87.6	22.4
1882-84	410.0	98.0	23.9
1885-87	361.0	83.3	23.0
1888-90	412.0	93.3	22.6
1891-93	421.3	96.3	22.8
1894-96	422.3	94.3	22.3
1897-99	469.0	100.3	21.3
1900-02	524.3	107.3	20.4

TABLE IV.
The Total Value of Exports of Merchandise from the United Kingdom and
the Amount Exported to British Possessions.

["British Board of Trade Statistics on British and Foreign Trade, 1903," p. 411.]

Annual Average for	Total Exports of Merchandise. Million £.	Value of Exports to British Possessions. Million £.	Proportion of Exports to Possessions to Total Exports. Per Cent.
1858-60	127.6	43.3	33.9
1861-63	132.0	45.0	34.2
1864-66	171.6	51.0	29.7
1867-69	183.3	49.3	26.8
1870-72	226.3	54.3	24.0
1873-75	239.3	69.6	29.0
1876-78	197.6	67.0	33.9
1879-81	216.3	71.6	33.1
1882-84	238.3	83.3	34.9
1885-87	216.0	76.3	35.3
1888-90	248.6	84.6	34.0
1891-93	230.6	77.6	33.6
1894-96	227.3	75.6	33.2
1897-99	240.6	83.6	34.7
1900-02	277.0	101.6	36.6

If we divide the above forty-five years into fifteen periods of three years each, and compare the average annual imports of all merchandise into the United Kingdom during each of these periods with the average annual imports from the colonies, we shall find that, with the exception of the years covering the Civil War, the ratio for these respective periods has varied between the close limits of 20.4 per cent and 23.9 per cent. Indeed, the United Kingdom's imports from the colonies during the last three years, 1900-1902, fell to 20.4 per cent of the total, or a smaller proportion than for either the years 1858-1860 or any succeeding three-year period. Stated in absolute amounts, the value of the total imports of merchandise into the United Kingdom has increased during the forty-five years under consideration from £184,000,000 to £523,000,000, or 184 per cent; while the value of the colonial imports into the United Kingdom has increased from £40,000,000 to £107,000,000, or 167 per cent. There is every reason, therefore, to conclude that only slightly more than one-fifth of British imports of merchandise has been received from the colonies during nearly the whole of the last half century, and that this proportion may be described as practically constant during all this time, with even a slight tendency to decline.

Similar results are obtained by the above process in comparing the total exports of merchandise from the United Kingdom with the portion exported to the colonies. As in the case of imports, so also in the case of exports, the relative value of the colonies has remained practically constant since 1858. By dividing the period 1858-1902 into three-year periods and comparing the average annual exports of Great Britain to her possessions during each of these periods with her total exports, it will be found that as regards twelve of the fifteen periods the ratio has ranged between the close limits of 29 and 35.3 per cent. During the same period the absolute amount of Great Britain's exports of merchandise increased from £127,000,000 to £277,000,000, or by 118 per cent, while the portion exported to the colonies increased from £43,000,000 to £101,000,000, or by 135 per cent. These figures clearly indicate that British exports to the colonies constitute somewhat more than one-third of the total, and that during the last half century there has been but a slight change for the better in the relative value of the colonies to the mother country as a market for her goods.

But while the relative value of the colonies to Great Britain has thus scarcely undergone any change from the standpoint of her total imports and exports, it is still argued that the colonies are of superior importance to Great Britain in that they take from her more than their proportionate share of her produce. That the colonies do take a very disproportionate share cannot be disputed if we compare the per capita consumption of British goods in the leading British colonies with the per capita consumption in the leading foreign countries. Thus in his work on "Colonial Government," Professor Reinsch cites the per capita consumption of British goods in West Australia at \$58.98, in all Australia at \$32.87, in Cape Colony at \$22.52, in New Zealand at \$38.81, in Natal at \$17.97, and in Canada at \$8.39; while the per capita consumption of such goods in the United States, Germany and France stands respectively at only \$1.46, \$2.40 and \$2.52.¹² The same author also points out that "Great Britain enjoys 52 per cent of the trade of British Guiana, 62 per cent in Natal, 44 per cent in Canada (33 per cent of imports and 55 per cent of exports), 69.5 per cent in Australia, and 53 per cent in India;"¹³ and concludes that "it has been computed that the per capita consumption of British goods in all the British colonies is \$15.81, while for all non-British countries it is only \$3.64."¹⁴

With reference to the category of manufactures, as distinct from the total exports, the disproportionate value of the colonies as a market for the mother country is also obvious, since they as compared with the rest of the world take approximately 38 per cent of her total exports of such goods. Yet here we must again note that, while the proportion is very high, the relative value of the colonies in this respect is undergoing but a slight change for the better. Thus during the eleven years 1890-1900 the annual proportion of Great Britain's manufactures sent to the colonies has fluctuated between the close limits of 35 and 38 per cent of her total exports of such produce, though the years 1901 and 1902 do indeed show the high proportion of 42 per cent. Nor has any particular class of colonies taken the lead in becoming a market for British manufactures. On the contrary, the general constancy,

¹² Professor P. S. Reinsch, "Colonial Government," 1902, p. 64.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

noted above, applies to the colonies in general. British India, for example, imported less British manufactures in 1902 than in 1890; and her proportion for the last thirteen years has fluctuated between the narrow limits of 13 and 15 per cent of the United Kingdom's total exports of manufactured or partly manufactured goods. The proportion for the self-governing colonies has, likewise, fluctuated during the years 1890-1900 between the extremes of 15 and 18 per cent, and only in 1901 and 1902 has this proportion risen to 21 and 23 per cent respectively. As regards all the other colonies and possessions of Great Britain, the annual proportion of her manufactures sent there during the last thirteen years has varied between the extremely narrow margins of 5 and 6 per cent of her total exports in this respect.

Turning next to a consideration of the value of the colonies as a source of supply, we shall find that here, under present conditions, the United Kingdom can depend upon them for only a comparatively small part of her total necessary imports. Out of a total importation in 1902 of over £36,000,000 worth of wheat and flour, the British colonies contributed but £8,553,000, or less than one-fourth of the total. The United States alone supplied over 60 per cent of the total, and granting an allowance of one-sixth of this amount for Canadian wheat sent through American ports, it still appears that the United States sent nearly twice as much wheat and wheat flour to the United Kingdom as did all the British possessions combined. So also in the case of barley, oats, maize, rice and rice meal the colonies contributed but £1,658,000 of the total imports of £25,863,000, or slightly more than 6.4 per cent, the remainder coming chiefly from Russia, Roumania, Germany and Argentine Republic. Moreover, in the case of meat and animals for food the colonies furnished £8,737,000 worth in 1902, or only 18.5 per cent of the total imports of £47,089,000. The United States, alone, supplied over 55 per cent of this total, or nearly three times as much as did all the British possessions combined. If we now add to these principal classes of food the other leading kinds of food products, such as fish, butter, eggs, cheese, fruit, vegetables, sugar, tea, etc., we have a total importation of such products into the United Kingdom to the extent of £191,164,000, of which the colonies and possessions supplied but £39,195,000, or one-fifth of the total. To this amount

must be added the sum for raw material sent to Great Britain, which in 1902 amounted to £149,183,000, and to which the colonies contributed £42,335,000, or 28.4 per cent of the total. Combining the value of the raw material with the value of the principal articles of food and drink, the United Kingdom imported in 1902 a total of £340,347,000, of which the colonies furnished but £31,530,000, or less than 24 per cent of the aggregate.

The colonies, as compared with foreign countries, have not appreciably increased in value either as a source of supply or as a market for the mother country, and they are fast becoming independent of her as regards their total international trade. Mr. Ireland in his work on "Tropical Colonization"¹⁵ has developed this point very clearly. He shows, for example, that during the forty years 1856-95 the total exports of the British colonies have increased from £73,000,000¹⁶ to £257,000,000,¹⁷ while the value of the portion exported to the United Kingdom during the same period has increased from £41,000,000 to £94,000,000. Thus while the total colonial exports have increased by 252 per cent, the portion exported to the United Kingdom has increased only 129 per cent. Expressed in percentages, the decline in the relative importance of the colonial exports to the United Kingdom as compared with their total exports has been a gradual one of from 57.1 per cent in the period 1856-1859 to only 36.6 per cent in the period 1892-1895.

Again, Mr. Ireland shows that the value of the total imports into the colonies has increased during the period 1856-1895 from £83,000,000¹⁸ to £221,000,000¹⁹ or 166 per cent. The imports from the United Kingdom to the colonies, on the other hand, have increased during the same period from £39,000,000 to £72,000,000, or by less than 85 per cent. In this case, like the preceding one, the ratio of the imports from the United Kingdom to the total imports into the colonies has been a gradually decreasing one of from 46.5 per cent in the period 1856-1859 to 32.4 per cent in the period 1892-1895.

If, now, we add to Mr. Ireland's figures the latest available

¹⁵ Mr. Alleyne Ireland, "Tropical Colonization," 1899, pp. 97-99, 100-101.

¹⁶ Annual average for the four years, 1856-59.

¹⁷ Annual average for the four years, 1892-95.

¹⁸ Annual average for the four years, 1856-1859.

¹⁹ Annual average for the four years, 1892-1895.

statistics, namely, those for 1901, we shall find that his conclusions have changed to only a limited degree. For this year the total colonial exports amounted to £240,000,000 and the total colonial imports to £255,000,000. The colonial exports to the United Kingdom, on the other hand, amounted to £106,000,000 in 1901, and the colonial imports from the United Kingdom to £104,000,000. Comparing these figures with Mr. Ireland's corresponding figures for 1856, the following conclusions are reached: (1) That during the period 1856-1901 the total colonial imports have increased by £172,000,000, or over 207 per cent, while the colonial imports from the United Kingdom have increased by £65,000,000, or 166 per cent, and (2) That during this same period the total colonial exports have increased by £181,000,000, or nearly 248 per cent, while the portion exported to the United Kingdom has increased by only £65,000,000, or less than 159 per cent.

Great Britain's Trade with Foreign Countries.

In the foregoing pages the discussion has been concerning the trade between Great Britain and her colonial possessions, and there was noted a marked tendency for her to share during the last half century a relatively smaller proportion of their total import and export trade. It now remains to examine briefly into the facts regarding the trade of the United Kingdom with foreign countries, especially with the principal protected countries as distinguished from the unprotected.

Directing attention, then, to a study of the statistical evidence pertaining to this part of Great Britain's foreign trade, one is at once struck by the remarkable change which has occurred in the proportionate distribution of British exports to these respective areas. In 1850, according to the summary presented in the British Board of Trade statistics,²⁰ the proportions stood fifty-six to protected as opposed to forty-four for other markets. Following 1850, however, the proportion sent to the protected markets steadily declined until in 1902 the position had been reversed, the proportions in that year being only forty-two to protected as opposed to fifty-eight for other markets. Also, with reference to the category of manufactured goods, as distinct from the total exports, the change

²⁰ "British Board of Trade Statistics on British and Foreign Trade," 1903, p. 16.

since 1850 has been most remarkable. In that year the proportions, as given in the Board of Trade statistics,²¹ stood fifty-seven to protected as opposed to forty-three for other markets. In 1902, however, the proportions had been reversed to only thirty-eight for protected as opposed to sixty-two for other markets.

Proceeding next to a more detailed examination of the statistics bearing on this phase of our subject, the following two tables must attract special attention as showing the position of Great Britain's export trade to the principal protected foreign countries.²²

*Total Exports of British Produce to the Principal Protected Foreign Countries.*²³

Period.	Average Annual Amount.
1865-1869.....	£81,808,000
1870-1874.....	117,259,000
1875-1879.....	88,494,000
1880-1884.....	99,590,000
1885-1889.....	91,985,000
1890-1894.....	95,032,000
1895-1899.....	94,693,000
1900-1902.....	104,285,000

Exports of British Manufactured or Partly Manufactured Goods to the Principal Protected Foreign Countries.

Period.	Average Annual Amount.
1865-1869.....	£71,778,000
1870-1874.....	101,238,000
1875-1879.....	75,979,000
1880-1884.....	84,922,000
1885-1889.....	77,300,000
1890-1894.....	77,075,000
1895-1899.....	74,100,000
1900-1902.....	75,464,000

A glance at the above tables at once reveals a condition of absolute stagnation in Great Britain's export trade, and even of a decline in view of the rapid progress made by other leading nations. Thus, while Great Britain's exportation of manufactures to the principal protected foreign countries has made practically no advance since the period 1870-1874, every one of the

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²² By the "Principal Protected Foreign Countries" as given in the British Board of Trade statistics is meant the following list: Russia, Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and the United States.

²³ "Memoranda, Statistical Tables, and Charts" prepared in the British Board of Trade on British and Foreign Trade, 1903, p. 20.

seven great industrial nations of the world, with the exception of Italy, has greatly increased the exports of such goods to the British market. Germany, Belgium and Holland,²⁴ for example, have increased their combined exports of manufactures to the United Kingdom from £37,575,736 in 1890 to £56,528,039 in 1902, or an increase of over 50 per cent. From France such exports to the United Kingdom have increased during the same years from £25,848,006 to £31,071,418, or 20 per cent; in the case of Russia from £2,778,239 to £3,084,804, or over 11 per cent; and in the case of the United States from £10,279,669 to £20,930,627, or an increase of over 100 per cent. In every one of these countries, also, with the exception of Italy, the proportion of the exports of manufactured goods to the total exports to the United Kingdom stood higher in 1902 than in 1890.

But how, on the other hand, has Great Britain fared during the same period as regards her export trade to these industrial nations? The question can be best answered by again citing the facts in each particular case. Germany, Belgium and Holland actually imported £1,777,000 less of British manufactures in 1902 than in 1890. The exports of such goods from the United Kingdom to France, likewise, decreased from £12,537,000 in 1890 to £10,250,000 in 1902, or over 18 per cent; to Italy for the same years from £5,246,000 to £3,578,000, or over 31 per cent; and to the United States from £29,089,000 to £19,468,000, or a decline of over 33 per cent. In Russia, alone, do we find an increase of £1,560,000 during the entire period, yet even in this case there has been a constant decline since 1899 of from £8,030,000 in that year to £6,829,000 in 1902.

Viewing the above statistics in their combined effect, it appears that the average annual exportation of British manufactures to these industrial nations during the last seven years (1896-1902) has actually been less than for the preceding six years (1890-1895) by the sum of £1,901,119. On the contrary, the average annual exportation of British manufactures to the remaining foreign countries has shown an increase of £2,431,071 during the last seven years as compared with the preceding years, 1890-1895. In other words,

²⁴ Holland and Belgium must be placed in the same list with Germany since much of the trade recorded as between the United Kingdom and Holland and Belgium really represents German trade carried on through the ports of Rotterdam and Antwerp.

the almost absolute constancy which has manifested itself in the exportation of British manufactures to foreign countries must be explained by the absolute decline in the exports of such goods to the industrial nations, a decline which has, however, been compensated by a moderate gain in the neutral markets, and by the exceptionally high exports to the colonies in recent years.

But one other feature in the distribution of Great Britain's export trade as between the industrial nations and the other markets of the world still remains to be noted, namely, the change in the proportion of manufactured exports to the total exports. Since 1850, for example, the percentage of British manufactures to the protected colonies of Canada and Victoria varied from 93 per cent of the total exports in that year to 91 per cent in 1900. India has received practically the same proportion during the entire period 1860-1900; while, as regards the neutral countries and colonies, the proportion has fluctuated from 91 per cent in 1850 to 85 per cent in 1900. In the case, however, of the principal protected countries the change has been considerably greater. In 1850 their imports of Great Britain's manufactures amounted to 96 per cent of her total exports to those countries. By 1860 the proportion had fallen to 90 per cent, and in 1870 to 86 per cent. In the succeeding three decades the proportion fell from 85 per cent in 1880 to 83 per cent in 1890, and as low as 72 per cent in 1900. These percentages clearly indicate that while the industrial nations are sending a larger proportion of their total exports to Great Britain in the form of manufactured goods, they in turn are taking a larger proportion of their imports from Great Britain in the form of raw material for the utilization of their own industries.²⁵

Conclusion.

The results of this discussion of the main features of the foreign trade of the United Kingdom may be summarized as follows:

(1) That the annual imports of the United Kingdom, owing principally to her returns on foreign investments and her remuneration for services, vastly exceed her exports. Moreover, that this annual excess of imports over exports has been large for over half a century and is, on the whole, an increasing one.

²⁵ "British Board of Trade Statistics on British and Foreign Trade," 1903, p. 17.

(2) That subsequent to the years 1871-1875 the money value of Great Britain's export trade, despite large variations in individual years, shows scarcely any advance until the years 1899 and 1900, when an unusual increase occurred through the influence exerted by the South African War and the Indian Famine. Considering, however, the general decline in prices during the last quarter of a century, the apparent constancy in Great Britain's export trade becomes in reality a substantial increase.

(3) That the United Kingdom is becoming more and more dependent upon the outside world for her supply of food; and that in this connection she must depend upon sources outside of the empire for practically four-fifths of her total imports.

(4) That the proportion of imported manufactured goods to the total imports into the United Kingdom has shown a constant increase, while the proportion of manufactured exports to the total exports from the United Kingdom has, on the other hand, shown a constant decrease.

(5) That, as compared with foreign countries, the colonies and possessions of Great Britain take approximately 38 per cent of her exports of manufactures, and in turn supply approximately one-fifth of her imports of food and somewhat more than one-fourth of her imports of raw material.

(6) That, as compared with foreign countries, the relative value of the colonies to the United Kingdom, either as a source of supply or as a market for her produce, has scarcely undergone any change during nearly the whole of the last half century; also, that the colonies are becoming more and more independent of her as regards their total import and export trade.

(7) That the proportions of Great Britain's export trade to the protected and unprotected markets have been reversed since 1850, and especially so as regards the category of manufactured goods.

(8) That since 1890 the United Kingdom has experienced an absolute loss in her exports of manufactures to the leading industrial nations, a decline which has, however, been compensated by gains in the neutral foreign markets as well as in her colonies. Moreover, these industrial nations, while taking a smaller proportion of their imports from the United Kingdom in the form of manufactured goods, have considerably increased their exports of such goods to her own market.

The above conclusions regarding Great Britain's relative economic position may best be summed up by viewing her situation from two different standpoints, namely, (1) as a capitalist and seafaring nation, and (2) as a manufacturing and exporting nation. From the point of view of the former, Great Britain's supremacy, as may be inferred from her immense and increasing imports, is still unshaken. In fact, her imports amount to 83 per cent of the combined imports of France, Germany and the United States, and in the year 1902 exceeded her exports by the enormous sum of £184,000,000. Over half the tonnage of the world is to-day in the possession of Great Britain; and more than any other country she may also be described as a "creditor and landlord nation" whose financial supremacy, as has been aptly said, "rests on a far broader basis than the territory of England itself; it draws its strength from the entire world."²⁶

As a manufacturing and exporting nation, Great Britain also stands far in the lead as regards absolute trade figures. Yet here are noticeable tendencies which, in view of the fact that the United Kingdom's industrial welfare is inextricably bound up with her export trade, must give cause for uneasiness. In the first place, her colonies and possessions are more and more becoming independent of her as regards their international trade. Foreign countries in the year 1900 exported merchandise to the extent of £47,000,000 to the self-governing colonies as opposed to £55,000,000 for the United Kingdom itself, and of this amount approximately 68 per cent consisted of products which the United Kingdom produces, and which in large measure she could be expected to export in competition with foreign countries. Secondly, we have noted an absolute decline in the United Kingdom's exports of manufactured articles to the leading industrial nations, while they in turn have considerably increased their exports of such goods to the British market. Moreover, there has been a reversal in the "proportionate distribution of British exports as between the protected and unprotected markets." After making due allowance for all other causes which may have operated towards such a reversal, we must conclude with the British Board of Trade Memoranda that "there can be no doubt as to the effect of Continental and American tariffs in checking Great Britain's export trade, especially in manu-

²⁶ Professor P. S. Reinsch, "Colonial Government," 1902, p. 82.

factured articles, with the group of 'protected countries' during the last two decades.'²⁷ Lastly, Great Britain has permanently lost her monopoly in the manufacturing industry which an early start had given her for many years, and is henceforth obliged to compete with a number of nations whose energy, skill and industrial efficiency have in recent years risen to a level with her own, if not exceeded her in certain cases, and which, while protecting their own markets against Great Britain's manufactures, are constantly seeking a wider market in the neutral countries as well as in the British colonies. It is but a matter of time when Great Britain, if she wishes to hold her own against the combined competition of the leading industrial nations, will either have to face them openly in an attempt to overcome their inroads upon her export trade through superior skill or industrial organization or otherwise be forced over to a policy corresponding to that of her protected rivals. If she decides to choose the latter course, it seems in all probability that she may best avoid the brunt of foreign competition by attracting to herself commercially, through restrictive measures, that vast and choice part of the world which is now bound to her politically.

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²⁷ "British Board of Trade Statistics on British and Foreign Trade," 1903, p. 16.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S FISCAL POLICY

One may search diligently through the voluminous periodical literature upon the subject of the present fiscal controversy in England without being at all sure that he understands just what subject is under discussion. Those who range themselves upon the side of the ex-Colonial Secretary dwell upon the peril to England in not having a navy which outnumbered the ships of all the rest of the world in a ratio of five to three; or analyze the foreign trade of the United Kingdom and tremble because the balance is constantly against Great Britain, and because over 50 per cent of the wheat, flour, and meat consumed by her inhabitants is drawn from the United States. They find that, from whatever point they view the situation, a new fiscal policy is necessary; but as for discussion of any specific proposals, there is little of it.

Mr. Chamberlain himself long hesitated to outline any specific policy; it was not feasible to do so before the administration had first been given general powers to negotiate with the colonial and foreign governments, and had had an opportunity in the course of such negotiations to work out a detailed outline. However, in his speech at Glasgow, October 7, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain did give a detailed and specific outline of his policy, though claiming it to be merely provisional and subject at any time to modifications.

He proposed to lay a specific duty of two shillings per quarter upon foreign grain, excepting from this duty maize, which was the food of the very poor of England, and also was the "raw material of the farmer," it being the principal material with which he fattened his swine. To compensate this tax he proposed to place a duty upon wheat flour imported from foreign countries, making it large enough to give to the British miller a "substantial preference;" the object of the latter feature being to re-establish the flour-milling industry of England. He further contemplated an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent on foreign meat and dairy produce, excepting bacon, "a popular food with some of the poorest of the population," in order to encourage the production of those commodities in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. And finally he would possibly place a tax upon foreign fruits and wines in order

to favor the producers of fruits and wines in South Africa and Australia; though this item was more provisional than the others.

To compensate the British consumers for any small burdens which the foregoing taxes might impose upon them, Mr. Chamberlain proposed a reduction of the duties on certain articles which are already on the tariff list. These reductions consist of a remission of four pence per pound of the duty on tea, or 75 per cent; a reduction of 50 per cent of that on sugar, and "corresponding" reductions of the duties on coffee and cocoa.

These proposed reductions were estimated as amounting to four shillings per head of population; while the proposed new taxes would amount to only three shillings, netting a loss to the Exchequer of two million eight hundred thousand sterling. To recoup the treasury for this loss, he proposed to place upon manufactures imported from foreign countries an *average* duty of 10 per cent. This, he estimated, would yield about nine millions sterling and leave a large surplus on the basis of which to make further reductions in existing duties.

In his speech at Birmingham on May 15, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain had unreservedly expressed himself in favor of remitting to the people the whole increase of revenue from his proposed duties on foodstuffs in the form of old-age pensions. But in his more recent speeches he seems to have abandoned that item of his programme.

The objects of this fiscal policy, as expressed or implied in the course of his speeches, are three in number. The first sometimes appears under the name of "retaliation," and just as often under that of "reciprocity." Mr. Chamberlain is careful to disclaim any protectionist sympathies, like Mr. Balfour, "approaching the issue from the free-trade standpoint." But he finds that the protective policies of the other great commercial and industrial nations have rendered actual free trade non-existent; all that Great Britain has to represent it is "free imports." He would therefore place duties upon the principal imports from foreign countries, as a matter of retaliation against them, and in order to place the United Kingdom in position to negotiate reciprocity treaties with those foreign countries. The latter feature, however, does not seem to occupy an important place in his programme.

In this retaliatory programme an exception is to be made in

favor of the British colonies in return for concessions from them in duties placed upon imports from Great Britain. This is part of a scheme of intra-imperial reciprocity, the object of which is to cement the British empire together by developing the commercial relations between its parts. And at the outset of the present fiscal campaign this, rather than retaliation against foreign countries, seemed to be the mark at which Mr. Chamberlain was aiming.

This object, closer union of the empire, is the one in connection with preferential tariffs which is expressly stated by the advocates of the policy. A second object is implied in the course of the argument, namely, a strengthening of the national or imperial defence. The manner in which preferential tariffs are to accomplish this is by rendering the empire less dependent upon foreign sources for its food supply. Everything which the inhabitants of the empire need could be obtained in very considerable quantities from within its own borders if the natural resources were developed. Premier Rollin, of Manitoba, has shown with considerable plausibility that if the present rate at which the western provinces of the Dominion are being peopled and developed continues, Canada can in a very few years furnish the United Kingdom with all the wheat it needs, whereas now Great Britain takes about 50 per cent of the wheat, flour, and meat she consumes from the United States. South Africa, Australia and New Zealand have great possibilities as meat-producing regions, and a preferential tariff which would favor these industries and stimulate the development of Western Canada would, in the view of the fiscal reformers, render the United Kingdom largely independent of the rest of the world for her food supply and greatly add to her security and power in the event of a foreign war.

Finally there remains to be named an object which Mr. Chamberlain would not probably, and in fact does not, admit as being before him in the present controversy, namely, protection. The ex-Colonial Secretary expressly denies the charge of being a protectionist; yet in the fiscal scheme which he has outlined he would give "a substantial preference" to the British flour producer in order to re-establish "one of England's greatest industries;" in his Greenock speech he appealed very effectively to his audience by expressing himself as desirous of restoring to them the sugar industry which had been destroyed through foreign competition. Elsewhere he named, in support of his argument, three industries

which have been destroyed by foreign competition, namely, sugar, which was alluded to above, agriculture, and silk manufacture. The tin-plate industry lost its valuable American market after the United States placed its protective duty around the manufacture of tin plate within its own borders. The American practice of "dumping" its surplus iron and steel manufactures on the English market has seriously threatened the iron trade of the United Kingdom. The implication in these appeals seems protective; and indeed, in his contemplated duties of 10 per cent on imported manufactures, Mr. Chamberlain might be and has been accused of slipping into his programme a moderately protective feature under the guise of a compensation to the treasury for reductions of other taxes. Although he claims that his purpose in this is ultimately to bring about a nearer approach to actual free trade, he nevertheless seems friendly to the protective idea, going so far as to cite the great progress of Germany and the United States under high protective systems as indicating a fallacy in the Cobden doctrines of free trade.

The objects which Mr. Chamberlain has in view, then, are: nominally, retaliation or reciprocity, strengthening of the imperial defence, a closer union of the empire, and seemingly, at least, protection to British manufacturers. These ideas of imperial defence, imperial federation, protection to British manufactures, or, as it is customary to put it, England's relative industrial decline,—and the means of treating these phenomena, preferential tariffs within the empire,—are intimately associated in all discussions of the present situation. The desirability of preserving the integrity of the empire is generally assumed, and then it is shown that from whichever of the remaining ideas we set out, preferential treatment of the British colonies necessarily results.

Thus, if we start from the standpoint of retaliation against foreign countries, or of protection, we must make an exception in favor of the colonies in order to keep the empire from disintegrating. One writer, beginning with a discussion of imperial defence as a basis, shows that the rapidly increasing burden of military and naval expenditures will necessitate a revolution in the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom; the income tax cannot be made to yield the additional revenue needed; indeed, the present high rate, which is a war measure, cannot hope to be maintained in time of peace; the remaining taxes and customs cannot be made to yield a material

increase in revenue. The necessary result will be the imposition of new taxes, and these, it is assumed, will be somewhat protective in their nature. Thus the writer arrives at the idea of protection. And as before, it is assumed that an exception must be made in favor of the colonies, lest the empire disintegrate, and the necessity of preferential tariffs is shown.

Indeed, these questions of imperial federation, imperial defence, etc., have been intimately associated with one another and with that of preferential arrangements within the empire almost from the beginning. Great Britain's industrial decline is, for the most part, a new subject; yet even as early as 1887, Mr. Hofmeyr, of South Africa, cited this very matter of the decline of British exports as an argument in favor of an imperial customs arrangement; while imperial defence, or imperial federation in its broader sense, has ever been the excuse of the colonists for clamoring for a preference for their products in the markets of Great Britain.

To trace the development of the present fiscal policy we may use as a starting-point the colonial philosophy which ruled during the early and middle part of the last century. The revolt of the American colonies, coupled with the spirit of liberalism which pervaded the political philosophy of the time, induced an attitude of indifference, and indeed of pessimism, toward dependencies. It was believed that in the natural course of events the colonies would one by one sever their political relations with the empire, and become independent states; and the insistent demands of the Australasian colonies for complete local autonomy seemed to substantiate this view. In 1841 Lewis published his work on Government in Dependencies, and in this he found that the chief advantages arising from the relationship of sovereign state and dependency were on the side of the dependency, and that even these survived only during the youth of the dependency. Hence Great Britain was not only to expect that her colonies would ultimately become independent, but was to look forward with favor to the accomplishment of this end, as relieving the mother country of a part of her burdens.

This philosophy largely prevailed down till the middle of the eighties; it was this philosophy which induced Mr. Disraeli to refer to the colonies as "millstones about the neck of England;" and it has been asserted that this philosophy, with which Mr. Glad-

stone seems to have been thoroughly imbued, rather than the Boer success at Majuba Hill, gave to the South African Republic its independence in 1881. And even as late as 1894, and indeed at the present time, we find writers who confidently assert that the prosperity and safety of both the United Kingdom and the colonies is to be gained through the complete independence of the latter rather than in a closer federation.

But this early attitude toward colonial possessions has been gradually reversed. In 1854 Mr. Joseph Howe delivered before the Nova Scotia Legislature an address in which he took vital issue with the orthodox colonial philosophy of his time.¹ This was the time when the "Separatist" movement was seemingly especially strong because of the clamors of the colonies for local autonomy. Joseph Howe was instrumental in this movement; but he favored it, not as a step toward complete separation, but "toward a closer and more satisfactory federation of the empire." And this may be said to mark the beginning of the present "imperialistic" movement.

In 1883 Seeley published his "Expansion of England," and instead of descanting upon the disadvantages of colonies, he dwelt rather upon the things which Great Britain had accomplished, and even grew eloquent upon the subject of the glories of the empire. This is significant in that it seems to have made considerable impression upon the English people of the day.

By 1884 the imperial idea seems to have gained a strong, though by no means preponderating hold upon the colonists, and a considerable following in the mother country as well. In that year was formed the Imperial Federation League, of which the late W. E. Foster was the first president. The purpose of its organization was "To arouse interest in the general idea of imperial federation, to discussing its feasibility, to advocate periodical conventions of colonial representatives, and to promulgating the suggestion that the colonies should assume part of the burdens of imperial expenditure, and thus give some return for the benefits received."² The idea back of it was, that the constitutional arrangement under which the empire was then governed could not

¹ Parkin, "Imperial Federation," pp. 71-72. This was published in 1866, in a collection of speeches under the title of "Organization of the Empire."

² P. S. Reinsch, "Colonial Government" p. 260.

be permanent if the empire was to be united; that the resources of the empire should be combined for the common defence, and that all parts to bear the burden should have a voice in the control of imperial expenditures.³

The Imperial Federation League held annual dinners, at which these various subjects were discussed; but it never took any definite position in regard to any of them, except to recommend that colonial conferences like that of 1887 should be held at frequent intervals; its function was to discuss and promote discussion rather than to recommend. It was dissolved in 1893, and in 1895 its place was taken by a new organization, the British Empire League.⁴

The idea of imperial unity has developed more rapidly since the colonial conference of 1887. A kindly feeling toward the colonies had been induced by the small but voluntary assistance rendered by New South Wales in the difficulties which culminated in the fall of Khartoum; and the colonies were called to a conference at the time of the Queen's Jubilee of 1887. At this conference the subject of British preference to colonial products, which seems by that time to have pushed itself toward the front, was expressly withheld from discussion; but one of the colonial premiers hit upon the happy idea of discussing "preference" or reciprocity only as it applied to intercolonial relations.

Sir Samuel Griffith, Premier of Queensland, who introduced the subject before the conference, expressed himself as not being sanguine of any immediate success, but thought that "an airing of the question might result in future good." He expected no favor from Great Britain. "The principle dear to English hearts of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, would render any immediate results improbable." Notwithstanding this, he thought that the closer union of the empire was a thing to be desired; and to attain that end he made the immediate proposal "that any country in the empire which should impose duties on imports should give to commodities coming from British possessions a preference over those from foreign countries."⁵

The Cape delegates, headed by Mr. Hofmeyr, had proposed, among others, this subject for discussion: "The feasibility of promoting closer union between the various parts of the British empire

³ T. A. Brassey, "Nineteenth Century," vol. 50, pp. 190 *et seq.*

⁴ P. S. Reinsch, "Colonial Government," p. 261.

⁵ English Bluebooks, 1887, "Accounts and Papers," LVI, p. 1 *et seq.*

by means of an imperial customs tariff, the revenue derived from such tariff to be devoted to the general defence of the empire." Mr. Hofmeyr, who followed the lead opened by Sir Samuel Griffith, proposed that for the purpose of raising revenue for imperial defence, a general tariff of possibly 2 per cent should be levied on all goods coming into the empire; this was not to supplant the tariff arrangements then existing in the several parts of the empire, but was to be additional to them, thus constituting in effect a preferential arrangement within the British empire.

His first object was to promote the union of the empire. The natural consequence of the dispersion of the empire was the development of local interests, which in turn gave rise to disintegrating tendencies. This was exemplified in the British West Indies, where had grown up a strong sentiment in favor of annexation to the United States in order to secure a market for their sugar; the temptations of Canada to enter into a commercial and possibly a political union with the United States was also an illustration of this point; in fact, the Imperial Federation League of Canada was formed for the express purpose of preventing the Dominion government from accepting from the United States certain propositions concerning a customs union between the two countries, which were regarded as an ingenious trick, the purpose of which was to eventually bring Canada into the American Union. It was Hofmeyr's aim, by removing such temptations, to counteract the disintegrating tendencies in the empire. His second object was to bring about a more satisfactory arrangement in regard to imperial defence. Up to that time only Australia had agreed to contribute anything to the expenses of the imperial navy, and this contribution was insignificant, amounting only to ninety odd thousand sterling a year.

Although the comments on this proposition were in large part favorable, no resolutions were passed. In so far as the material results of this, and indeed of the following conference, are concerned, these are accurately stated by Lord Knutsford, then Colonial Secretary, in his despatch. "The conference," wrote he, "has been productive of the greatest good, in the opportunities which it has afforded for the interchange of information."

During the years following this conference, the idea of preferential tariffs seems to have gained supporters rapidly, especially in Canada, where Sir Charles Tupper and George T. Dennison have

been active in agitating the matter. The former supported the idea at the annual dinner of the Imperial Federation League in 1889; the United Trade Empire League was formed for the purpose of advocating the promotion of intra-imperial trade by means of "a moderate fence around the empire." This organization, in 1892, numbered five thousand members, three hundred of whom were members of imperial or colonial parliaments.⁶ The idea was commended by the resolutions of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Dublin in 1891; by motion of the Dominion House of Commons on April 25, 1892; and in June, 1892, by a session of the United Trade Empire League, at which were representatives from Great Britain, South Africa, Canada and the Australasian colonies, and at which "no discordant note was heard."⁷

The question of preferential tariffs within the empire took first place in the discussions of the Second Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the empire in June, 1892. The first two resolutions dealt respectively with the expediency of closer union of the parts of the empire and with free trade as a basis for promoting this. Mr. G. W. Medley, of the London Chamber of Commerce, then offered a resolution, rejecting the idea of preferential duties based on protection as "politically dangerous and economically disastrous," and recommending to the colonies that, as far as circumstances would permit, they should adopt the non-protective policy of the mother country.

To this Sir Charles Tupper offered an amendment, recommending a small differential duty, not exceeding 5 per cent, to be adopted by the imperial and colonial governments, in favor of certain productions and against foreign imported articles. The debate waxed hot for two days, when the amendment was finally defeated and the original motion carried by a vote of fifty-five to thirty-three, Australasia and South Africa voting against the amendment. In view of the declarations of prominent leaders of the Australasian governments, and of their important trades bodies, this attitude was unexpected. Sir Samuel Griffith, Premier of Queensland; James Service, of Victoria, and his successor, Alfred Deakin; Sir John Downes, of South Australia; Sir William Fitzherbert, of New Zealand, and the Hon. Mr. Dibbs, Premier of

⁶ Sir Charles Tupper, "Fortnightly Review," vol. 58, p. 137.

⁷ *Ibid.*, "Fortnightly," 58, p. 138.

New South Wales, as well as the Chambers of Commerce of Canterbury, New Zealand, Hamilton and Cape Town, had all placed themselves on record as favoring preferential tariffs.⁸ This was the last free-trade resolution to be offered at any congress of the Chambers of Commerce or any colonial conference.

The second colonial conference met at Ottawa in 1894, all the above-named parts of the empire again being represented. The discussions impress one as being largely a repetition of those of 1887. The subject of preferential tariffs took the lead in the discussions, and "what we might call the theoretical view of free trade—almost the utopian idea of trade—was expressed side by side with those from the colonies, which were already feeling the stress of foreign protective tariffs. The wish of some of the delegates was that the colonies should be allowed a free hand in making commercial treaties and even without the empire."⁹

The resolutions emphasized the advisability of permitting the colonies to enter into agreements of commercial reciprocity, including the power of making differential tariffs within the empire, and recommended to Great Britain that she should cancel certain foreign treaties which obstructed this arrangement. They emphasized the importance of "mutual and profitable commerce" as a means of binding the parts of the empire together, and finally resolved, (1) in favor of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies, creating preferences; (2) that until the mother country could see her way clear to entering into such an arrangement, it was desirable that the colonies should enter into such arrangements with one another; (3) that the South African Customs Union "should be considered as part of the territory capable of being brought within the scope of the contemplated trade arrangements."¹⁰

So far as actual results, other than promoting a discussion of the subjects therein raised, this conference had the same amount of success as did the preceding. Lord Jersey, who could not see any likelihood of a favorable reception of the preferential idea in England, delivered an address which was calculated to allay any false hopes which might have arisen in the breasts of the premiers;

⁸ Sir Charles Tupper, "Fortnightly," 58, 137 *et seq.*

⁹ J. Van Sommer, "Magazine of Commerce," September, 1903, p. 178.

¹⁰ English Bluebooks, 1894, "Accounts and Papers," LVI, pp. 337 *et seq.*

Lord Ripon, in his despatch, adopted the same attitude, and nothing came of the conference.

In the sessions of the Congress of the Chambers of Commerce in 1896 and 1900, and the Colonial Conference of 1897, there was nothing much new except Mr. Chamberlain and the language in which the resolutions were couched. Mr. Chamberlain, who came into the Colonial Secretaryship in 1895 and who represented the British government at the Congress of the Chambers of Commerce at London in 1896, has been pre-eminently the apostle of imperial federation; yet in 1896 he discouraged all attempts to get preferential customs treatment from Great Britain, saying:

"I pass on now to a proposal which found expression at the great Congress [of Chambers of Commerce] of Ottawa, and which was that we should abandon our trade system in favor of the colonial system. It is in effect that we should be expected to change our whole system and to impose duties on food and raw material. There is not the slightest chance that in any reasonable time such an agreement would be adopted. The foreign trade of this country is so large, and the foreign trade of the colonies is comparatively so small, that a small preference given to us upon that foreign trade would make so slight a difference, and would be so slight a benefit, to the total volume of our foreign trade that I do not believe the working classes of this country would consent to make a revolutionary change for what they think would be an infinitesimal gain. We have, therefore, if we are to make progress, to seek a third course, and I admit, if I understand it correctly, I find the germs of such a proposal in a resolution to be submitted to you on behalf of the Toronto Board of Trade. That resolution I understand to be one for the creation of a British Customs Union."¹¹

This resolution, introduced by the Toronto Board of Trade, and dealing with such practical subjects as the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the establishment by Canada of steamship connection with Hong Kong, New Zealand and Australia, the subsidy of a fast Atlantic steamship service, and the hastening of postal, wire and cable communications with different portions of the empire, was to this effect:

"*Resolved*, that in the opinion of this Congress, the advantages to be obtained by a closer union between the various portions of the empire are so great as to justify an arrangement as nearly as possible of the nature of a zollverein, based upon the principles of the freest exchange of commodities within the empire consistent with the tariff requirements incident

¹¹ "Magazine of Commerce," September, 1903, p. 179.

to the maintenance of the local governments of each kingdom, dominion, province, or colony now forming part of the British family of nations."¹²

This resolution, which was given precedence in the debates, was amended so as to favor "a customs union between Great Britain and her colonies on the basis of 'preferential treatment;'" but as finally amended it "went no further than asking Her Majesty's government to take into consideration the formation of some practical plan for the establishment of closer commercial relations."¹³

Before the Third Colonial Conference, which met at the time of the Queen's Jubilee in 1897, Mr. Chamberlain proposed the formation of an Imperial Council, to which the government of each part of the empire should send an official representative. This proposal the colonial premiers flatly rejected, expressing themselves, by resolution, as being of the opinion "that the present political relations of the colonies to the mother country were entirely satisfactory;" Mr. Seddon and Sir E. N. C. Braddon raised the only dissenting voices. On commercial subjects, however, they were not so entirely satisfied; and they recommended by resolution, firstly, the denunciation by Great Britain of any foreign treaties then hampering her relations to her colonies; secondly, the premiers undertook to secure from their respective governments a preference to the products of the United Kingdom.

Later Canada did offer the United Kingdom a preference of 25 per cent of her import duties; this offer the British government accepted, and in return therefor denounced, in 1898, the commercial treaties with Germany and Belgium. Canada later increased her preference to $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, and she also took the West Indian sugar industry under her protecting wing. No other tangible results came.

The fourth Congress of the Chambers of Commerce, in June, 1900, deserves mention only as producing a reaffirmation of its previously assumed position regarding the desirability and necessity of adopting a policy based on the principle of "mutual benefit," whereby each component part of the empire would receive a substantial advantage in trade as a result of its national relationship.¹⁴

¹² J. Van Sommer. "Magazine of Commerce," September, 1903, p. 180.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

The last conference of the colonial premiers was held in London, in June, 1902. Mr. Chamberlain called this conference for the purpose of discussing the political relations between the mother country and the colonies, imperial defence, and the commercial relations of the empire.¹⁵ As Mr. Vince, Mr. Chamberlain's "right bower," states the case, the project of federation based on the idea of free trade within the empire was placed before the premiers.¹⁶ A writer in *The Nation* of July, 1902, represented the discussion of the first point, the political relations, as then progressing with a marked reticence on both sides towards making any specific proposals.¹⁷ The premiers were reticent because they did not feel any pressing need for discussing the matter then. As they had expressed themselves in 1897, they were satisfied with present arrangements, and had no propositions to submit. Consequently they merely leaned back and asked Mr. Chamberlain what he had to offer. He, likewise, had formulated the subject only in a *general* outline, and not in any specific form.

The resolutions which were passed were in substance as follows:

1. They recognized that preferential trading between the parts of the empire would stimulate and facilitate mutual commercial intercourse, and by promoting the development of the resources and industries of the several parts, strengthen the empire.
2. That in the present circumstances, a general system of free trade between the parts of the empire was not practicable.
3. But to promote an increasing trade within the empire, it was desirable that the colonies should, as far as circumstances permit, give substantial preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the United Kingdom.
4. The premiers urged upon the government of the United Kingdom the expediency of granting preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the colonies, either by exemption from or reduction of duties then or thereafter imposed.
5. The premiers undertook to submit to their respective governments at the earliest opportunity, the principle of these resolutions, and to request them to take such measures as might be necessary to give effect to it.

The attitude of the premiers toward the subject of political relations may be judged by the fact that the subject was not even

¹⁵ "Review of Reviews," 26, p. 353.

¹⁶ Vince, "Mr. Chamberlain's Proposals."

¹⁷ "The Nation," 75, '6.

mentioned in their resolutions. In the second resolution they decisively reject Mr. Chamberlain's proposition of intra-imperial free trade; while the remaining three resolutions are in substance mere repetitions of those of the two preceding conferences, and quite plainly indicate that what the premiers want is an advantage for colonial products in the markets of the mother country; for the attainment of this end they are willing to grant to the mother country some small advantages in their own markets. They did not feel themselves justified in going to the full length of declaring for absolute free trade within the empire, because they felt that the immediate removal of all protective duties would greatly injure the capital which has already been invested in the protected industries of the colonies. The approach to free trade must be gradual in order that these interests might have sufficient time to adjust themselves to the anticipated new conditions.

The recent Congress of the Chambers of Commerce which met in London during August of this year need not hold our attention. Although the discussion lasted for a number of days, the resolutions as finally adopted were the same in essence and almost identical in language with those of the preceding congress in 1900.

Several inferences may be drawn from this somewhat lengthy recital of history. The first is, that the subjects of federation, defence, and preferential tariffs are not new, but have been before the attention of the outlying portions of the empire for many years. Secondly, that the colonists do not in the main desire complete separation from the empire; thirdly, that they do not at present desire any closer political union of the parts of the empire than now exists, and consequently any process of cementing the parts of the empire more firmly together is not likely to proceed along this line; the colonists do not look with complacency or favor upon any prospective change in political relations which is likely in any way to deprive them of their present measure of local autonomy. Fourthly, that the colonies, in so far as the expressions of their premiers and trades bodies form an indication of their wishes, do desire closer trade relations with one another, and especially the mother country; and that the means they have in view by which to attain these consist in most part of a customs arrangement within the empire, by which the products and manufactures of each part shall have, in the markets of every other part, an advan-

tage over similar commodities coming from foreign countries. In other words, they want "preferential tariffs."

The work so far has, comparatively speaking, been easy. But when we attempt to ascertain Mr. Chamberlain's reasons for forcing this subject before the attention of the British electorate at the present moment, the task becomes more difficult. Mind-reading is never an easy task for the uninitiated, and when the subject is so astute a politician as is Mr. Chamberlain, it is especially difficult.

It might be said that the action of the colonial premiers in rejecting his free-trade proposition and in undertaking to persuade their governments to take immediate steps toward the adoption of a "preferential" tariff system has in a measure morally forced him into this step. He has posed pre-eminently as the apostle of imperial federation and the friend of the colonies, and when they refused all his other overtures, nothing remained to him but the present step; yet twice before the colonial premiers have undertaken to accomplish the same task, and no one in Great Britain felt himself morally forced to do anything.

Indeed it is probable that not one circumstance, but, for Mr. Chamberlain, a happy combination of circumstances, induced him to open the campaign at the present time. The Balfour Ministry was without an issue, and felt to be on the verge of dissolution; and it is conceivable that Mr. Chamberlain would not be averse to the premiership if it were urged upon him. Great Britain's export trade had been at a standstill for many years, and the exports of manufactures to the principal strongholds of protection had been falling off. The manufacturers had for many years endured the increasing strain of foreign competition, and were being more and more pinched by it, until they were ready for measures of relief; in fact, when the country was about ready for a change to a protective basis the insistent demands of the colonies for a preference in the markets of Great Britain served as a convenient handle by which to pull in the protective system under a less offensive name. But if Mr. Chamberlain remained in the Balfour Ministry, and this should go before the electorate with protection, or as Mr. Balfour terms it, "retaliation," as an issue and he returned to office, the chances were good that not Mr. Chamberlain, but Mr. Balfour, would reap the benefit.

As to the ex-Colonial Secretary's chance of success in the

present campaign, any prediction at the present moment must be too conjectural to be worthy of much consideration. The Balfour Ministry is not yet before the electorate, and it is difficult to foresee every turn which may be given the issue. Mr. Chamberlain and his fiscal scheme are apparently received with much enthusiasm wherever he goes; but so are his chief opponents, and in the very same places. The Conservative organizations at Birmingham, Greenock, Newcastle, and Glasgow adopted resolutions commending Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy. But a few days later a trades body in Birmingham condemned his whole scheme, expressing themselves as not desirous of exchanging cheap food for old-age pensions. Mr. John A. Hobson, who has traveled all over the United Kingdom interviewing the captains and managers of industry, found scarcely a manufacturer of importance in all Great Britain who was not in favor of protection and Mr. Chamberlain. This augurs success for the ex-Colonial Secretary, but no one will be able to tell the result until it has happened.

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FOREIGN RAILWAY EVENTS IN 1902-03

The newer and more remote parts of the world in which industrial and commercial life is relatively little developed naturally constitute the field in which the problems of railway construction and development are among the leading questions of the day. The greater part of Africa, Asia, Australasia and South America lie in this field, to which parts of Continental Europe, North and Central America may be added. In countries like England, Germany, France and the United States, where railway development is practically complete, at least so far as main lines are concerned, the railway problem is primarily an administrative problem, involving the more perfect adjustment of the various interests in the matter of service and rates, and the establishment and maintenance of a more rational *modus vivendi* among the different carriers. In the former group of countries, financial, political and military considerations predominate, while in the latter these are generally subordinated to social and economic interests, although in a certain sense economic and social interests may be said to exercise a controlling influence over transportation affairs in all parts of the world.

Last year's railway developments in Africa illustrate the co-existence of all these classes of interests: social and economic, in employing the railways in the restoration of the territory devastated by war, and in developing the mineral and agricultural resources of both coast and inland regions; political and military, in the order in which original construction, extensions and improvements have been planned; financial, in the importance attached to the manner in which the necessary funds have been raised, and the control of railway financiering in general; administrative, in the changes in railway management and in the readjustment of relations among the different South African systems. During Colonial Secretary Chamberlain's visit in South Africa, few, if any, subjects received more frequent mention than the railway question. The clamor for lower railway rates as a means of reducing the excessive cost of living became irresistible. It was asserted that it cost less to transport certain commodities from North America over 1,500 miles of railway and thence by sea to

Delagoa Bay, than from Delagoa Bay to Johannesburg, a distance of 396 miles. At a banquet given in honor of Secretary Chamberlain at Ladysmith, the governor of Natal, in a powerful speech, admitted the necessity of a readjustment of the relations among the different South African systems with the view of lowering rates, and recommended the appointment of a non-partisan commission to consider the questions brought forward by him. On a similar occasion at Bloemfontein, it was officially announced that in order to allay the fears regarding the deflection of traffic from one colony to another as a result of contemplated extensions, the earnings of the Transvaal and Cape Colony railways should be pooled. The unsettled and unsatisfactory condition of South African railway affairs is largely due to the conflicting interests of the different colonies with respect to local and through traffic. The reported appropriation for railway purposes of \$65,000,000 out of the Transvaal loan, authorized by Parliament early in May, is expected to remove many of the existing intercolonial railway difficulties. The Bloemfontein conference recommended that all private contracts reserve to the government the right of expropriation of all railway property, control of the cost of construction and the profits of contractors, and the regulation of rates.

A request for a grant of £600,000 additional for the completion of the Uganda railway, bringing the total up to £5,500,000, or about £9,500 per mile, was the occasion of sharp debates in both Houses of the British Parliament during December and January. The Uganda railway extends from Mombasa on the Indian Ocean, about 4° south of the equator, to Port Florence on Lake Victoria Nyanza, a little north of the equator. The entire line of 584 miles thus extends through a tropical belt, the greater part of which is said to be infested with malaria. Members of Parliament charged the government with extravagance and inefficiency, and demanded an explanation of the rejection of bids of private contractors offering to construct the railway at one-half the amount expended by the government. The government justified the situation on the ground of unfavorable climatic conditions, excessive rains, scarcity of coal, and the importation of labor from India. Furthermore, other powers were moving in the direction of Uganda, and the future possibilities of the British East African protectorate, it was argued, amply justify

the government's policy. Since then the Uganda railway has been opened for traffic and the reported earnings amount to £3 per mile per week. There are two through passenger trains weekly, connecting with two steamers built at Paisley, but erected on the shores of Victoria Nyanza, and capable of carrying 12 first-class and 100 deck passengers. Potatoes, which were formerly imported into South Africa from Central America and Portugal, are being shipped there now at the rate of 40 to 50 tons per month from the territory served by the Uganda railway. The cost of transportation has been reduced along this route from 7*s.* 6*d.* per ton-mile, being the old caravan rate, to 2½*d.* per ton-mile by rail. However, the government will probably be obliged to meet a deficit for some years to come, on account of its Uganda enterprise.

Before the close of 1903 the South African Chartered Company will have expended £2,000,000 for railway purposes, one-half for the completion of the line from Buluwayo to Victoria Falls, including a fine steel bridge over the Zambesi, and the construction of three branch lines varying in length from 25 to 100 miles in contiguous territory. The other £1,000,000 are to be devoted to a continuation of the Cape to Cairo railway from Victoria Falls northward to the great bend in the Kafu River, a branch of the Zambesi, where valuable deposits of copper and lead have been discovered. The supreme grandeur of Victoria Falls is destined to make it a rival of Niagara in attracting tourists, a fact of which the interested railway authorities have by no means been unmindful. In the official report of his recent trip through Rhodesia, the secretary of the Chartered Company, after comparing the 2,193 miles of railway in Rhodesia with the 612 of Natal, 442 of Orange River, 895 of the Transvaal and 2,396 of Cape Colony, remarks that these "facts lead him irresistibly to the conclusion that a new era in the history of Rhodesia has already commenced. The railways have more than fulfilled my most sanguine expectations, and their future is assured."

The British Gold Coast railway through Ashanti, with its route through a tropical belt between 4° and 8° north latitude, is being constructed at the rate of 6 to 7 miles per month. This road will be .126 miles in length with a gauge of 3 feet 6 inches, which is the "standard South African gauge." The contractors

at first had difficulty in securing the necessary labor, but since they have won the confidence of the natives they have experienced little difficulty in keeping up a force of laborers numbering 15,000, whom they pay about 30 cents a day.

The labor question has reached an acute stage in all parts of Africa. Lord Milner has asked for permission to import 10,000 Indians, to be employed exclusively in railway construction and to be repatriated at the end of ten years. The limitations regarding employment and repatriation are intended to overcome a deep-seated opposition to "Asiatics" in South Africa. Secretary Chamberlain expressed himself (July, 1903) as unwilling to grant Lord Milner's request until he could be assured of strong local support in the undertaking. At a notable Boer conference during midsummer, attended by representatives of all classes, General Botha expressed the conviction that the labor supply of the country was inadequate for its agricultural and industrial development, and that it might become necessary to resort to the importation of Asiatics.

While the British have done most to develop railways in Africa, other nations have not been inactive. During the first quarter of 1903 the German Reichstag appropriated 750,000 marks for the continuation of the Usambara line from Korogwe to Mombo, in German East Africa. One member of the Reichstag spoke in favor of the bill because he feared aggressive competition on the part of the Uganda railway, the eastern terminus of which is only 100 miles north from that of the Usambara line; another, because the railway would open up other parts of Usambara territory to agriculture and planting; and a third member favored the appropriation because he regarded the railway in the light of an experiment which would prove whether the colony really had any value. Traffic on this road has been ridiculously light. The estimated receipts for 1903 are 156,700 marks, against expenditures amounting to 346,682 marks, or a deficit of 189,982 marks. The number of colored passengers has been ten times the number of whites, and the amount of paying freight one-eleventh of the free freight in the form of materials for construction and government supplies.

The governor of German Southwest Africa reports that the most important question in the protectorate under his charge is

that of railway construction, and that railways must precede, not follow, economic development in the colonies, a principle which railway pioneers in the United States and Australia have long recognized. In October, 1899, the German government and the British South African Company entered into a treaty for the construction of a railway connecting the Rhodesia main line with the west coast, and more recently the Otavi Mines and Railway Company has projected extensions without which, the German governor says, the copper mines and marble quarries cannot be worked.

Late in 1902 an English syndicate secured the contract for the construction of a railway through Portuguese West African possessions, beginning at Benguela on the coast in latitude 13° south and extending eastward about 870 miles. In Portuguese East Africa the government has decided to build a new line which will open up new coal fields and reduce the present shortest distance of 396 miles between the coast and Johannesburg by way of Pretoria by 60 miles. The next shortest route is from Durban, 483½ miles, followed by the route from East London with 688 miles, from Port Elizabeth 715 miles, and, finally, from Cape Town 1,015 miles.

On January 1, 1903, the Imperial Ethiopian railway was opened as far as Adis Harrar, 308 kilometers from the French port of Jibuti. This is still 500 kilometers distant from the final terminus at Adis Abeba, the capital of Abyssinia, a charter for all of which was granted by King Menelek as early as 1894. While the Italian invasion interrupted the work, it called attention to the "great potentialities" of the country, and in February, 1901, the government of French Somaliland granted the Ethiopian company an annual subsidy of £20,000 for fifty years. Various opinions are current with respect to the ultimate economic success of the enterprise. A correspondent of the *London Times*, who passed over the route in the spring of 1903, describes the territory traversed by the line as "endless expanses of stones, of every form and shape and color, gorges without water or verdure, vast plains covered with scrub and thorns, but neither trees, nor crops, nor villages, nor signs of animal life, or, indeed, of permanent insect life other than the innumerable ant-hills." King Menelek has also promised Lord Cromer permission to connect the Soudan with Uganda by means of a railway through Abyssinian territory;

and plans for the construction of a line from Khartoum to the Red Sea, via Suakim, following the caravan routes, have been elaborated by Lord Cromer and the Sirdar.

Belgian authorities have sent engineers to Congo State to do preliminary work on a line from Lake Kisali toward the Rhodesian frontier to connect with one of the Cape lines.

It will thus be seen that in all parts of Africa the railway is wresting ground from the caravan and cart. Live calves carried 175 miles in sacks hung over the backs of mules; the camel and the donkey and the two-wheeled cart as active competitors for freight and passenger traffic will soon be things of the past. The Cape to Cairo railway, like the mid-rib of a leaf, joined with numerous east and westward branches terminating in its ocean margin, will soon carry over the whole of the once Dark Continent the life of modern civilization and build up empires of wealth and culture.

No single enterprise has in recent years achieved greater international importance than the Bagdad or Anatolian railway. The first 90 miles of this gigantic project of 1,500 miles of railway between the Sea of Marmora and the Persian Gulf were constructed by the Turkish government during the seventies of the past century. In 1888 a German syndicate purchased the lines as far as Ismid, and secured a charter for its extension. During the next four years the line was extended to Angora, the seat of the Galatians, to whom St. Paul addressed his epistle. In 1896 the main line was opened for traffic to Konia, and on July 27, 1903, construction was resumed on the succeeding section from Konia to Ereglia—the entire route being divided into sections of about 200 kilometers each. Thus far the Germans have borne by far the greater part of the financial burden, although French capitalists have lent substantial aid. In their attempts to interest English and other capitalists the Germans have met with unexpected opposition. Early in 1903 the British Prime Minister stated in Parliament, in reply to questions, that no formal communications between the British and foreign governments had taken place, although the subject had been referred to in two brief conversations, one with the French, and the other with the German Ambassador, about a year ago. So far as he knew, Mr. Balfour said, these had had no “results,” nor had these conversations exercised any influence. The remarks of the Prime Minis-

ter called forth a debate of some length in the House of Commons, in which the Bagdad railway was represented as distinctly a German enterprise which would injure existing English railways, and, in general, threaten English supremacy in the Persian Gulf. Led by the *London Times*, English public opinion gradually veered from an attitude of solicitude for investment opportunities to doubt concerning the whole project, terminating in strenuous opposition to it. Conflicting reports were circulated regarding the relative amounts of stock to be allotted to the different nationalities. Earlier reports gave France and Germany 40 per cent each, leaving 20 per cent for all others; later it was said that England, France and Germany were to receive 30 per cent each and all others together only 10 per cent. Meanwhile the *Times* continued its opposition, with the result that English capital was made to feel that under no circumstances could it participate in a project so prejudicial to legitimate British interests. England was displeased because the head of the Deutsche Bank was elected president, and the director of the Ottoman (French) Bank vice-president of the Bagdad Railway Company. Provisions of the concession were quoted to demonstrate the dominating influence of the German and French. At Constantinople, it was related, the *London Times* and *Punch* had been superseded by *Die Fliegende Blätter* and the *Kolonische Kreuzzeitung* in reading-rooms and hotels. French participation was explained on selfish grounds, for her two railways in Asia Minor would be greatly benefited through connection with the Bagdad line. Russia, in the words of M. Witte, regarded the project as a "serious affair, to which the attention of all Europe ought to be directed," and maintained an apathetic and even hostile attitude. "If French savings are engulfed in this bottomless pit," M. Witte is reported to have said to the manager of *La Patrie* of Paris, "if thousands of subscribers are ruined, Russia will certainly be blamed." Russia has been openly opposed to the Bagdad railway, and her Minister of Finance regards it as a "dream which will never be realized." Germany, on the other hand, says the thing will be done and in the near future, too, whether English and Russian capital participates or not. The Porte has agreed to deliver to the company 4 per cent bonds to the amount of 261,110*l.* for each kilometer of road, and the Germans can command the rest. The German

press naturally regards all this opposition as unwarranted and unjust, and as only another indication of English and Russian dislike for Germany. They characterize the railway as a great civilizing agent, *Kulturwerk*, in the benefits of which all nations may share alike. They maintain that diplomacy has been resorted to because in Turkey private interests must be backed by diplomacy in order to receive considerate treatment, and that Germany does not care to deal single-handed with the Sick Man. They describe the Bagdad railway as a private financial undertaking, international in character, in which foreign capital is invited to participate. And with the view of giving still further expression to the international character and the economic and political neutrality of the enterprise, a Swiss city has been selected as the seat of the principal office of the company. Antecedents for international projects of this kind, the friends of the railway say, are found in the Danube and Sanitary Commissions, and the Dette Publique. At all events it seems reasonably certain that the entire line will be constructed, reducing the time between London and Bombay to 11, and possibly 9 days, and gradually restoring Mesopotamia to its ancient economic importance.

Everything that Russia and England allege Germany will do by means of the Bagdad railway if she is given a free hand, Russia has already accomplished through her Siberian railway. Treaty obligations bound Russia to evacuate Manchuria during the latter part of 1902; but this "evacuation" consisted, in part, of the removal of troops from temporary quarters into permanent barracks erected on the right of way and on ceded lands adjoining railway stations. The latter sometimes cover ten square miles for a single station, and "railway guards to the number of 30,000 or more are significantly called frontier guards." In addition, Russia owns the steamers on the Manchurian streams which flow into Russian waters, and consequently she practically controls all Manchurian waterways as well. M. Witte's report on the importance of the Siberian railway urges a more careful and systematic use of the railway in promoting internal colonization, so that the annual increase of 1,500,000 in Russia's population may be planted on the thinly populated but immensely fertile lands of Siberia. Since 1896 the railway has distributed about 200,000 people annually, but this number should be greatly augmented,

says the Minister of Finance. Traffic in butter, fresh meat, fish, fruit and other Siberian products has approximately doubled during each year since 1898. A writer in the Russian *Economic Review* presents statistics to show that the traffic over the Siberian line must increase very greatly if it is to pay expenses. Passenger traffic is likely to increase, partly as the result of a conference, held in Paris in the fall of 1902, and representing Russian-Chinese lines, three French lines, Dutch, Belgian, German, Austro-Hungarian railways, one English company, and the International Sleeping-Car Company. The conference considered matters relating to through traffic to Dalny, Peking, Shanghai, Yokohama and other places, and designated London, Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest and St. Petersburg as places where offices for the sale of tickets to Oriental points are to be maintained. The present time between the large cities of western Europe and Peking is eighteen to nineteen days, and to Chinese or Japanese ports from two to three days longer, thus shortening the time by from thirteen to fifteen days, or about one month for the round trip, compared with the time consumed before the Siberian route was opened. The expenditure of some twelve millions of dollars has been authorized for Russian railway extensions, and a powerful syndicate of Russian and foreign capitalists is projecting numerous transverse lines to intersect with the Siberian railway. Financially, the Russian system has not been successful, and the estimated excess of railway expenditures over receipts has been placed at 60,000,000 rubles, or \$30,900,000, for 1903. In a statement reported to have been made before the Imperial Council, the Minister of Finance ascribed this situation mainly to the enforced construction of railways of a political and strategic character during the last decade. The construction of railways which are of economic value, he said, need cause no apprehension, and for a long time to come Russia will have to build several thousand versts annually of this kind of railway if she will hold her own against foreign competitors. "It is quite another question with railways that are purely of political and strategic value, such as the Novoselitz branches of the Southwestern Railways, the strategic lines in Poland and West Russia, the Ussuri and Central Asiatic railways, the southern branch of the Chinese Eastern railway and others. These railways will not, for a long time, pay even the

interest on the capital laid out in construction; some do not even cover working expenses." The minister of public works has taken steps to remove the causes of the numerous complaints entered in the "books of complaint" kept at stations for the use of the traveling public, and to eliminate other evils in the administration of railways. The complaints relate to the time for opening and closing ticket offices, untidy coaches, theft of hand baggage, inadequacy of compartments for women, etc. Train robberies are a common occurrence. Recently a passenger was drugged, carried from the coupé which he had originally entered, into an unoccupied one, and there he was robbed. Accounts have also been published alleging the existence of gross corruption among Russian railway employees. Higher officials are charged with collecting regular monthly payments from their subordinates, who in turn exercise a free hand in reimbursing themselves, much after the fashion of certain metropolitan policemen in the United States. An influential railway journal finds extenuating circumstances for this thievery in the starvation wages paid to many employees, but the real explanation it finds in the deep-seated notion of the Russian people that there is nothing wrong in robbing the public treasury.

The past year in the railway world of China was, what it will probably continue to be for years to come, a period of international rivalry in securing privileges and concessions. The concession granted in June, 1902, to the American-China Development Company, Rear-Admiral Evans, writing from the Asiatic naval station, regards as "the most important single interest we now have in this section of China." This is a line about 700 miles in length, between Canton and Hankow, over a route which Chinese traders between the North and South of China have for centuries followed, and along which numerous large commercial cities have grown up. The company started with a paid capital of \$3,000,000 in gold, and is authorized to issue bonds guaranteed by railway property to the extent of \$40,000,000 gold, bearing 5 per cent interest. The concession is for eighty years, when it reverts to the Chinese government on payment of the market value of the stock, but the government reserves the right to purchase it on the same terms at any time after forty years. Efforts are being

made to complete the railway in three years. The management of affairs is entirely in the hands of Americans.

The German-Chinese Railway Company, embracing the Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, and ten other strong German financial institutions, was incorporated in Berlin with a nominal capital of \$2,500,000, for the purpose of financing Chinese state railways. The Russo-Chinese Bank raised a loan of 40,000,000 francs in Paris for the construction of the Ching-Tai railway, a western branch of the Lu-han railway, the trunk line between Hankau and Peking in which French and Belgian capital is heavily interested. In June, 1903, the British government asked China to grant to the Peking Syndicate railway a guarantee of 5 per cent on the same terms as had been granted to the Russo-Chinese bank for the Ching-Tai railway. At the same time England asked for "favorable running powers" over certain railways, a share in the concession for the Yen-Pu railway, and "preference" in providing capital for the Hu-pei-Sze-Chuan railway in case the assistance of foreign capital is required. In a word, the railway problem in China is, to-day, primarily a question of maintaining a *modus vivendi* between competing foreign capital.

A report of a special commissioner to the Secretary of State for India, published in March, 1903, condemns the present mixed railway system generally, but not the men who do the work. "The present administration and working of the Indian railways cannot be regarded as at all satisfactory. But I attribute this more to the system than to any individual action on the part of the railway or Government officers." The commissioner favors the leasing of all state railways to companies. He recommends that the control of Indian railways be vested in an independent board, presided over by a member of the Viceroy's Council. He urges cheaper fares and quicker traveling at lower rates, which will add to the commercial and financial success of the railways and increase the prosperity of the people as well as the popularity of the government. Somewhat different in tone were the statements made by Lord Hamilton when he presented the Indian budget to Parliament. For many years, he said, the Indian railways had been worked at a loss, but during the last three years there had been a remarkable increase in the receipts. During the entire period there was a loss of £458,000, while in the latter a profit of

£795,000 had been realized, which was the more noteworthy because the earlier railways traversed the richer and more densely populated territory, while later lines were laid through the poorer districts, many of them quite as much for military as for other reasons. "We can count on the Indian railways producing an increasing source of income for years to come." During June, 1903, articles in the London *Economist* stated that although two of the Indian state railways had suffered a serious decline in net earnings, the others had fairly maintained their previous position. Traveling of natives is largely for the purpose of pilgrimages, attending religious festivities and fairs. The plague interfered with these events, which resulted in an appreciable decline in the revenues from third-class passenger traffic.

Legislation providing for a great transcontinental railway is the most important recent railway event in Australasia. The transcontinental railway act was passed in November, 1902, and bids for the construction of the line will be received until May 2, 1904. Americans are competing for the contract. The projected railway extends from Oodnadatta, in South Australia, to Pine Creek in the Northern Territory, closing the gap between Adelaide and Port Darwin on the south and north coasts respectively. The existing line between Adelaide and Oodnadatta is 688 miles in length, and that from Port Darwin to Pine Creek $145\frac{1}{2}$ miles, which, together with the projected connecting line of 1,200 miles, will bring the total up to about 2,000 miles, or approximately equal to the distance between the head of Lake Superior and the Pacific coast. The road will be built on the land-grant plan, the amount of the grant not to exceed 75,000 acres for each of not more than 1,200 miles of road, in alternate blocks on either side of the railway. The gauge of the new road is to be 3 feet 6 inches, this being the gauge for over 8,000 miles of existing Australasian railways, while over 3,000 miles have adopted the standard gauge of 4 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and nearly 4,000 miles have a gauge of 5 feet 3 inches. The Australian transcontinental line will probably co-operate with the Siberian line in competing for traffic with all-ocean routes.

Of supreme importance from a political and social point of view was the Victorian railway strike of May, 1903. The Victorian railways, like those of the rest of Australasia, are owned and

operated by the state, and this strike in its last analysis involved the question whether organized labor could rebel against the power of the state. A firm Premier strongly supported by his colleagues, backed by public opinion, promptly asserted the sovereign power of the state and the supremacy of the laws of the land over the rules and acts of labor unions. The attitude of the government was essentially similar to that recently maintained by President Roosevelt in dealing with the government printers at Washington. There are those who believe that if the Victorian government had been in the hands of weak men, the result might have been disastrous to the government.

In South America, the Transandine project plays the rôle of transcontinental railway. The termini are Buenos Aires and Valparaiso, and, when completed, will reduce the time between these two cities to forty-eight and possibly to thirty-six hours. The Argentine section of the line is completed to within 200 metres of the point where the Andean tunnel is to begin, but it may be several years before the Chilian section will be ready, although the present terminals are only a day's journey apart. The geography of the country has made Chilian railway progress in general difficult. The longitudinal extent of the country is 2,629 miles, with an average width of 101 miles. "Chili at the Pan-American Exposition," 1901, records 1,430 miles of private and 1,420 miles of state railways. The government is aiming to develop a strong longitudinal line running north and south with transverse branches connecting it with the coast.

Consolidation has been the most important movement in Argentine. According to *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires all the broad-gauge railways of Argentine, embracing eight companies with a total mileage of 6,300 and \$350,000,000 capitalization in gold, are to be combined. Important consolidations have already been effected, and only time can tell whether the entire program will be completed. The Argentinian railways have experienced difficulties similar to those frequently encountered by our western roads during crop-moving seasons, especially the last; and the Board of Ways and Communications has established offices in each of nine different agricultural regions for the purpose of investigating complaints. A government inquiry attributed the

delays in grain shipments chiefly to the inadequacy of terminal facilities rather than a deficiency in rolling stock.

Brazil purchased over 2,000 kilometers of guaranteed railways by the issue of "Railway Guarantee Rescission Bonds," effecting an annual saving in interest charges of £247,550, this being the difference between the interest on the bonds and the amount of the former guarantee. In addition, it is estimated that leasing the acquired lines will yield £125,000 more.

Bolivia and Argentine entered into a convention for the construction of a line from Jujuy, about 125 miles south of the boundary line between the two countries, into Bolivian territory. For the present, Argentine will construct and own also the Bolivian section, but the latter country reserves the right of repurchase under specified conditions. Another convention between Argentine, Bolivia and Chili governs the through passenger traffic. Bolivia has constructed its first state line from Lake Titicaca, said to be the highest navigable body of water in the world, to La Paz, a distance of 57 miles.

The Colombian National Railway Company has already completed 86 of the 316 miles of railway between Bogota and Buenaventura on the Pacific, a route which, it is expected, will largely supersede the customary avenue of approach to Bogota, from the Atlantic side, by way of the Magdalena River and three short railways. Both routes are important and the Isthmian Canal is likely to greatly enhance their value. The Colombian government gives liberal land grants and devotes 10 per cent of its customs revenues to railway purposes.

The governor of a northeastern province of Peru, a famous explorer, has discovered the possibility of a more northerly railway across the Andes, and plans are well under way for the construction of a road which will connect the Pacific with the Amazon. From the Manseriche Falls of the Amazon a line is also to be extended southward to Cerro de Pasco, in central Peru, from which a railway is now in process of construction to Oroyo, about 100 miles northeast of Lima. Important electric lines have been projected in Peru. Two companies have secured concessions for sixty-six years, freedom from taxation, and free importation of materials for two years. At the end of sixty-six years all the property is to revert to the government free of cost.

Having taken a survey of recent railway events in the less developed areas of the earth, it will now be in order to remark briefly concerning the more advanced countries, beginning with England, the home of the first important railway enterprise.

English railway management has been much criticised of late because of the lack of adequate statistics as a basis for the most successful operation, and also because of adherence to antiquated types of cars and locomotives. A competent Continental European critic has recently characterized English railway statistics as the poorest of any in the civilized countries of the world. Rigid attention to statistical expression of every detail of the business, the employment of statistical units like the ton-mile for cost and the train-mile for revenue, as a touchstone of successful administration, which have made the great success of many American lines possible, are practically unknown in England. The extraordinary economy in operating vast systems like the Hill lines may be attributed largely to what may be called a statistical consciousness of every branch of the service in its remotest details. Minority stockholders of English railways have made formal protests against antiquated methods, and railway publicists like Acworth and Paish have revealed the situation in its scientific aspects. The recent increase in dividends on common stock has been attributed largely to improved management. The "Americanization" of English railways is regarded as an impossibility by officials, who emphasize the important differences between English and American traffic, characterizing the former as "retail" and the latter as "wholesale" business. Because of the smallness of the "average" load of freight, large cars of twenty to fifty tons capacity, which are constantly increasing in number on American roads, are regarded as impracticable and expensive; and the experiences of English roads with cars of twenty tons capacity are cited to prove the point. A distinguished American railway expert thinks that the inferior size of the heavy stone arches, which would not admit of the passage of forty-ton cars and corresponding locomotives, is the greatest obstacle to the introduction of the American type of equipment. However, calculations have been made which show that the freight carried in 458 ordinary London and Northwestern cars could be carried in 322 thirty-ton American cars, but that the tare weight would rise to

4,669 tons as compared with 2,199 tons for the English equipment. In other words, considering the retail nature of the English traffic, the expense of terminals, and the custom of railway delivery of freight, a gradual modification of existing equipment with the view of increasing paying loads is preferable to the substitution of American types of equipment and methods of management. At least, that is what the majority of English officials are saying.

French railway statistics, too, have been under fire. While they exhibit definite facts regarding the quantity of traffic, revenues and expenditures, they fail, in the estimation of their critics, in revealing the true financial situation. As is well known, the French government, by the terms of the "conventions" of 1883, pays heavy guarantees and subsidies to her railways, although when the conventions were drawn glowing prospects of handsome profits to the state were held up to view. Only one of the great railways has paid anything, and that an inappreciable sum, to the state as its share of the net profits, while the aggregate indebtedness of four of the companies, January 1, 1901, was nearly one thousand millions of francs. The debates in the Assembly on the budget gave indication of an awakening of public opinion in regard to the railway question, and in the not distant future it may become a topic of intense discussion. The labor leaders have charged the minister with opposition to the "syndicates" of railway employees, as well as with inefficiency and mismanagement. The labor question was injected into the debate partly as a result of the railway strikes in Belgium and Holland, and the declaration of the Prussian minister of public works that no employee can be a social democratic agitator and retain his position, that final authority cannot at the same time reside in labor unions and in the minister, and that as long as he was minister, authority shall remain in the department of public works.

Prussia, the classical illustration of an efficient system of state railways, absorbed six more private companies during the year, operating about 570 miles of road. This leaves only about 1,312 miles of primary and secondary railways still in private hands. Of the six newly acquired lines, four are secondary roads, lying in less developed agricultural regions. The same causes which have increased railway expenses in the United States have operated similarly in Prussia, resulting in a slight decrease of net

revenues—the estimated decrease for 1903 is \$11,186,000—but still yielding a clear surplus of about \$130,000,000, or nearly 6½ per cent on the investment. Among the advantageous changes introduced during the year, the minister enumerates the declassification of a large number of commodities; reductions in rates on ores, coke, fertilizers, cattle and agricultural implements; special export rates on iron and steel; and arrangements for the prompt conveyance of commodities endangered by early frosts. Multifarious demands beset the railway manager in Prussia as elsewhere, as the following quotation from the minister's address in the Herrenhaus will show: "One person wants a new but unprofitable road; another desires additional trains; another better upholstering for second-class coaches; still another, new appliances, electric light and what not. . . . The demands . . . are increasing, but notwithstanding a reduction in rates is requested at the same time. Those who demand 'tariff reform' always mean reductions. . . . No congress assembles but what its delegates request free transportation, no Sängerefest but what the Sangesbrüder think they are entitled to free rides. This means that the cost of transportation is thrown on the wrong shoulders; song does not belong to railway administration . . ."

From a scientific point of view the most notable event in Württemberg was the attempt to arrive at the cost of service in the passenger traffic. A protracted agitation and discussion in the legislature of reforms in railway rates was the occasion which prompted the renewal of an attempt which has hitherto been made by others with little success. The reduction of the aggregate passenger service to average trains was followed by an analysis of the services of an average "limited" train with respect to train-kilometers, axle-kilometers, occupied and unoccupied seats for the different classes of coaches. Similarly, other classes of trains were analyzed and the elements of cost in motive power, maintenance and renewals, and miscellaneous items, reduced to corresponding figures. The railway authorities believe that this investigation demonstrates the impossibility of lowering passenger rates without throwing the burden of a deficit in this upon other branches of the service, and that future progress must lie in the direction of quality of service rather than reduction of rates. The debates on the railway budget gave evidence of grievances which members

of the legislature feel towards Baden for alleged deflection of traffic to Bavaria over more circuitous routes to the direct loss of millions of marks to Württemberg. Illustrations were given to show that the arbitrary routes exceeded the natural ones by from 30 to 40 per cent in direct violation of the federal constitution which commands the operation of railways as a uniform network in the interests of the general traffic.

Saxony has experienced a year of agitation for "reform," both with respect to internal and through traffic, in which the relation of Saxon railways to other systems is an important consideration. There has been more or less talk concerning closer affiliation with the Prussian and other foreign systems, not only in Saxony, but also in Baden, Württemberg and other states. Soon after his appointment, the new Prussian minister visited the capitals of the federated states for the purpose of promoting greater co-operation among the railway administrations within the empire. The predominant influence of Prussia makes an unreserved understanding with other administrations quite essential, but there are no indications of a formal consolidation of the various systems on account of financial as well as political reasons. Better voluntary co-operation is the only practicable plan at present. Among the other notable events in the German railway world should be mentioned the contemplated creation of a Bavarian department of public works, and the quarter-centennials of the German "Reform tariff" and "Tariff Commission."

The practical downfall of the original zone system marks a turning point in the railway policy of Austro-Hungary. The zone tariff of 1889 was "revised backward" in 1894 and 1896, and on January 1, 1903, radical modifications of the system were introduced into the Hungarian tariff, which leave the term "zone tariff" as a "name without content and without significance." The wider zones of the original tariff were found to influence the movement of passengers and the revenues of the railways unfavorably, so two new zones were added and the width of the first five reduced to 10, 5, 5, 7 and 13 kilometers respectively. This makes it a zone-distance tariff, of which numerous illustrations can be found in the United States, and which, with still greater modifications and local adaptations, has been proposed for Sweden. Distance is disregarded only beyond the 400 kilometer line, where

the traffic comprises less than 1 per cent of the total. Financial considerations compelled Austria to advance her zone rates in 1892, 1895, and January 1, 1903, the last advance being 12 per cent on primary, 6 per cent on secondary, and 3 per cent on local railways. Russia's experiments with the zone system since 1894 compelled her to make advances in rates in April and October, 1902; and since 1896 Denmark has been trying a similar system with the result that passenger mileage has increased 60 per cent, but an annual deficit in the railway budget of 141,000 crowns has been incurred.

The Italian government entered into sixty-year contracts with operating companies on July 1, 1885, with power to terminate the contract at the end of twenty-year periods, on two years' notice by either party. Notice to abrogate existing contracts was given by both parties on April 28, 1903, and the period intervening before the expiration of the contracts on June 30, 1905, will be absorbed in investigations and negotiations. The government commission for the study of the railway problem hopes to complete its work before January 1, 1904. Dissatisfaction with present conditions is universal. Passengers complain of vexatious delays and general irregularity. Shippers chafe under rates alleged to exceed those of surrounding countries by 25 to 30 per cent, not to mention lack of cars and intolerable slowness in speed. Railway employees are discontented because the companies have failed to live up to the terms of their contracts with respect to hours, wages and holidays. Lastly, the government is dissatisfied because, contrary to the anticipations of 1885, the state has not only received no financial benefits, but it has been compelled to make up deficits which, since 1895, have exceeded \$40,000,000 annually. This situation has naturally developed three divergent views concerning the future of Italian railways. The first party favors the introduction of a purely private system of railways and the sale of government railway property to private companies. The second advocates the introduction of a state system like the Prussian. The third believes in readjustment of the present contractual relations between the railway companies and the state and a continuance of government ownership with private operation, and the introduction of profit-sharing with railway employees.

The remaining countries of Europe may be passed over briefly. Sweden is perfecting plans for the introduction of electricity on one of her railways as an experiment, in accordance with the special report on this subject submitted to the King in December, 1902. Experiments of this kind are being made in nearly all parts of the world, one of the most interesting features of which is the operation of single motor cars as day coaches or sleepers where the traffic does not warrant a regular steam locomotive train or where such a train could only be operated at a loss. Sweden is also trying the utility of advisory councils. If the experiment is not satisfactory, the council will cease to exist in 1904 by the terms of the royal decree which created it. The Ofoten railway, "the most northerly railway" in the world, was provisionally opened in November, 1902, while the formal opening took place during July, 1903, in the presence of royalty and representatives of the domestic and foreign business world. British capital persisted in constructing the road in order to supply England with Swedish ore all the year round, which this railway, running into an Atlantic port, makes possible. Thus "the long and severe winters of the Arctic are being conquered and the Baltic winter defied." One of the two new railways opened in Finland lies in the region north along the Gulf of Bothnia. Denmark is considering a reorganization of her railway administration by the appointment of a general directory subordinate to the minister of public works, composed of three persons representing the technical, operating and traffic departments, respectively.

Nothing has been said about the new Canadian transcontinental lines, because the facts regarding them are generally known, and for purposes of this essay, Canadian railway events can scarcely be looked upon as "foreign."

B. H. MEYER.

University of Wisconsin.

PERSONAL NOTES

Carlton College, Northfield, Minn.—Dr. Ezra Thayer Towne has been appointed professor of history and political science in Carlton College. Dr. Towne was born at Waupun, Wis., April 1, 1873, and educated in the local schools and the State University, graduating with B. L. in 1897. From 1897-9 he was in the graduate school of the same institution, department of economics. Two years, 1901-3, were spent in Europe, with one semester at Berlin and two at Halle, where he received the Ph. D. His thesis was "Die Auffassung der Gesellschaft als Organismus, Ihre Entwicklung und ihre Modifikationen," 136 pp.

During the summer of 1898 Dr. Towne worked with the Charity Organization Society of New York City, and from 1899-1901 he was principal of the High School at Sharon, Wis.

Harvard University.—Dr. J. Piatt Andrews,¹ who has been instructor in economics in Harvard University since 1900, has been advanced to an assistant professorship.

Since 1898, Dr. Andrews has published the following:

"*What Ought to be Called Money?*" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, January, 1899.

"*Indian Currency Problems of the Last Decade.*" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August, 1901.

University of Indiana.—Mr. Mayo Fesler has been made assistant professor of history in the University of Indiana. Mr. Fesler was born at Morgantown, Ind., November 19, 1871, received his early training in the public schools of that place, and his collegiate training at Depauw University, 1889-90-91-92, and the University of Chicago, 1894 and 1897 (Ph. B., 1897). From 1899-1903 he was fellow in history in the last-named institution.

He was a teacher in the Indiana public schools from 1892-97, and had charge of English and history in the Oak Park (Ill.) High School, 1897-99. During the period of his fellowship in the University of Chicago he was general secretary of the Alumni Association, and in 1902-03 he was secretary of the Board of Recommendations.

Leland Stanford University.—Dr. Harry Alvin Millis has been called to the Leland Stanford University as assistant professor of economics. Dr. Millis was born in Paoli, Orange County, Ind., and prepared for college in the Paoli High School. He was a student in Indiana University from 1892-96, receiving A. B. in 1895, A. M. in 1896. He was fellow in sociology in the University of Chicago 1896-98, and fellow in economics 1898-99, receiving the Ph. D. in 1899.

From 1899-1902 Dr. Millis was reference librarian in the John Crerar Library at Chicago, building up the departments relating to economics and sociology. During the year 1902-03 he was professor of economics and sociology in the University of Arkansas.

¹ See ANNALS, vol. viii, p. 355, September, 1896.

The following is a list of his published works:

"*Poor Laws of the Several American Commonwealths*" (six articles). American Journal of Sociology, November, 1897; September, 1898.

"*The Law Relating to Tramps and Vagrants.*" Report of the National Convention of Charities and Corrections, 1897.

"*The Present Street Railway Situation in Chicago.*" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1902.

Dr. Millis is a member of the American Economic Association, the Chicago Bibliographical Society and the Science Club of the University of Arkansas.

University of Missouri.—Mr. Carl Conrad Eckhardt has become assistant in history in the University of Missouri. Mr. Eckhardt was born September 6, 1878, in Toledo, Ohio, where he passed through the grammar and high school. He attended German Wallace College at Berea, Ohio, 1897-1902, Ohio State University, 1900-1902, receiving the degree of Ph. B. The year 1902-03 was spent in post-graduate work at the University of Michigan.

Mr. Eckhardt is a member of the American Historical Association.

National Prison Congress of the United States was presided over in its session of 1903 by Dr. Charlton Thomas Lewis. Dr. Lewis has had an interesting and varied career. He was born in West Chester, Pa., February 25, 1834, entered Yale at fifteen, graduated in 1853, received the A. M. from the same institution in 1859, Ph. D. from the University of New York in 1877 and LL. D. from Harvard in 1903.

Dr. Lewis was professor of languages, State Normal University of Illinois, 1857-58; professor of mathematics, New York University, 1859-61; professor of Greek, New York University, 1861-63; Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Washington, D. C., 1863-64, and from 1869-71 he was associated with William Cullen Bryant in the editorship of the New York *Evening Post*. During this period he published "The Critical New Testament," a translation from the German; a "New Latin Dictionary," a "Latin Dictionary for Schools," an "Elementary Latin Dictionary" and a "History of Germany."

In the field of sociology he has published and worked as follows:

"*The Influence of Civilization on the Duration of Life.*" Proceedings of the American Public Health Association, 1871.

"*What is Wrong in Life Insurance?*" National Review, 1877.

"*The Indeterminate Sentence.*" Proceedings of National Prison Association, 1899.

Dr. Lewis has held the following important positions:

Chairman Commission to revise Penal Laws of New Jersey, 1890-91.

Chairman of Commission to found New Jersey State Reformatory, 1893-95.

Delegate of the United States to the International Prison Congress, Paris, 1895.

President Prison Association of New York, 1898 to date.

President Charities Aid Association of New Jersey, 1892 to date.

Dr. Lewis is also a member of the American Academy of Sciences, the American Mathematical Society and the Actuarial Society of America.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES

SINCE THE PUBLICATION of the first edition of Professor v. Böhm-Bawerk's "*Geschichte und Kritik der Capitalzins-Theorien*" (1884), a copious literature on interest has appeared. In the second edition (1900) much of this literature has been subjected to careful analysis. The little volume under review¹ gives a translation of the Appendix, which is devoted to recent literature on interest, and a summary of the principal additions in the body of the work. It will therefore serve as an admirable supplement to Professor Smart's translation of the first edition.

The most important part of this book is to be found in the chapters on the Abstinence Theory, the Labor Theories and the Productivity Theory. In the first of these chapters a vigorous attack is made upon the positions of Marshall and Carver. The criticism of Marshall involves a subtle logical analysis in which the great Austrian economist displays his wonted skill. Marshall had committed himself to the views that interest is due to the undervaluation of the future, and that it is compensation for waiting. These two propositions, which look so much like two ways of expressing the same thing, Böhm-Bawerk pronounces absolutely incompatible. If one is right, the other must be wrong. The former assumes that the future satisfaction appears in consciousness in reduced proportions; the latter that its magnitude remains unaltered. Nothing seems more clear than that our author has the logic with him—on first reading. On the other hand, further study will probably convince one that Marshall is not so far wrong after all. The criticism of Carver's theory is more convincing. On the face of Böhm-Bawerk's statement of Carver's position, the fact seems to be established that the latter writer's theory mistakes effect for cause.

As to the labor theories, attention is given to that of Stolzman, who has developed a curious and absurd theory that interest is determined by the standard of living of capitalists, just as Mr. Gunton argues that wages are fixed by the laborer's standard of life. Why Böhm-Bawerk should have dignified so weak a theory by giving it serious attention it is difficult to say. Nobody but its originator could possibly accept it. More important is the treatment of the productivity theory of Wieser. Economists have long seen that Wieser's theory is unsatisfactory, and that much of the argument by which it is supported is hopelessly weak. No one, however, has pointed out so clearly just where the fallacies lie as Böhm-Bawerk does in this chapter.

The volume closes with a cheerful view of the future of the interest controversy. Whatever disagreements may still exist, the old fallacies can

¹ Recent Literature on Interest. By Eugene v. Böhm-Bawerk. Translated by William A. Scott and Professor Siegmund Feilbogen. Pp. xliii, 151. Price, \$1.00. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1903.

hardly be restored to life. Most men will in the future be compelled to hold interest theories which are in the main logical.²

THE TITLE OF DR. BOLLES' "Money, Banking and Finance"³ is a misnomer. The book is an admirable general treatise on banking practice, with a short introductory chapter on money, and a still briefer concluding chapter on railway finance. The thirty-one chapters on banking present a view of every principal phase of bank organization and of banking activity. The author's method is largely descriptive, and includes the work of the incorporated commercial bank, the savings bank, the clearing house, the loan and trust company and the private bank. As a clearly digested treatise on *banking practice* it is well adapted to systematic instruction, and supplements the existing text-book literature dealing with bank administration, bank accounting, banking history, domestic and foreign exchange and other special subjects of banking interest.

"SUPERVISION AND EDUCATION IN CHARITY,"⁴ by Jeffrey R. Brackett, will be found of great value by all who have occasion to study the development of American charities. Beginning with a brief sketch of the work of the early pioneers, among whom were Edward Livingston, Dorothy Dix, William E. Channing, the author writes in the second chapter of the establishment of the state and local boards. Chapter III deals with Private Associations for Supervision of Institutions, as the New York and New Jersey State Charity Aid Associations. Chapter IV is devoted to the history of the National Conferences, such as the National Conference of Charities and Correction, the National Prison Association and the American Medico-Psychological Association. Other chapters deal with "Local Conferences," the "Educational Service of Associations for Organizing Charity," "Academic Instruction," "Training for Work," "Women's Clubs and Associations."

Dr. Brackett believes that there is much to be proud of in the development of charity in the United States and thinks that the constantly increasing attention paid to this subject by students within and without academic circles augurs well for the future.

It is but just to say that Dr. Brackett is bearing his part in this work of educative philanthropy, or philanthropic education, as one may prefer, in his work as lecturer in Johns Hopkins University and as president of the Department of Charities and Correction of Baltimore. The present study is a worthy continuation of the series of books on American Philanthropy of the Nineteenth Century whose earlier volumes have been mentioned in these pages.

² Contributed by Alvin S. Johnson, Ph.D., Columbia University.

³ By Albert S. Bolles. Pp. 336. New York: American Book Co., 1903.

⁴ Pp. 222. New York: Macmillan Co., 1903.

PROFESSOR GUSTAV COHN'S volume on the "History and Policy of Transportation"⁵ is a collection of essays written at different times throughout the past fifteen years. All of them have already been published either in periodicals or in government reports. The first three relate to English railroads, the fourth to the history of pools and combines, the fifth to English and American economics, and the remaining four to problems of transportation, especially in Germany. Professor Cohn has long been a recognized authority on matters of railroad transportation; hence these essays will command the attention of all those interested in this important aspect of modern life. The general reader will first turn, however, to the essays on Pools and on English and American Economics.

The problem of industrial combinations is thus described by the author: "What attitude should be adopted toward a process of development by which a fundamental principle of our economic system—free competition—is of its own force transformed into the precise opposite?" This question, however, assumes an answer to the problem: "What is free competition, and why does it tend to destroy itself?" Professor Cohn therefore considers first the attitude of economists with regard to free competition. Then he discusses the naturally monopolistic character of transportation, and considers in detail the process by which monopolies arose in English railroad transportation and coal mining.

The fifth essay, entitled "Present Political Economy in England and America," extending over 125 pages, is the longest in the book. Particularly encouraging to the American reader are the author's flattering remarks concerning the scope and value of American contributions to economic literature, and his appreciative characterization of our leading economic periodicals.

"THE HISTORY OF COINAGE AND CURRENCY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PERENNIAL CONTEST FOR SOUND MONEY,"⁶ by A. Barton Hepburn, is a general historical treatment of a subject that has been prominently before American people since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. In fact, the subject of currency and banking was one foremost in colonial thought for a century and a half prior to the organization of the Federal Government. Colonial experience, however, is scarcely more than referred to by Mr. Hepburn, one chapter only being given to colonial systems, and this confined to the Revolutionary period as an introduction to the general work. In its general plan the book is divided into three parts: (1) "The Period Before the Civil War," (2) "The Period from 1861 to 1890," (3) "From 1891 to the Present Day." In Part I an account is given of the coinage system and of American paper currency prior to the Civil War. Part II is devoted to the United States legal tender note, the silver question, and the national banking system. Part III contains an historical discussion of the silver contest of

⁵ *Zur Geschichte und Politik des Verkehrswesens.* By Gustav Cohn. Pp. vii, 524. Price, 14 marks. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke.

⁶ Pp. xiv, 666. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1903.

1896 and the reform act of 1900. Mr. Hepburn closes his account with a general review.

In so far as the author treats of subjects which are not a matter of present controversy (such as the coinage system, the establishment of the mint, the early paper currencies, etc.), the historical perspective is clear and without evidence of personal bias. The latter part of the book, however, while it contains much historical data of interest and much that is characteristic of the times, is strongly opinionated; in fact, the closing chapter, entitled "The General Review," contains little else than the personal opinion of the author with respect to present political problems. This character of the work may be illustrated by direct quotation. Speaking of the United States Treasury, the author says: "In no other civilized country is there such an absurd governmental interference with the currency supply; affecting values, promoting speculation, retarding business and disturbing the welfare of the people." His final expression with reference to the national bank note is that "No currency based on bond security can be elastic. . . . Bond security is not essential to perfectly secured circulation." With respect to the character of security to be used, the following may be quoted: "The statistical history of the national banks for thirty-nine years shows that a tax of $\frac{3}{8}$ of 1 per cent levied annually upon outstanding circulation would have produced an amount of money sufficient to have redeemed the outstanding notes of every bank that has failed, without recourse to bonds held as security or other funds. With business certainty, a safety fund and a guarantee fund involving only a moderate tax can be provided which will make note issues perfectly safe and sound." Again, the author strongly urges use of national banks as depositories of public money.

While, therefore, the book is, in a measure, a contribution to our historical literature, the evident purpose of the author is to reach a conclusion with respect to a present issue, and the ultimate use which he makes of all his historical data is distinctly partisan, intended as propaganda in the conversion of the public to his point of view. Judged from the motive of authorship, therefore, Mr. Hepburn's book is not scientific history, but advocacy supported by historical illustration. It is a powerful brief in a case that is now being argued before the political court of last appeal—the American people.⁷

"THE INDIANS OF THE PAINTED DESERT REGION,"⁸ by George Wharton James, will be voted an extremely interesting book by every reader. The interest aroused by the attractive make-up of the volume is held throughout the descriptions of the Indian villages, Indian life and ceremonies, including the snake dance of the Hopi, Navaho, Wallapais, and Harasupais. The reader is taken from his accustomed haunts to regions where even the earth and skies seem to belong to another world. He is told of the legends regarding the origin of the Indians, of their struggle for existence in the inhospitable deserts, of the new problems due to contact with the whites, and of the ques-

⁷ Contributed by Frederick A. Cleveland.

⁸ Pp. xxi, 268. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1903.

tions concerning the future. All this is from the pen of one who has for many years known these people and has witnessed many of their most secret ceremonies. The book is written not in technical, but in good racy English, and contains excellent illustrations. It is designed to acquaint the general reader with these little-known countrymen of his, but it is more, for the existing accounts of some of the tribes mentioned are few and scanty.

IN "FAMOUS ASSASSINATIONS OF HISTORY,"⁹ by Francis Johnson, we have an appeal to sensationalism and a use of yellow-journal rhetoric in dealing with historical subjects. Thirty-one assassinations are described, beginning with Philip of Macedon, 336 B. C., and concluding with Alexander and Draga of Servia, A. D. 1903. The author states in the preface that he has included only those cases which led to important political results or which left profound and indelible impressions upon the imagination of contemporaries and posterity. Among those who are thus honored we may mention Julius Cæsar, Thomas à Becket, Rizzio, Darnley, William the Silent, Wallenstein, Marat, Lincoln, and McKinley. President Garfield must suffer the ignominy of exclusion because "his assassination rather grew out of the morbid aberration of one diseased mind than out of the general spirit of the epoch in which he lived."

The author informs us that the historical features of the epochs in which the assassinations occurred are "portrayed with historical fidelity and strict impartiality." We must admit that he has impartially accepted many traditions which have long since been exploded; for example, the story that Thomas à Becket's mother was an Oriental, who had followed his father from the Holy Land. As for "historical fidelity," there is scarcely a chapter in the book which does not contain inaccurate statements. Mary Stuart was not induced, "mainly through the influence of Queen Elizabeth of England, to contract a marriage with Henry Darnley." Darnley was not an English subject and he was not descended from a daughter of Henry the Eighth (p. 94). It is hardly correct to speak of the head of the Holy Roman Empire as the "emperor of Germany" (p. 165). Students of American history will be surprised to learn that John Wilkes Booth "had been among the lynchers of John Brown and frequently boasted of his participation in that crime" (p. 349).

We should not advise the student to search the pages of this book with the expectation of finding any information on the subjects of history or criminology.¹⁰

"THE NEGRO FARMER"¹¹ is a short but valuable study of the rural Southern negro, and contrasts favorably with the work done on the same subject by the library experts of the Census Bureau. From columns of more

⁹ Pp. xii, 434. Price, \$1.50. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903.

¹⁰ Contributed by W. Roy Smith, Ph. D., Bryn Mawr College.

¹¹ *The Negro Farmer*. By Carl Kelsey, Ph. D. Pp. 78. 25 maps. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Jennings & Pye.

or less accurate statistics the census expert endeavors to prove that the condition of the negro farmer is better now than under slavery and that he is nearly or quite the equal of the white in efficiency. (See, for instance, Census of 1900, vol. vi, pt. II, p. 419, and Census Bulletin, No. 155.) The author of the monograph under review visited the Southern plantations and farms, and by personal observation and intelligent questioning ascertained what the census figures really meant. He treats the subject in six divisions: (1) the geographical location of the negro population, (2) the economic heritage of the race from Africa and from servitude, (3) present economic and social conditions, (4) social environment, (5) the prospect for the future, (6) attempts at industrial training. Dr. Kelsey has closely acquainted himself with the economic situation in the South, and the best part of his work is that in which he gives the results of his investigations in that section. When he returns to his library authorities he is not so successful. There are numerous misprints; footnote references are seldom given, and when given are not specific; the illustrations are good for a work of the kind. Twenty-five instructive maps show the segregation of the black people into the most fertile districts of the South. The more fertile the land, the more negroes are there; and *vice versa*. Here he touches upon the greatest evil of slavery, from the white man's point of view—the tendency of that institution to drive the bulk of the white population to cheaper and less fertile lands, leaving the best lands to the masters of blacks and ultimately to the blacks. The discussion of the Black Belt tenant system is the best that has appeared. The description of social institutions,—home, school, and church,—is perhaps too gloomy. Present conditions are bad enough; but, in comparison with those at the end of reconstruction, give reason for hope. Much importance is ascribed to the work of such institutions as Tuskegee and Hampton, and to the various coöperative improvement societies. The value of the training given by slavery is recognized, but the author accepts the traditional view that slavery was responsible for the ruinous ante-bellum system of agriculture. In fact, the best farming was done on the slave plantations; the worst where there were few or no slaves; and the free negro has done worse farming than the slave or the frontier white. The wasteful frontier system of agriculture is still found in parts of the West and South among whites; the Black Belt can hardly be said ever to have been in a frontier stage. Dr. Kelsey is hopeful for the future of the negro farmer, though he thinks there is danger that the present friendly sentiment of the whites will not continue, and that, more and more, industrial efficiency will be demanded and negro labor will not be preferred as at present. Also, the whites are turning toward the cheap and fertile Black Belt lands. If the negro will not work, he will have to give way to them. The question of the economic competition between white and black labor—"the battle of the loaf"—is barely hinted at. In conclusion, Dr. Kelsey says: "The absolutely essential thing is that the negro shall learn to work, regularly and intelligently. The lesson begun in slavery must be mastered . . . the negro must work out his salvation, economic and social. It cannot be given without destroying the very thing we seek

to strengthen—character. This is the justification for the emphasis now laid upon industrial training. This training and the resulting character are the prerequisites of race progress."¹²

IN "LETTERS FROM A CHINESE OFFICIAL,"¹³ written for English readers, we have a comparison between the Eastern and Western civilizations and ideals. The comparison naturally, because of its authorship, is decidedly unfavorable to the latter. However, there is food for thought, and a dispassionate perusal will prove instructive to many. The official makes a strong plea for the justice of the Boxer uprising, saying that there can be no peace until Westerners will learn that the difference between our civilization and that of China is no reason why we should regard the Chinese as barbarians. He maintains that we must treat China as a civilized power and respect its customs and laws.

"BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH SEAS,"¹⁴ by H. J. Mackinder, and "Central Europe," by Joseph Partsch,¹⁵ two volumes belonging to the Appleton Series of the Regions of the World, reflect credit on their publishers and authors for the fullness of description and for the perfection of the press and map work. The books are indispensable to those who wish an accurate knowledge of the causes of national industrial success under modern conditions. Mr. Mackinder gives an account of the position of Britain and of the physical peculiarities that have done so much to make England the center of industry. The reader can appreciate the great influence England has exerted on modern trade and industry as soon as he glances at the maps and charts which fill the book. Its main value, in fact, lies in these illustrations. When they are comprehended the reading of the book is easy and its main points are readily retained because they are so perfectly visualized.

Professor Partsch's book on Central Europe is the more valuable to the students of economics because it deals more fully with the problems of economic geography. There is a careful presentation of the physical features of the region and of the geological changes that have produced them, but in addition to this, much space is given to the discussion of economic problems. The chapter of Economic Geography is a model of its kind, and from it the reader obtains the essential facts about the agricultural productions of Central Europe and of the conditions under which each of the leading crops flourishes. The maps show where wheat, rye, maize, potatoes and sugar beets grow and the relative importance of each in the various parts of Central Europe.

From this book one sees the causes of the progress of the German empire and of the growth of German unity. The economic unity of the whole region is apparent from the survey of its position and of the relations existing be-

¹² Contributed by Prof. Walter L. Fleming, West Virginia University.

¹³ Pp. xiv, 75. Price, 50 cents. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1903.

¹⁴ Pp. xv, 377. Price, \$2.00. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

¹⁵ Pp. xiv, 358. Price, \$2.00.

tween its parts. The political confusion that long reigned in Central Europe delayed economic progress and gave an indisputable supremacy to England. The armed peace of recent years has given to Germany a chance to utilize her resources. In a single generation she has shown herself capable of an intense competition with England and seems likely to force a radical change in English industrial policy. For the first time two great nations are struggling for the supremacy on comparatively equal footing, and, barring political complications that may give an undue advantage to one of the rivals, the struggle must be decided by economic advantages.

The two books under review have a special interest because they present the economic background on which each of these nations rests, and they should be read together so that the relative advantage of each nation may be apparent. The advantage apparently will lie with Central Europe when its inhabitants can surmount the national and race antagonisms which now sever them. When North Germany dominates Austria as she now does South Germany, a natural economic unit will be created on a scale that can only be matched by the resources of the great central plain of North America. England cannot grow except through foreign trade. Germany can, and therein lies a difference which must steadily work in her favor.

TO THE NUMEROUS "real" and "true" biographies Mr. Meredith has added the "Real John Wesley,"¹⁶ in which he gives us some account of the versatility of this many-sided man. An educator, he made some serious blunders in the philosophy of education, but he did not mistake its end and object, to reach and uplift the great mass of humanity. A devout student of the Scriptures, he yet anticipated the higher critics. The theory of evolution he virtually propounded before Darwin. Occasionally he dipped into politics, generally on the wrong side as we look back upon it to-day, but he gave Old Sarum a hit and did not a little to stem the tide of bribery swollen so much by the corrupting Walpole. It was the spiritual forces he called into play, rather than the tirades of Burke, that saved the nation from a rabid revolt like the French Revolution, a fact which secular historians are now recognizing. Mr. Meredith has given us a readable, but hardly fascinating account of the life of a remarkable man.

THE ELEVENTH VOLUME of the second series of the Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago bears the title "A History of the Greenbacks."¹⁷ For this Dr. Mitchell has taken the brief period, 1862-65, and has gone exhaustively into both the history of the legal tender acts and their economic consequences; these subjects form the general titles of the two parts of the works. In Part I, the history of the greenback has been treated under the five descriptive sub-titles, "The Suspension of Specie Payments," "The First Legal Tender Act," "The Second Legal Tender Act," "The

¹⁶ By W. H. Meredith. Pp. 425. Price, \$1.25. Chicago: Jennings & Pye, 1903.

¹⁷ By Wesley Clair Mitchell. Pp. 16, 577. Published by The University of Chicago Press, 1903.

Third Legal Tender Act," and "How Further Issues of Greenbacks were awarded in 1864 and 1865."

Part II is involved in economic discussion. In this "The Economic Consequences" are traced from such statistical data as are available with reference to "The Circulating Medium," "The Specie Value of Paper Currency," "Prices," "Wages," "Rents," "Interest and Loan Capital," "Profits," "The Production and Consumption of Wealth," and the "Cost of the Civil War." The statistical basis for economic discussion is furnished in a voluminous appendix.

The historical part (I), covering 131 pages, is drawn from authentic sources, by exhaustive and painstaking research: this portion must stand as a recognized authority. Part II, while deserving of highest rank among economic writings, is necessarily controversial in character, and the conclusions reached may be subsequently modified by the author himself as more data are produced. Dr. Mitchell has shown fine discriminating judgment by completely dis severing the historical from the polemic.

THE LATE MR. GEORGE S. MORISON¹⁸ who died July 1, 1903, was mainly known by his great work as an engineer, but those who were personally acquainted with him knew him to be a man of unusual breadth of scholarship. His mind was as clear and direct as it was keen, and his ability to grasp general principles was so great that his intellectual power commanded the admiration of all who came in contact with him. Mr. Morison was an exceptionally pleasing writer, and as he took a lively interest in education he was called upon to make addresses on various occasions. In six addresses made during 1895-96-97, Mr. Morison developed the thought that a new epoch in the history of the world is being inaugurated by the "manufacture of power," by the substitution of mechanical for muscular force. The theme is not new, but in the little book containing these addresses Mr. Morison elaborated the thought in most delightful literary style and in a more suggestive manner than it has been presented elsewhere. The chapters of the book deal with Business, Capital, Government, Civil Engineering, the University, and Education. The book was put in form for publication in 1898, but withheld by the author, who seems to have hesitated to publish a book outside the field of his professional work. It was brought out by Mr. Morison's relatives subsequent to his death.

MR. FREDERIC L. PAXSON'S "The Independence of the South-American Republics"¹⁹ is a laudable piece of work; and timely, in view of recent events in Panama. The book is a study in American foreign policy, directed chiefly toward an analysis of the problems which arose in connection with the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies in South America. The

¹⁸ The New Epoch, As Developed by the Manufacture of Power. Pp. 134. Price, 75 cents. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903.

¹⁹ The Independence of the South-American Republics: A Study in Recognition and Foreign Policy. Pp. 264. Price, \$2.00. Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach. 1903.

wars waged for freedom by the various countries are treated briefly, but without due perspective. Perhaps it may be pleaded that the limitations of the work rendered this imperative. And it is to be lamented that the author saw fit to omit Mexico and Central America from his discussion, for it is not possible to write a comprehensive account of the diplomatic negotiations which arose when the power of Spain in America was prostrate, without taking into account Mexico. The book is the fruit of a good deal of original research, and is to be welcomed; for our stock of Spanish-American literature is all too meagre.

"THE PERIL AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE HOME,"²⁰ by Jacob A. Riis, is thoroughly characteristic of that vigorous writer and agitator for social reform. The present book is not so original as some of his earlier volumes, indeed in considerable measure it repeats what they contain, illustrations as well as substance. It consists of the William L. Bull lectures, four in number, delivered early in 1903 before the Philadelphia Divinity School. Mr. Riis attacks the slum, which he considers the arch-enemy of the home, ably abetted, however, by the decline of family worship. He discusses the problem under the chapter heads, "Our Sins in the Past," "Our Fight for the Home," "Our Plight in the Present," and "Our Grip on the To-morrow." This book will be of particular value to those unacquainted with the writer's other works, but even his old readers are stimulated to better deeds after a period of contact with so enthusiastic and optimistic a social reformer.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO believe that civic improvements can be approached more successfully from the standpoint of the "city beautiful" than from that of the "city economic" or the "city moral." Such a one is the author of "Modern Civic Art."²¹ This book is addressed to laymen, to readers of advertisements, to those who are now annoyed by hideous public buildings, by narrow and dirty streets, to those who feel the need for open spaces and parks. The treatment is calculated not only to stimulate a desire for a more beautiful city, but what is more to the point, to inspire a belief that the city beautiful is within reach.

A reviewer might find much to criticise with regard to the author's use of English, his sweeping generalizations, the lack of sequence; but it is probable that the book is both easier to read and more interesting for its enthusiastic, conversational, almost intimate, style.

"SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT"²² is a study of the organization and general powers of school authorities in American

²⁰ Pp. 190. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs & Co., 1903.

²¹ By Charles Mulford Robinson. Pp. iv, 381. Price, \$2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903.

²² By Frank Rollins, Ph. D. Pp. 106. Price, 75 cents. Columbia University Studies in Philosophy, Psychology and Education. New York: Macmillan Co., 1902.

cities. The conclusions regarding the best form of organization follow those of the committee of fifteen of the National Education Association and the plans advocated by the more advanced expert opinion in this field, namely, that a small board of not more than five or six, appointed by the mayor, is the best form of authority. Especial emphasis is also laid upon the work of professional experts in school administration as contrasted with that of unpaid, honorary officials. The author also contends that every class in the community should take part in the educational system, either by gifts of books, pictures, statuary, scientific apparatus, or by some assistance in making the school an evening social center.

“THE SHIP OF STATE BY THOSE AT THE HELM”²³ is a series of interesting articles originally written for younger readers and now offered as separate chapters of a popular book on the national government. The articles are by prominent public officials, but are so general in character as to have little permanent value.

THE DEDICATION OF ROSENBERG’S “Mazzini: The Prophet of the Religion of Humanity,”²⁴ to Jane Addams of Hull House, and the manner of eager loyalty with which the author presents Mazzini, indicate the vital interest which many social workers take in the propaganda of the Italian idealist-reformer. As the poetic exponent of brotherhood, they turn to him for stimulus, and his influence is continuous.

The author admires him as a pre-eminent humanitarian who chafed under the teachings of current dogmas concerning future rewards and punishments, holding that “the discovery of a new relation—that of the individual to humanity—may lay the foundation of a new religious bond” which should bring about the immediate earthly betterment of man. But a religion is a grave necessity, because in every epoch the earth has tended to conform itself to the heaven in which it then believed.

“He was not a single man,” exclaims the author; “he was, he *is*, an epoch, a chapter in history!” Yet he was not a great writer, concludes Mr. Rosenberg, not a great philosopher, not a great economist, not even a great statesman, and though, like most prophets, he was not practical, and was somewhat obstinate, yet he spoke with such eloquence, earnestness and devotion that we cannot remain indifferent.

We read him little and understand him slightly because we are at present in a period of transition; but when we shall have passed through it, we will estimate more truly the religious concept of the great cosmopolitan.

²³ By Theodore Roosevelt and others. Pp. 264. Price, 75 cents. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1903.

²⁴ By Louis J. Rosenberg. Pp. 86. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1903.

"THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF SLAVERY,"²⁵ by William Henry Smith, is not a scientific history of the institution slavery, but rather a history of politics in the United States from 1830 to 1870, written according to the method of the old-fashioned school of didactic historians. The work is one of very uneven merits. The early chapters are the unsuccessful work of a journalist turned historian. Dealing as he does with the period already covered by Rhodes and Burgess, and having much their point of view, the only contribution which the author makes is in showing the importance of Ohio and her leaders in shaping anti-slavery sentiment and policy; for instance, Brinkerhoff's authorship of the Wilmot Proviso and Corwin's influence as a Whig leader in 1848 and afterward. There are occasional misstatements of fact; for instance, that John Brown's raid "met with universal condemnation" in the North. In the Civil War period Mr. Smith gives a rather unsatisfactory, conventional treatment, though he makes excursions from the usual course here and there to describe the Brough campaign in Ohio with much detail, to praise Chase's financial administration as the very acme of perfection, and to paint Vallandigham's "treason" in the blackest of colors. The really valuable part of the work is confined mainly to the chapters on Reconstruction. Here the author writes from his own recollection, assisted by well-chosen documents. His account of the presidential campaign of 1868 is particularly valuable. The work is concluded with a chapter from the pen of John J. Halsey upon the "Failure of Reconstruction." This chapter deals in numerous generalizations, some of which are of doubtful validity. The chapter makes no contribution to knowledge. Mr. Smith and Mr. Halsey have each written from the same half-liberal Northern point of view. The one condemns the abolition agitation, but is far from approving the Southerners' aggressive protection of their vested rights; the other censures the reconstruction policy of the radical Republicans, yet fails to justify the Southern whites in their disfranchisement of the illiterate black masses when at length the opportunity was offered.

Mr. Smith's work would have been welcome as a magazine article upon Ohio's influence in the anti-slavery movement and a thin volume upon reconstruction. But as a work in two large volumes it has no justification. The question arises whether more than enough for the present has not already been published upon the "political history of slavery." What justification can there be for threshing over the same straw in the same old way and with the same old flail? An economic history of slavery, or an economic interpretation of its political history, would be of much value; but a new political history as such, with no spark of genius to enliven it, is a weariness.²⁶

"ADMINISTRATION OF DEPENDENCIES,"²⁷ by Alpheus H. Snow, is an admirable discussion of the principles of colonial government of France,

²⁵ *A Political History of Slavery*. By William Henry Smith, with an Introduction by Whitelaw Reid. In two volumes. Pp. iv, 456, and xvi, 350. Price, \$4.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903.

²⁶ Contributed by Ulrich B. Phillips. Ph. D., University of Wisconsin.

²⁷ *A Study of the Evolution of the Federal Empire, with Special Reference to American Colonial Problems*. Pp. vi, 619. Price, \$3.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

England and America, with a view to showing the extent to which these principles were already clearly defined and generally accepted at the time of the framing of the American constitution. The author has been at great pains to examine all the more important data dealing directly with his thesis and exhibits throughout a fairness and desire for historical accuracy which inspire confidence. In conclusion, a good summary is given of American judicial decisions, including a number of the latest opinions of the Supreme Court dealing with the constitutional status of the new dependencies.

IN "HOW GEORGE ROGERS CLARK WON THE NORTHWEST,"²⁸ Mr. Thwaites has collected eight papers, the majority of which "were first delivered as lectures, and later, in a modified form, were printed either in popular magazines or in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*." They are here "radically revised and brought down to date" (page vii). The subjects range from the familiar event suggested by the title page to matters of antiquarian interest in the stories of Mackinac and La Pointe. The account of George Rogers Clark is spirited and sympathetic. Mr. Thwaites finds it necessary to reject the most picturesque incident usually associated with the capture of Kaskaskia. "But I almost wish it were true," he adds regretfully, "for our often sombre Western history seems to need now and then a lurid touch like this" (page 30). The most extended and perhaps the most valuable of the papers is that devoted to the Black Hawk War. Mr. Thwaites presents an authoritative and, in important respects, a new version of the tragic episode. It is not a chapter to stir the pride of the white man. "Gross mismanagement, bad faith, and sheer heartlessness," it is declared, characterized his part in the contest (page 198). One paper treats of the division of the Northwest into States. Another supplies notes for a study of early lead-mining on the Upper Mississippi. Still another records impressions of a day on Braddock's road. The volume closes appropriately with an appreciative sketch of Lyman Copeland Draper and the Draper manuscripts.

The proofreader has allowed a few obvious errors to escape his attention. "January" for "February" (page 48), "south" for "north" (page 93), and "1823" for "1833" (page 194), are examples. The statement concerning land claims under the Pennsylvania and Virginia charters (page 5) seems to need slight qualification and there are some variations from generally accepted dates for which one would be glad to have authorities cited. The introductions to two of the papers (pages 75, 231) suggest a method of approach less felicitous than that ordinarily employed by the author. The important thing to record, however, is that we have here an admirable little book in a field not too much exploited by competent historians.

"THE STORY OF RAPID TRANSIT,"²⁹ by Beckles Willson, is a chatty narrative intended for such readers as are interested mainly in the curious and

²⁸ By Reuben Gold Thwaites. Pp. 378. Price, \$1.20. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.,

1903

²⁹ Pp. 204. Price, \$1.00. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

wonderful facts of transportation. The "story" is incomplete, and the author has but slight appreciation of the relative importance of the facts presented. There are ten chapters, dealing respectively with the mail-coach, the first railways, steam navigation, the development of the railway, the telegraph, aerial navigation, the cable and telephone, the bicycle, motor carriages, and street railways.

RECENT YEARS have seen a marked improvement in historical textbooks, but few, if any, are better entitled to recognition than "The British Nation,"³⁰ by Professor Wrong, of the University of Toronto. It is a compact book of 600 pages, well supplied with maps, indexes, genealogical tables, etc. There are 291 illustrations, many of which are new and interesting and help to illumine the text. The title suggests the general view-point of the author, viz., that of Britain as the representative of many states, linked together by the sea, and built up and defended by her steadily growing sea-power. Following the lead of Green in his "Short History of the English People," and the marked tendency of our times, Professor Wrong gives one-third of the chapters to the social and industrial life of the people. These are often the most interesting parts of the history, and are free from the just criticism that might be passed on the chapters treating of political development, in which names and facts often are so crowded together as to constitute a real difficulty for immature students,—especially American students who have not grown up in an English atmosphere. (Cf. p. 207, "Lord Scrope, a relative of the archbishop executed by Henry IV, joined the Earl of Cambridge, the grandfather of Edward IV, who was to depose Henry's son, in a plot to put the young Earl of March on the throne.") The space wisely given to social life increases the task of bringing the political history within the remaining pages, but makes it imperative to sacrifice the less important events in order that the more important may stand out clearly.

In early Scottish history, the author has followed the traditional English view, and fails to make clear the distinction between the feudal vassalage which the Scottish kings owed for lands in England, and the vassalage which, under Henry II and Edward I, they owed for the kingdom of Scotland.

The history is treated by reigns, but these are grouped into periods, accompanied by a chapter on the civilization of the period, which gives unity to the work. Each chapter is prefaced by a statement of the general situation in Europe, and closed by a summary of dates in narrative form—the type indicating the relative importance of events.³¹

³⁰ The British Nation. By George M. Wrong, M. A., Professor of History in the University of Toronto. Pp. 600. New York. D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

³¹ Contributed by Charles Truman Wyckoff, Ph.D.

REVIEWS

The Adjustment of Wages. A study of the iron and coal industries in Great Britain and America. By W. J. ASHLEY. Pp. xx, 362. Price, \$4.00. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

In this book Professor Ashley has brought together eight lectures which were delivered at Manchester College, Oxford, during 1903. The special interest of the volume for the American reader lies in the author's discussion of the development of the United Mine Workers' Organization, the very interesting account of the several conflicts in which they engaged with their employers, and the resulting growth of the principle of conciliation and arbitration. His discussion of the anthracite problem is also of particular interest to the American reader. In addition to a review of the experience of Great Britain in arbitration and conciliation in the iron and coal trades, where he offers little that has not already been fully discussed by such writers as the Webbs, Professor Ashley presents some interesting conclusions. His argument is, on the whole, in favor of the principle of the sliding scale. He holds, with the bituminous operators of the United States, that it is far better for masters and men to work in harmony, and thus to profit at the expense of the consumer, than to bring about a system of wage payment which opens the door to unrestricted competition, and allows the consumer to profit at their expense. This point of view is very fully illustrated by the experience of both England and America. The recent course of events in the anthracite trade bears out the soundness of Professor Ashley's conclusions. By the award of the Anthracite Commission the scale of wages, based on the amount mined, is placed on a level of approximately fifty cents higher than that which prevailed before the strike of 1900. As a result the operators are forced to limit production and thus to maintain prices. It is true that the limitation of output, no matter what the agreement with their laborers may be, is to the operators' interest, and they have attempted to follow this plan in former years by mutual agreements, all of which, however, have broken down until replaced by the community of interest principle which now dominates their policy. It may be questioned, however, even with the close financial alliance which now prevails among the leading anthracite companies, whether they could maintain restriction agreements were it not for the imperative necessity which a wage rate fixed for three years and based upon the price of coal imposes upon them. The recent revelations in the building trades of alliances between the union and the contractors offers further proof of the soundness of Professor Ashley's reasoning. In so clearly developing the identity of the business interests of employer and employee, Professor Ashley has rendered a distinct service to both classes.

His attitude on the legal position of trades unions is not so clear. He holds that the law upon this subject is not yet clearly defined and advocates the appointment of a commission to consider the entire subject. On the whole, we gather from his discussion that he favors the incorporation of trades unions with the qualification that their liability shall be limited to the

enforcement upon them of the decisions of arbitration boards, or of agreements with their employers.

Not the least valuable portion of the book is the material contained in the appendix. The author has earned the gratitude of students of the subject by collecting a very admirable bibliography contained in the appendix, and in the voluminous footnotes with which he has carefully supported every statement, the rules of the conciliation boards in the iron and coal trades of Great Britain, the joint agreements and scales in the iron and coal trades of the United States, and a large part of the material relating to the United States contained in the Report of the Industrial Commission. The appendix also contains a portion of the correspondence leading up to the appointment of the Anthracite Arbitration Commission and the awards of that Commission. Another admirable feature of the volume is a series of four maps, showing the coal fields of Great Britain, the coal land actually worked in the leading coal-producing States of the United States, the railroads entering the anthracite fields in Pennsylvania, and the ownership of the anthracite coal lands of Pennsylvania.

Professor Ashley has done his work with great care, and in spite of his modest disclaimer to having contributed anything new to the discussion of the labor question, it cannot be doubted that he has not only done this, but has further presented a mass of materials from which subsequent investigators cannot fail to profit.

EDWARD SHERWOOD MEADE.

University of Pennsylvania.

The Place of Industries in Elementary Education. By KATHARINE ELIZABETH DOPP. Pp. vi, 208. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903.

Books on education are not good reading. We pick them up from a sense of duty and find them full of commonplaces and hackneyed expressions that in other fields are constantly displaced by the advance of science. This book, however, deserves study because of the freshness of its thought. Its appearance indicates that educators are becoming conscious of the relation of their subject to other sciences. Miss Dopp ought, therefore, to exert an influence in broadening the viewpoint of her co-workers even if some of her doctrines rest on an inadequate basis. To show the connection of education with the other sciences is more important than to be right in the individual doctrines advanced. It is also a distinct service to bring together from widely scattered sources the significant facts about the Aryan peoples. I know of no other book in which so much of our racial history is comprised in so small a place and stated so clearly. Even if the book should be considered as purely historical, the reader will find valuable material at hand.

The scheme of education unfolded by Miss Dopp can be readily comprehended. The physical attitudes of a race are the outcome of the situations in which the race has lived. Each epoch has brought about certain interactions between man and his environment which, if long continued, are

transformed into natural character that becomes a part of the physical heredity. They exist, dormant or active, in every individual and can be evoked by the use of proper stimuli. The newer interactions between man and the environment are also inherited, but this inheritance is not physical. Long before an activity has time to turn itself into a natural character it influences the social environment and is thus inherited through modified institutions, traditions, customs and habits. Each generation acquires from the preceding this social environment, and it is as potent as is the physical heredity of each child in determining its activities and interests. In the child there is present not merely the original attitudes of the remoter and long-continued periods, but also many newer attitudes due to the recent activities that as yet modify men only through their social heredity. He is born with nothing but his physical heredity; not until he comes into conscious contact with society does he comprehend and begin to assimilate social heredity. In his education, therefore, it is wrong to impress first the contents of social heredity which will tend to overlay the natural attitudes of his physical heredity. The industries of primitive races are the best means of education, since primitive activities are those which have been most thoroughly transformed into natural traits. The history of our race thus gives the order in which education should proceed.

Miss Dopp believes the instinct to work to be one of the fundamental and permanent possessions of mankind; in her second chapter, "The Significance of Industrial Epochs," she unfolds the well-known doctrine of culture epochs, and holds that the growing child traverses them in sequence, finding within himself as he goes the pleasurable reaction natural to each one. Man's history began with the hunting stage, followed by the fishing, pastoral and agricultural stages. Then came the age of metals, the age of travel and trade, the city, state and the feudal system. Each has been the source of natural aptitudes which appear in every normal child. The handicraft and the factory systems are now a part of social heredity, but have not had time to affect physical heredity. They cannot, therefore, evoke any natural reactions, and hence are of little use during the earlier stages of a child's development, when he is repeating the history of the race.

The difference between social and physical heredity is of prime importance, as is also the fact that the later activities developed by the handicraft and factory systems, have as yet affected men only through their social heredity. But it does not follow that the natural characters produced by primitive industries are a part of our physical heredity. It is easy to arrange the history of the race under the title of Aryan development and so maintain that our ancestors went through each stage of it. There is, however, scant evidence to support the thesis, and even if there were it would hardly meet the present educational problem, because so many of our people are not of pure Aryan ancestry. Just as a distinction has been drawn between social and physical heredity, so must one be drawn between cultural and physical ancestors. Our cultural ancestors are such nations as Rome and Greece, who have made the civilization we enjoy, although they represent but a small part of mankind, their people having been short-lived and their descendants

too few to have modified our physical heredity. But the younger races have inherited socially what they have not physically earned, and hence our social heredity is superior to our physical. Our physical ancestors not many centuries ago either belonged to the subject races to whom progress was impossible or they existed in parts of the world beyond the scope of advancing industry.

The movement of the subject races into the Aryan sphere is now being illustrated by the incorporation of the negro into American civilization. Although they are gradually acquiring our social heredity, their ancestors took no part in the struggle that elevated the Aryans, nor did they enter any contest through which the natural reactions of the Aryans were evoked. They come with a defective physical heredity, and Miss Dopp would probably admit that there is no hope of arousing in them natural reactions suitable to Aryan culture. The instinct of workmanship must be created in them; they lack natural reactions in this field. Our present industrial population acquired Aryan culture in a similar way. Their physical ancestors did not participate in the epoch of handicrafts, to say nothing of the earlier stages of Aryan progress. It is well known that at the opening of the present industrial epoch the unskilled laborers of the villages displaced the skilled workmen of the towns. If artisans of the earlier epoch left descendants, they are now among the capitalists and not among the laborers. This displacement has gone on during every great industrial change and is the result of all conquests. The superiors pass into the leisure class and in the end die out. Only the inferiors or the undeveloped hold their own and pass their crude heredity down to their descendants.

There is thus a gap between the attitudes which our social heredity demands and those we really inherit. Our physical inheritance is much more meager than our social inheritance. Many natural reactions that should have come with our cultural development are lacking, because our culture was imposed on our ancestors and not built up by them. The instincts and reactions of industrial life are lacking and cannot be aroused by giving children the tools and occupations their cultural ancestors found advantageous. There is no deep-seated instinct for workmanship, there is no urgent demand for constructive activity except as it is called forth by our social heredity. The children of laborers must be incorporated into a civilization developed without their ancestors' aid. Their instincts prompt them to recoil from the new culture; their emotions draw them towards it, rousing desires that work alone will satisfy. Any scheme for their betterment must act on desires before it can affect men's activity. We must, therefore, influence lower races through new desires and new standards of living. A favorable social attitude towards work must precede the rise of instinctive reactions favoring it. I would say therefore that children should be put in touch with the best of our social heredity before we attempt to develop natural reactions suitable to our present industrial activities. We must appeal first to the emotions, due to an imposed culture, and then to the instincts which the creation of this culture develops.

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SIMON N. PATTEN.

L'industrie dans la Grèce ancienne. By HENRI FRANCOTTE. Two volumes, pp. viii, 343, and vi, 376. Bruxelles: Société belge de Librairie.

Professor Francotte's scholarly work won the prize offered, a few years ago, by the Royal Academy of Belgium for the best study of "the organization of private industry and public works in ancient Greece, from the legal, economic and social points of view." No greater praise can be bestowed upon these volumes than to say,—what is perfectly within the truth,—that they deserve a place side by side with the work of such eminent scholars as Boeckh and Eduard Meyer.

The commonly accepted theory of economic evolution emphasizes the thought, first clearly set forth by Rodbertus, that the economic organization of antiquity was based on the autonomous family or household, which produced all that its members required and which depended on other producers only for a very few objects. This doctrine has since been vigorously developed by Bücher, and quite as vigorously attacked by Eduard Meyer, who maintains that the Greeks had an extensive commerce and an elaborate system of industrial specialization and exchange. The present writer occupies a position midway between these two extremes; he holds that the doctrine of Rodbertus and Bücher is too rigid and absolute.

The first chapters contain a discussion of the rise of commercial and industrial centers,—of Corinth, Athens and Delos. At Corinth and Delos, commerce was more important than industry. Athens was an industrial center. But all three cities were primarily agricultural. Subsequent chapters take up exports and imports, population, the ethical ideas concerning labor and laborers, domestic industry, the systems of remunerating labor, the real value of wages, slave competition, public works, labor legislation, and plans for social reform.

The author reaches the conclusion that there were undoubtedly independent industries in Greece, but certainly no large-scale production, no "large manufactures," such as some modern authors have seen fit to discover in antiquity. Greek industry did not pass beyond the purely embryonic stage, except in those few branches of production in which industry was allied with art. For ordinary products, each city was sufficient unto itself under ordinary circumstances, the cost of transportation for such goods exceeding their selling price. Artistic labor had to be applied to goods in order to impart exceptional beauty and sufficient value to justify transportation. The Greeks were fortunate enough, from the standpoint of posterity at least, to manufacture only things of beauty.

Particularly interesting are the author's investigations with regard to the wealth of the Greeks and the uses to which this wealth was put. The commerce of Athens appears to have been largely in the hands of foreigners; yet both foreigners and Athenians were accustomed to the loan of their wealth. Commerce, in fact, cannot develop without institutions of credit; it is natural, therefore, to find frequent mention of bankers among the Athenians. Most of them belonged to the class of liberated slaves and the banking personnel was recruited from among the slaves. The principal banking

function was making loans, usually guaranteed by mortgages or tangible pledges of some sort.

The whole book is characterized not so much by absolute dogmatic conclusions as by an exceedingly careful examination of all the possible sources of information regarding the business life of the ancient Greeks; not so much by sweeping generalizations like those of Rodbertus and Bücher, as by the constant and conscientious endeavor to picture the material life of the Greeks in all its peculiar complexity and variety. It furnishes the reader with a complete tableau of classic Greek economics and produces the impression of careful research and brilliant analysis.

C. W. A. VEDITZ.

Bates College.

Actual Government as Applied under American Conditions. By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL. D. Pp. xxxiv, 599. Price, \$2.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

This is the latest and, in some respects, the most valuable contribution to the recent output of high-class text-book literature on American government of which the manuals of Ashley and Woodburn are the other most notable examples. The volume under review represents a distinct departure from the conventional text-book on civil government in that it emphasizes, first of all, the actual workings and functions of government rather than the structure and machinery. It brings to the front what may be called the *personal* element in government, a feature which adds interest and vitality to the treatment of the subject. Again, our federal system is not treated as though it consisted of two entirely separate governments, one national, the other local, but as integral parts of one system, each as important in the general mechanism as the other. Finally, the historical element is interwoven with the descriptive in a manner which leaves hardly a dull or uninteresting page in the book. Perhaps the feature that most impresses the reader is its encyclopedic character. Certainly no book of the kind has yet appeared which contains in so compact a form such a vast range of information on so many phases of American government. Hardly any aspect of government activity is left undiscussed. Besides the usual discussion of the structure and operation of government, there are special chapters on such topics as the organization of commerce, transportation, education, religion and public morals, public order, land and landholding, boundaries and annexations, territories and colonies, taxation, public finance, foreign intercourse and commerce, suffrage and elections, the physical basis of government, etc., etc. To each chapter is prefixed a list of classified references, while a general bibliography is placed at the beginning, both features adding greatly to the value of the work. Unfortunately, however, the work otherwise so valuable is marred by evidences of apparent haste in preparation, which has led the author into a good many inaccuracies of statement. Some of these may be noted. On page 16, and again on page 494, the date of the fourteenth amendment is given as 1870, while on pages 31 and 69 it is given as 1868. On page 17, the

statement is made that no member of an Indian tribe can acquire citizenship by naturalization, whereas the Supreme Court, in the case of *Elk vs. Wilkins* held that it could be acquired in no other way. On page 69, the statement is made that the suffrage was conferred upon the negro in most of the Southern States by "reorganized legislatures in 1865-66," which is not true. Suffrage was first conferred on the negroes by the reconstruction acts and was first exercised in the autumn of 1867 in the State elections for delegates to the constitutional conventions called by the military commanders. On page 75, we are told that since 1841 all the States are by an act of Congress compelled to vote for members of Congress and presidential electors on Tuesday after the first Monday in November. This day was fixed for all the States by an act of Congress passed in 1872, but was amended three years later so as to exempt from its effect those States whose constitutions prescribed a different day. At the present time representatives in Congress are chosen in Oregon and Vermont in June, and in Maine in September. It is misleading to say, as is done on page 262, that presidential electors were chosen in Colorado by the legislature as late as 1876, when in reality it was the first time they were chosen there by any method, and the choice was assumed by the legislature because of insufficient time to provide for popular choice of the electors between the date of the admission of the State to the Union and the date of the presidential election. On the same page, the statement is made that Michigan tried the district method of choosing electors in 1896, whereas the year was 1892. On the following page (263), it is stated that the electoral colleges meet in their respective States on the first Wednesday in January. By the act of 1887, this date was fixed as the second Monday in January. On page 313, in discussing the liability of States to suit in the Federal Courts, the statement is made that the Supreme Court held, in the Virginia coupon cases, that a suit against the State Treasurer to compel him to receive certain coupons in payment of taxes was in effect a suit against the State, and, therefore, contrary to the eleventh amendment. This is an error. It was held in *Poindexter vs. Greenhow*, one of the Virginia coupon cases, that where the officer acts as such under color of an unconstitutional law and invades rights acquired under contract with the State, he is not clothed with the authority of the State and cannot plead that a suit against him is a suit against the State. To set up such a defense he must show that he acted under a valid law. On page 495 it is stated that the Supreme Court held in 1871 and 1884 that the issue of legal-tender notes was constitutional *even in time of peace*. The Court undoubtedly took this advanced ground in the case of *Julliard* against *Greenman* in 1884, but in the earlier case the right was upheld only as a war measure, and nothing was said about the right of Congress to exercise such power in time of peace. On page 497 it is stated that the ratio between gold and silver was changed by an act of Congress in 1832 to 16½ to 1. Both the date and the ratio are wrong. The year was 1834, and the ratio 16 to 1. Finally, on page 508, it is stated that the rate of letter postage was reduced in 1853 to three cents, and in 1885 to two cents, whereas the dates were 1863 and 1883 respectively. Such are some of the inaccuracies

noticed from a hasty reading of the book. Happily, most of them are errors of minor importance, but they indicate a hurry of preparation which text-book writers would do well to guard against. Apart from this, Professor Hart's book is a unique and valuable contribution to the literature of civil government in the United States.

JAMES WILFORD GARNER.

University of Pennsylvania.

Lavisse: Histoire de France, Vol. I, Part I, *Tableau de la Géographie de la France*. By P. VIDAL DE LA BLACHE. Pp. 395. Vol. II, Part I, *Le Christianisme, Les Barbares Mérovingiens et Carolingiens*. By BAYET, PFISTER and KLEINCLAUSZ. Pp. 444. Paris: Hachette, 1903.

In the first section, *Personnalité Géographique de la France*, the author treats of the form and structure of France, the influence of the Mediterranean and of the neighboring countries, and the physiognomy in general. The second section, which comprises four-fifths of the volume, is a description of the individual portions. There is an abundance of excellent maps and figures. The treatment is based upon the latest researches, and is masterly. The concise statements, the scientific exactitude, and the delightful characterizations of the various sections, are equally admirable.

The author connects the geography and history of France in a most illuminating manner; but he realizes fully the action of history upon the relations between man and the soil which he inhabits. The latter point is brought out especially well in the conclusion, where he shows the way in which the centralization of the French monarchy interfered with the material development of France.

The maps on pages 378, 379 and 382, showing respectively the Roman roads, the post roads at the end of the eighteenth century, and the principal railroads at the present day, are especially instructive.

His hints as to the possibility of developments in France, because of changes now taking place, are very interesting. "*L'histoire de notre pays nous fait assister à un riche développement de dons variés, mais elle ne nous fournit qu'une traduction incomplète des aptitudes de la France. Nos générations auraient tort de se complaire au spectacle du passé au point d'oublier que dans nos montagnes, nos fleuves, nos mers, dans l'ensemble géographique qui se résume dans le mot France, bien des énergies attendent encore leur tour.*" "*L'étude attentive de ce qui est fixe et permanent dans les conditions géographiques de la France, doit être ou devenir plus que jamais notre guide.*"

We regret that there is no separate index for this portion. Of course, there will be a general index when the whole work is concluded, but a special index for this geographical tableau would be more serviceable.

The second volume is an instance of remarkably successful coöperative work. M. Bayet contributes Book I, *Le Christianisme et les Germains en Gaule*, and Chapter V of Book II, on *L'Eglise, Les Lettres, Les Arts* of the Merovingian period. M. Pfister writes the other chapters of Book II on the Merovingian period, and, in addition, Chapters VI and VII of the Third

Book on "the last Carolingians" and "the Origins of the Feudal Régime." M. Kleinclausz, who last year published his work on *L'Empire Carolingien*, has the same subject here.

Although necessarily separated in the chronological make-up of the book, M. Bayet's and M. Pfister's contributions form logical unities. The chapter on the Merovingian Church supplements naturally the account of the early Church. In M. Pfister's work, his chapter on Merovingian institutions and the origins of feudalism might almost be brought together under the latter title and published apart from the context.

Now that more than half of this history has been published, it has come to be almost a work of supererogation to praise the individual parts. Yet in this volume one may well become enthusiastic over the qualities common to all three—the delightful style, the skillful use and embodiment of passages from the original sources, and the carefully selected bibliographical notes. In this volume, too, there is a considerable number of notes discussing disputed points. Some other volumes have been deficient in this respect. Even here M. Bayet accepts the Edict of Milan (page 11) without suggesting that its authenticity has been questioned; and (page 13) he makes pagans equivalent to peasants in the fourth century, and both words derived from *pagani*, without a hint that this idea does not now command universal approval. Occasionally there are other statements which are open to discussion, but this is due generally to the fact that for these events the sources are few and unsatisfactory, so that the statements must rest upon skillful deductions rather than assured facts.

The volume as a whole has unusual excellence; possibly the parts that will prove most interesting to students are the chapter on the Carolingian Civilization, by M. Kleinclausz; the Origins of Feudalism, by M. Pfister, and the section on *Les Lettres* (pp. 243-251), by M. Bayet, although many will doubtless enjoy the latter's *L'Évangélisation de la Gaule*.

In conclusion, we may congratulate ourselves that this history is now complete for the whole of the Middle Ages. It has fulfilled its early promise of superseding all other histories of France.

D. C. MUNRO.

University of Wisconsin.

An Introduction to the History of Western Europe. By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Professor of History in Columbia University. Pp. x, 714. Price, \$1.60. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1903.

Professor Robinson's text-book in medieval and modern European history marks a distinct advance in American historical text-book writing in the general European field, and there seems to be no good reason why the author's manifest intention to invade England should not be realized. The book is "Entered at Stationers' Hall." It has striking merits and its defects are, relatively, minor.

The conspicuous merit of the book is its interpretative character; it is an explanatory history and not simply a narrative history. Events, con-

ditions and institutions are presented in such a way that the average student can hardly avoid learning what it is all about.

This particular merit of the book is conditioned upon a steady effort to pass over, or present merely the fruits of, the lesser movements and devote attention to men and matters of prime importance. The most marked instance of the success of Professor Robinson in this work of perspective is his treatment of the church, especially the medieval church, which is scholarly, fair-minded and illuminating. The all-embracing activities, the *universal* aspects of the medieval church are most skilfully presented.

Now and then, however, the author fails to keep his work up to this high level. His treatment of the Crusades is, relatively, half-hearted and inadequate. In fact, his general ignoring of Byzantine affairs is a blemish, and the title of the text-book is no sufficient apology. Unfavorable criticism must be passed, also, upon the author's chapters on England, not because of their brevity—they are even too full of detail—but because of their general lifelessness and relative inferiority. They are confessedly based upon two of the older treatises (preface, page iv), and their preparation probably, with justice, bored the author. In his treatment of the Italian Renaissance, Professor Robinson appears to some extent to have forgotten his explanatory rôle. The average student will fail to grasp adequately the meaning and significance of the whole Renaissance movement, more especially its history beyond the Alps. The extra-Italian Renaissance is not treated in a separate chapter, as it should be, but is scatteringly dealt with in several sections of the book. On the other hand, nothing but gratitude should be felt for the author's heroic abandonment of the Germanies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their history is most properly summarized at the opening of the chapter on the sixteenth century.

In surveying the proportions of the book, as a whole, much satisfaction will be felt, although it is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the latter part of it suffers from undue compression. The Lutheran revolt, to be sure, is treated with the utmost generosity, but the revolt of the Netherlands clearly lacks space, and the great Elector surely is entitled to more than some half-dozen lines. The problem of proportion is, however, most difficult, and Professor Robinson has offered a good solution.

Of distinctly minor importance, because easily corrigible in subsequent editions, are many slight errors of omission and commission. For example, Ponthieu, one of the English possessions on the continent, 1360, is omitted in the text, although indicated on the map (page 257). This holds true of the Channel Islands also. Nor is it consistent, to say the least, to assert that the French king "never admitted that he had not the right to levy taxes if he wished without consulting his subjects" (page 286), and to characterize, a few pages below, the Estates' agreement to the *taille* of 1439 as a fatal concession (page 299). Moreover, the *taille* of 1439 was not increased, as asserted, but was soon dropped, a royal *taille* having been imposed:

The book reads well. The style is kept well in hand, there are only a few sentences which need ironing out and only a few colloquialisms like

“pretty much all of southern France” (page 126). The book will prove very helpful to the man in active life, but it will be especially valuable to the college student. Its best use demands the association of lectures and outside reading, the book itself serving as the guiding thread. The “Readings in European History,” designed to accompany the history, will, when published, accentuate its usefulness. The text-book is bound to make rapid conquests in colleges and universities, where, at present, it cannot encounter impregnable opposition. It is of college grade and should not be pushed into the high schools.

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- Beavan, A. H., Tube, Train, Tram and Car, or Up-to-date Locomotion. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.50.
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- Blair, E. H., and Robertson, J. A., Philippine Islands. Vols. VI, VII. Cleveland: A. H. Clark Co. \$4.00 per vol.
- de Blowitz, Memoirs of M. Doubleday, Page & Co. \$3.00.
- v. Böhm-Bawerk, E., Recent Literature on Interest. Macmillan. \$1.00.
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- Booth, M. B., After Prison—What? F. H. Revell Co. \$1.35.
- Brackett, J. R., Supervision and Education in Charity. Macmillan.
- Brigham, A. P., Geographic Influences in American History. Ginn & Co. \$1.25.
- Brown, A. J., New Era in the Philippines. F. H. Revell Co. \$1.25.
- Cambon, J., Essays and Addresses. Appleton. \$1.00.
- Chamberlin, F. C., Blow from Behind. Lee and Shepard. \$1.00.
- Cooke, J. E., Virginia—A History of the People. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.
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- Hammond, J. L. Le B., Charles James Fox. New York: James Pott & Co. \$2.00.
- Hanotaux, G., Contemporary France. Putnams. \$3.75.
- Hawker, R. S., Footprints of Former Men in Far Cornwall. John Lane. \$1.25.
- Hepburn, A. B., History of Coinage and Currency in the United States. Macmillan. \$2.00.
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- Hubert-Valleroux, P., La Co-Opération. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 2fr.
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- Jewish Charity. Vol. I, No. 1. \$1.00 per year.
- Johnson, F., Famous Assassinations of History. A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.50.
- Johnson, W. H., Pioneer Spaniards in North America. Little, Brown & Co. \$1.20.
- Keller, A. G., Queries in Ethnography. Longmans, Green & Co. \$0.50.
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- Lord, A. P., Regency of Marie de Médicis. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.75.
- Luetscher, G. D., Early Political Machinery in the United States. Published by Author, George School, Pa. \$1.00.
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- Mitchell, J., Organized Labor. Philadelphia: American Book and Bible House.
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- Myers, P. V. N., *Middle Ages.* Ginn & Co.
- Negro Problem. New York: James Pott & Co. \$1.25.
- Noll, A. H., *From Empire to Republic.* A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.40.
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- Partsch, J., *Central Europe.* Appleton. \$2.00.
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- Pratt, E. A., *American Railways.* Macmillan. \$1.25.
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- Richardson, C., *Daniel Webster for Young Americans.* Little, Brown & Co. \$1.50.
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- Roosevelt, T., and others, *Ship of State by Those at the Helm.* Ginn & Co. \$0.75.
- Rosenburg, L. J., *Mazzini: The Prophet of the Religion of Humanity.* Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co. \$0.50.
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- Shepherd, R. P., *Turgot and the Six Edicts.* New York: Col. University Press. \$1.50.
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- Smith, W. R., *South Carolina as a Royal Province.* Macmillan. \$2.50.
- Soley, J. R., *Admiral Porter.* Appleton. \$1.50.
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NOTES

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

AMERICAN CITIES

New York City.—*Tenement House Report.* The report of the Tenement House Commissioner, Robert W. de Forest, contains a record of the splendid work carried on by the department during the year. The scope of the work done is well described in a summarized statement issued by the department.

“On January 1, 1902, a new department of the city government, known as the Tenement House Department, was created. Since that time all the tenement houses in New York have been examined and their condition ascertained.

“Tenement conditions in many instances have been found to be so bad as to be indescribable in print; vile privies and privy sinks; foul cellars full of rubbish, in many cases of garbage and decomposing fecal matter; dilapidated and dangerous stairs; plumbing pipes containing large holes, emitting sewer gas throughout the houses; rooms so dark that one cannot see the people in them; cellars occupied as sleeping-places; dangerous bakeries without proper protection in case of fire; pigs, goats, horses and other animals kept in cellars; dangerous old fire-traps without fire-escapes; disease-breeding rags and junk stored in tenement houses; halls kept dark at night, endangering the lives and safety of the occupants; buildings without adequate water-supply—the list might be added to almost indefinitely. The cleansing of the Augean stables was a small task compared to the cleansing of New York’s 82,000 tenement houses, occupied by nearly three millions of people representing every nationality and every degree in the social scale. The task that confronted the department was not, however, limited to this. Without organization, without employees, with all its problems before it, it was on the very day that it came into existence confronted with an organized and vigorous attack in the legislature upon the fundamental principles of the law for whose enforcement it was created.

“Without previous records, with almost no information in regard to the condition of the existing tenement houses, it was called upon to carry out an important and far-reaching scheme for their improvement, involving the structural alteration of over 40,000 buildings.

“In the period under consideration in this report a new branch of the city government has been organized, its machinery created and a force of about 400 employees trained, disciplined and educated; far-reaching and important advances in legislation have been secured as a result of the department’s action, and radical and vicious attempts to break down the tenement laws defeated. Living accommodations for 16,768 families, or 83,840 persons, have been provided in sanitary, comfortable and decent houses, each

one of which has been built according to law; notorious evasion of and non-compliance with the laws have given place to their complete, uniform and impartial enforcement; the evil of prostitution has been practically abolished in the tenement houses; 337,246 inspections have been made; 55,055 violations filed; 21,584 repairs made to plumbing; 13,617 water-closets cleaned; 11,611 accumulations of filth removed from cellars and other parts of such buildings; 13,732 ceilings cleaned; 15,364 walls cleaned; 10,060 unsafe wooden floors removed from iron fire-escapes and new iron floors substituted; 1,701 fire-escapes erected on buildings that before were without this protection. The registration of 44,500 owners' names has been secured, thus fixing the responsibility for bad conditions in the tenements; contagious disease has been checked and prevented; 32,825 citizens' complaints have been investigated and the conditions complained of remedied; and an important tabulation and presentation of the population in every tenement-house block in the borough of Manhattan has been prepared that will be of incalculable value to the city.

"The existing tenement houses have been frequently and systematically inspected; foul cellars have had the accumulated filth of years removed; defective and unsanitary plumbing which has apparently existed for long periods has been remedied; houses unfit for human habitation vacated; hundreds of houses have been radically reconstructed and improved; light has been let into dark rooms; vile yard privies and privy sinks have been removed and the whole sanitary condition of the city raised to a higher standard. The results of this work are clearly reflected in the reduced death-rate, which in 1902 was 18.7 as compared with 20.0 in 1901, and in the first eight months of 1903 has been reduced to 18.0."

*Passenger Transportation.*¹ In response to the popular agitation for better car service begun by the suburban population of New York during the closing months of 1902, much has been done by the rapid transit companies to improve the means of communication with the business centers. The enlargement of the transfer system, together with the opening of new lines, and the increased number of cars operated, have relieved, in a measure, the extreme overcrowding of the surface lines. The new cars which the Board of Railroad Commissioners² directed the companies to put on are nearly all in service, and many of the old cars have been remodeled. A more definite time schedule has also been introduced, thus insuring a higher degree of safety and comfort to every passenger. However, many of the stations are too small, and are kept in an unsanitary condition, wider and more direct stairways being needed. At present the attention of the traveling public is directed toward the inadequacy of the street-car service. During the rush hour, above 30 per cent of the passengers on the Lexington avenue line are compelled to stand. Although the percentage of standing passengers on other lines is somewhat less, the overcrowding is sufficient to cause great inconvenience to all passengers.

¹ Communication from W. W. Pierson, Chicago, Ill.

² Report in the Matter of the Transportation Problem in Greater New York Before the Board of Railroad Commissioners of the State of New York, Albany, June 30, 1903.

Vehicular traffic, standing vehicles, and building operations that are allowed to encroach upon the street are the greatest obstacles to a more efficient service, although a strict enforcement of the ordinances already enacted by the city would obviate this difficulty. The Report of the Merchants' Association of New York³ shows conclusively that more cars of a larger type, if equipped with a power brake, could be handled with safety over all the lines.

The subway system⁴ presents a better and more commodious means of transportation, and to it the public must look for a solution of the present transportation problem. As regards surface traction, the city has been exploited by private interest, but underground New York is still under complete municipal control. If permanent relief from present abuses is to be expected from this source, the city must exercise careful control over any franchises that may be granted to subway companies through its ability to lease or operate as it may see fit. The competition which such an underground system would occasion would bring the syndicates in control of the surface lines to their knees. Until the city exercises adequate control, the present evils will continue to exist. The difficulty of the problem lies in the fact that transportation facilities have not kept pace with the increase of population.

Cleveland.⁵—*Municipal Ownership.* At the election of November 3 there were submitted to the voters six proposals for the issuance of bonds. Five of these proposals looked to the erection of bridges and the improvement and extension of streets, parks and boulevards. The sixth provides for the issuance of bonds "in the sum of \$400,000 for the purpose of erecting electric light works and for supplying light to the corporation and the inhabitants thereof." 24,328 votes were cast in favor of the proposition and 30,501 against it. The statutes require, for the approval of bond issues, an affirmative vote of two-thirds of all those voting on the proposition.

Various causes have been assigned for the decisive condemnation of this measure. A consideration which did not go to the merits of the question of municipal ownership, but which doubtless contributed to the result, was the fact that the proposed electric light works were intended to supply but one section of the city, while the bonds would be a lien upon all property. Nor would the fund realized from this bond issue have been sufficient fully to equip a plant. A large additional issue would subsequently have been called for. The city was flooded with literature maintaining that such a move would be inexpedient, costly and ill-timed. Furthermore, it is doubtful if sentiment in this city is so pronouncedly in favor of the principle of municipal ownership as in many other of our cities. The measure was also,

³ Passenger Transportation Service in the City of New York. A Report to the Merchants' Association of New York by Its Committee on Engineering and Sanitation. Merchants' Association of New York, September, 1903.

⁴ Report on Passenger Transportation System of New York by "City Plan Committee" of Municipal Art Society. Bulletin No. 3.

⁵ Communication of F. E. Stevens, Esq., Secretary Municipal Association, Cleveland, Ohio.

to a great extent, a party issue and shared the defeat of the party advocating it.

Profitable Use of Water Meters. Cleveland's water-works system is owned by the city. During the past two years great economies in operation have been effected through the installation of water meters. A peculiarity attaching to this new economy of management is that it is satisfactory both from the point of view of the department and also from that of the consumer. The inauguration of this enterprise was largely inspired by Professor E. W. Bemis, superintendent of the water works, and it has been carried on under his supervision.

During the twenty-six years prior to 1902, nearly all the business premises, but the business premises alone, were supplied with meters, making a total at the close of 1901 of 3,540 meters out of 55,130 "services." The consumption of water was, however, increasing much faster than the population. While the population increased 46 per cent during the period from 1891 to 1901, the pumpage of water had increased 150 per cent. The per capita consumption had increased from 111 gallons per day to 169 gallons. Among the reasons which led to the conclusion that the adoption of a meter system was advisable, was the belief that there was an enormous waste of water; that the cost of purchasing and placing meters would be much less than the cost of extensions of the water-works system, including new pumps, additional tunnels under the lake, etc., and the realization that fairness demanded that consumers should pay in proportion to the amount consumed. Two years' experience has demonstrated that the first two beliefs were justified. The third belief needed no substantiation from the argument of experience. During 1902, 7,739 meters were set. During the first ten months of 1903 11,938 meters were set. On the first of November of 1903 the city had metered 23,000 out of 58,000 connections in use.

The efficacy of meters in the reduction of waste is demonstrated by the following figures: In 1894 the department pumped 32.5 per cent more water than in 1891; in 1897 the pumpage was 22.5 per cent more than in 1894; in 1900 it was 38.7 per cent more than in 1897. But during the first ten months of 1903 it was 7.5 per cent less than in 1900, making a difference in favor of this last period of more than 45 per cent. Records of the department indicate that the per capita consumption this year will be under 145 as compared with 169 in 1901. The receipts of the department show a large gain. This arises principally from the fact that while the small consumer has been paying less for the service, the large consumer has been paying for what he has received. The plan is operated under a system of minimum rates. For example,—those whose assessment rate was formerly \$7.00 per year must pay \$4.00. The use of meters has not, as might at first be supposed, encouraged a niggardly and unsanitary economy in the use of water. The \$4.00 minimum permits the use of seven barrels of water per day. The rate for water consumed in excess of the amount allowed by the minimum rate is 5½ cents per thousand gallons, or six barrels for one cent. The economy has been effected by the stoppage of waste. The placing of meters is compulsory, but it is done at the expense of the city.

Denver Franchises.⁶—The people of Denver have a special interest in the subject of franchises granted to companies controlling public utilities. Conditions are such that the public may suffer as much—if not more—than the corporations. Denver is a composite city; its various units in the days of their independence granted a variety of franchises covering the more important utilities. But, as the city consolidated, there was a reorganization and consolidation of the companies holding these franchises. One company now owns all the gas and electric-lighting franchises; another, the water; and a third, the street railway. There is, however, uniformity in the water and tramway franchises to the extent that they are limited as to time and space. The water franchises will expire by 1910, and the tramway by 1911. The companies owning these franchises are permitted to enter specific streets and alleys; any extension must be by special vote of the council for specified places. The electric light company claims an unlimited franchise for the whole city of Denver, yet it will require a decision of the court to determine its rights.

The Rush amendment to the constitution of Colorado, which attempts to guarantee municipal home-rule, provides for a charter convention of twenty-one members who must prepare, and submit to the people, a charter that requires all franchises, "relating to any street, alley or public place," to be submitted to "a vote of the qualified taxpaying electors," after the company has deposited with the treasurer the estimated cost of the election. One charter carrying this requirement to a logical extreme has been overwhelmingly defeated, but no charter that omits this requirement can be submitted to the people. When the charter is finally adopted, the companies will not ask for extension of franchises unless the people to be benefited pay the expenses of an election, which will be a great burden in a city of 175,000 people. The natural outcome will be, the growth of the city will at once be limited to streets along which the companies already possess rights. The suburban parts will suffer most.

The object of the author of the Rush amendment seems to have been to make it easy to force municipal ownership of utilities. The first proposed charter carried out this idea by making private ownership as precarious as possible. The charter was defeated by the combined interests of the present office-holders, who hold over until the new charter goes into effect, the whiskey interests and the corporations. Yet it is evident that municipal ownership is losing ground with the independent, thinking voters. This is shown by the editorials of the papers that support municipal ownership, and the publications of the "Non-Partisan Charter League."

Cuba.—*Municipal Affairs.*⁷ Title 12 of the constitution of Cuba provides for the reorganization of the municipalities of the island. The first important change provided for is the separation of the legislative and executive powers, the mayor no longer being a member of the municipal council. As regards municipal functions, article 105 of the constitution gives to the

⁶ Communication of Professor Frank H. H. Roberts, University of Denver, Denver, Col.

⁷ Communication of Hon. F. Carrera y Justiz, Havana, Cuba.

municipalities the right to exercise all functions relating exclusively to the interests of the municipality. In this regard the Cuban constitution follows the system of Continental Europe, namely, that of not attempting to enumerate the powers of the municipalities.

According to articles 103 and 104 of the constitution, the only elective officers of the municipality are the mayor and the members of the council. There is, therefore, no attempt to provide for elective heads of departments as in many cities of the United States. All such administrative officers are appointed by the mayor and council. This system has the very grave defect of dividing responsibility. The logical plan would be to give to the mayor the appointment of all executive officers. Under the Cuban system there are no special municipal charters; although this does not prevent local variations within the limits of the framework of the government prescribed by the constitution, namely, an elective mayor and council.

At the present time the legislature of Cuba is formulating a new municipal law, in which the principles of the constitution are developed in detail. The lower house has formulated and passed such a bill, and the same is now pending in the Senate. The system of municipal government provided for by this bill shows marked traces of Spanish influence. In fact, many provisions of the old system have been incorporated which have been rejected by Spain herself. The recent reform in the Spanish system effected through the efforts of Señor Maura is in many respects an improvement over the bill passed by the Cuban lower house.

It will be well to postpone a scientific analysis of the new system until it receives the approval of the upper house, or has been rejected by it. Suffice it to say that the time has arrived for such an organization of local government in Cuba to arouse local initiative and to develop national prosperity.

FOREIGN CITIES

English Cities.—*Productive Undertakings of Municipal Corporations.*⁸

On March 31, 1902, out of a total of 317 municipal corporations in England and Wales (excluding London), 299 were carrying on one or more productive undertakings. The population of these 299 boroughs by the census of the preceding year was 13,093,870, and their assessable value for rates, out of which the general expenses of the corporations were defrayed, amounted for the year 1900-1901 to about \$275,000,000.

The rapidity with which municipalities are assuming these lines of activity is evidenced by the fact that from January 1, 1898, to March 31, 1902, seventeen corporations commenced water-supply undertakings, nine gas supply, sixty-two electricity supply, and thirty tramway undertakings. Two hundred and twenty-eight cities, well over two-thirds of the total number, conduct their own markets. The enterprise next most generally undertaken is water works, 193 cities owning their works. Baths and wash-houses come

⁸ Communication of Benjamin C. Marsh, University of Pennsylvania.

next in the list, being operated by 108 municipalities, while only twenty-four have undertaken the task of building and renting working-class dwellings.

A total capital, including borrowed capital, has been provided by the municipalities for these enterprises, amounting to about \$600,000,000. The average annual income of these undertakings for the four years, 1898-1902, amounted to \$63,000,000; the working expenses for the same period were \$41,000,000.

The undertakings which during this period were conducted at a loss were electricity supply, baths and wash-houses, burial grounds, working-class dwellings, harbors, piers, docks and quays. The gas works showed the largest aggregate profit, while the average annual net profit for all the undertakings during the four-year period amounted to £378,281.⁹

The German Municipal Exposition.¹⁰—The object of the German Municipal Exposition held during the past summer at Dresden was twofold:

First. To demonstrate the condition of civic life in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially as regards the development of the larger communities in Germany during the recent years, and to show the progress made in that time in carrying on civic affairs.

Second. To bring together a collection of German trade appliances and manufactures for the requirements of popular civic life.

The exhibits under the first head were divided into eight groups:

I. Street traffic, public lighting, roadway construction and drainage, bridges and harbors, including excavation work, measuring, surveying, street tramways, etc.

II. Town extension, sanitary and tenement inspection.

III. Public artistic work (architecture, painting, sculpture, etc.).

IV. Public health and well-being, constabulary, etc.

V. School education and instruction.

VI. Indoor and outdoor relief of the poor, care of the sick, charitable schemes and endowments.

VII. Control of cash receipts, of finance operations and of public rates and taxes, the trading of city and town councils, land property and savings banks and loan institutions.

VIII. Registration and office appliances, regulation of official staff, statistics and printed reports, etc.

These exhibits were arranged in the permanent exhibition building erected by the city of Dresden at a cost of about \$450,000, and with a floor space of 55,500 square feet.

The machines, building materials and miscellaneous manufactures of the second division were arranged in a number of small buildings around the main exhibition hall, the entire mode of classification being most carefully arranged, so that the lay mind might secure the largest benefit. The value of the exposition to a foreigner, giving as it did a vivid picture in photographs,

⁹ For fuller data see *Municipal Corporations Reproductive Undertakings brought up to March 31, 1902*, in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 88, of Session 1899.

¹⁰ Communication of Benjamin C. Marsh, University of Pennsylvania.

models and actual objects of the present-day condition in German cities, lay in its tremendous suggestiveness. Transformed tenements and beautified cities are most important object lessons as to what 128 German cities, with an aggregate population of over thirteen millions, have accomplished in their striving to better conditions. The expenses of the display were guaranteed by the cities in proportion to their population, no provision being made by the central government. An effort has been made by representatives of the State Department to have the entire exposition brought to St. Louis, and it is greatly to be hoped that an appropriation may be made by the directors of that exposition to have the main exhibits there, if the German cities are unable to meet the expense.

II. DEPARTMENT OF PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

The System of Charities in Washington, D. C.¹—While the general principles of social service seem to be the same in every well-organized association, it is interesting to observe their application to the specific conditions which vary so greatly in different places.

In Washington, for example, of the 3,000 families treated in the course of the year by the Associated Charities, nearly two-thirds are colored, and the recognized lack of principle, of morality, of responsibility, among the colored people, makes the problem of their improvement a harder one than that raised by the simple question of poverty. Washington has no compulsory education law, and has consequently many men and women, grown boys and girls, who can neither read nor write. We can realize what it would mean in our work to have no power beyond our own persuasions to force a refractory boy or girl to attend school. In visiting some of the open-air playgrounds of Washington during school hours, one sees a large number of children of school age, especially boys, who seem to prefer a day of exercise (or idleness) at the playground to the same time spent in gaining an education. Being asked why they do not go to school, they give a full and sufficient reason by saying "Don't want to." I think if the agents of the Associated Charities were asked what one municipal reform would most help them in their work, they would say with one voice, "Give us a compulsory education law and a truant officer."

The oldest section of Washington, and the poorest, is Georgetown, the original site of many old mansions famous in history. The ground is very low, intersected by a canal which is practically an open sewer. The former mansions have fallen to decay, but still serve as tenement homes, where each large family rents one large tumbledown room, and swarms of children, black and white, crowd the halls and stairways. There are many shanties and lean-tos in this section, no better than large packing-boxes thrown on the damp earth, no running water, and no plumbing of any kind. Little wonder that one hears at almost every door, "Johnnie's down with typhoid now," or "Mary has the fever," or "Don't come in, lady; all the children have diphtheria." Here is a section almost entirely without employment for man or woman. There are no manufacturing interests, few stores, very little laboring work, no piers or docks. Most of the families are supported by the women, whose sole form of employment seems to be the mending of canvas sacks,—meal-bags. These sacks are riddled with holes by mice, and are constantly in need of mending. The women may be seen in the streets early in the morning, dragging large bundles of them to their homes, where they spend the rest of the day patching and darning. One poor woman told us quite cheerfully that she counts all the holes, and that

¹ Abstract of address by Helene Ingram, New York, before the staff of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

she never found more than twenty-five in one bag. The pay is one cent for each bag.

These are some of the conditions in the worst section of Washington, where I spent a long afternoon, making some twenty or twenty-five calls with a volunteer worker. The volunteers in Washington, by the way, are a most excellent argument for friendly visiting. A conference class for the training of these unpaid workers is held twice a month at the central office, under Mr. Weller, the general secretary, and after a preliminary training there the volunteers are drafted off to the agencies, where each is placed in charge of one or two carefully selected families.

The paid agents or visitors have almost entire control and responsibility in their own districts, being under no supervision except that of the general secretary, to whom they report occasionally, though not at any stated times, and whom they consult when any question especially puzzling arises. The offices are planned somewhat like those of the New York Charity Organization Society, each office being located in its own district, and consisting of one, two or more rooms, sometimes of a whole small house. There are six division offices. The agent opens her office at nine o'clock, receives and interviews applicants from nine until eleven (sometimes as many as forty being interviewed in one morning), and spends the rest of the day in making visits.

The Associated Charities gives no relief from its own funds, but has the coöperation of the Citizens' Relief Association, which is "all funds," having no paid agents, no office or administrative expenses. All its disbursements are made through the agents of the Associated Charities, and cover food, fuel and shoes. But the agent's work is not all upon her cases. Her office is called a social center, and here are held, on several evenings of the week, classes and meetings, some for contributors, some for mothers, some for boys, for girls, etc. The agent gives addresses before these meetings, and arranges for other speakers also to address them. She takes full charge of the stamp savings, similar to New York's Penny Provident Fund, devoting one afternoon each week to stamp visits; and one agent, last winter, started at her office a sewing-room for poor women. The agents write all the letters regarding their own cases, reports, inquiries and information, and very often write the records themselves. One visiting stenographer from the central office reaches each district office about once a week, and takes a few hours' dictation, later typewriting the records so dictated. Each agent also has a number of friendly visitors reporting to her, in some cases as many as sixty for one district.

At each division office we find, besides the agent of the Associated Charities, a nurse from the Instructive Visiting Nurse Society, together with her closet of medicines, bandages and special bed-clothing for the sick poor. The nurse receives applicants during certain hours, when the office becomes a little dispensary, and she is always ready to visit the cases of illness recommended by the agent.

A pleasant feature of the South is the cordial hospitality with which one meets on every hand. The little children on the street smile at the passing

stranger and say "How do?" and the visitor to the poorest home receives a warm welcome and an invitation to come again soon.

Charities Building in Baltimore.—A Federated Charities building has recently been completed in Baltimore. The headquarters were purchased by the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor from a legacy left by the late J. Craft Whittington, and this association, in pursuance of a plan for coöperative work that was inaugurated some time ago, invited the Charity Organization Society and the Children's Aid Society to share the building. At the opening ceremonies, it was stated that private charity in Baltimore is so comprehensive that official charity is not needed.

Associated Charities of Salem, Massachusetts.—The Associated Charities of Salem, Massachusetts, have completed twelve years' labor to unite the charitable activities of the city. All of the local societies and many individuals make use of the bureau of registration, while the Samaritan, St. Vincent de Paul, city relief committees and the municipal poor department are in close touch.

Public Baths.—The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor found that of 125,000 persons who used the public baths, only 16,052 were females. The association thinks it has found a remedy by an appeal to their vanity. Cards are now issued with the inscription, "For a soft, rosy complexion, a quick, graceful walk, a healthy appetite, try a shower-bath twice a week."

Boys' and Girls' Aid Society of Oregon.—The eighteenth annual report of the Boys' and Girls' Aid Society of Oregon describes some interesting work in that State. The society's activity is limited to the care of homeless, neglected or abused children under sixteen, who are sound mentally and physically. It also receives and cares for "youths under the age of sixteen, who have made their first missteps and are in danger of being imprisoned." What the society calls the "incurable class" is kept at the receiving home for "a season," and then paroled under supervision. "Thus we assume to a great extent the work done in the East by juvenile courts, as our methods are nearly identical, with the exception that instead of a report being made to the judges, the delinquent children report to our superintendent, who should have learned by experience to deal with this class much better than the average jurist." We incline to doubt the statement and conclusion, and it seems unfortunate that such an emaciated version of the possibilities of juvenile court work should be presented to the public of Oregon.

The dependent children are placed out in family homes, and visited "at least once a year." Out of 337 children visited, there were only three whom the superintendent found it necessary to remove. Such a remarkable record speaks well for the character of the Oregon families, and excites the envy of child-placing agencies in the East, which visit the children more frequently, and find it desirable—if not absolutely necessary—to transfer many of the children from one family to another.

The legislature appropriates \$8,000 for the use of the society during the next two years. The receipts for the year were \$8,371.18, of which \$4,499.25

was paid by the state and counties, \$3,254.36 was interest and rents collected, and only \$617.57 was contributed by voluntary subscription.

There is no state board of charities in Oregon, and the supervision of this subsidized organization is left to the benevolent citizens who constitute its board of directors. That this plan has so far worked well is attested by the remarkable confidence which the society enjoys, and is due to the calibre of its officers and the fact that its superintendent is a man of high character and ability.

Seattle Charity Organization Society.—The Charity Organization Society of Seattle, Washington, has just completed its seventh year. For some years its very existence was precarious, but the period of storm and stress seems to have been happily passed, and its recent report is evidence that it has now found itself, and is strong in the confidence of the community. Under the direction of its secretary, Mr. H. Wirt Steele, formerly of Chicago, the society is branching out into the progressive field of preventive and correctional work. Machinery has been set in motion for the establishment of a juvenile court, and a Charities Indorsement Committee established, to suppress superfluous charities, and give expert advice to legitimate charities for the purpose of increasing their efficiency. This committee is composed of representatives elected by the Chamber of Commerce, Merchants' Association, Manufacturers' Association, also charity societies, and has secured the cordial coöperation of the contributing public. The society publishes a monthly organ, known as the *Exponent*, which serves to voice its needs and to educate public sentiment.

Indianapolis Charity Organization Society.—A very interesting report has just been published by the Charity Organization Society of Indianapolis. It is printed in an attractive form and is full of valuable material.

It demonstrates the possibility of controlling mendicancy and pauperism by proper organization and efficient, intelligent work. The society is directed by men of common sense and civic patriotism, able to bring into harmonious coöperation all public and private agencies for the relief of poverty and correction of crime. To build up such an organization and win for it the absolute confidence and coöperation of the public is the work of years.

The work of the society covers an extensive field, but the responses to appeals for money have been most generous. The number of applicants for the year was 1,299. Of this number, 775 were new, and 524 were old; 1,008 were white, and 291 colored.

The society has had for many years efficient coöperation with the township trustees, the city dispensary and the city hospital. The report also states that the work has received the cordial support of the police force and the police judge.

Two years ago the society began a systematic investigation of the needs of the blind and crippled beggars. It was understood that the vicious and immoral should be turned over to the police, but that those who were willing to work should be encouraged to do so. This work continued until the chronic mendicants were driven out of the streets. Many are still living in

the city, but go to the small towns to beg. Only one man during two years showed a willingness to learn a trade. He was blind, and was sent by the society to the blind industrial school, and stayed two weeks, costing the society five dollars. The coöperation of the police in this work has been most valuable, in fact the society is constantly gaining the interest and active, permanent coöperation of associations, individuals and churches.

The committee on friendly visiting has laid the foundation for an aggressive campaign along that line for the coming year.

During the coal famine, the demand was met by citizens, mine owners and the railroads, who placed the responsibility for the distribution of coal upon the society. Noble assistance was given by the *Press*, which sent a representative to the mines, at its own expense, to hasten the shipment. The city furnished four teams for delivering. Able-bodied men, out of work, were employed to handle and deliver the coal. Attention is called to the fact that many boys and girls get their first lessons in stealing by picking coal.

One of the most interesting features of the work is child-saving. The society had been working untiringly to form an organization whose duty it should be to save helpless children from vicious, immoral and cruel parents. A law was passed by the legislature creating a committee called the Board of Children's Guardians; the activity of this board has touched nearly every form of work for children. The board is especially responsible for the passage of the truancy law and the juvenile court law. The tenement house question is under consideration, and first steps were taken last year to improve conditions.

The report speaks very highly of the work done by the Indiana avenue and the Harley Gibbs settlements, and also gives an interesting account of the negro organization for assisting the poor of that race. This work has profited by the suggestions made and the interest shown by the C. O. S.

The past season has been one of unusual activity in summer charities. The Vacant Lots Cultivation and the Fresh Air Mission publish separate reports. The *News'* vacation work has taken a definite form and become an excellent part of the general charity work. The *News* has also furnished free ice to the sick and pasteurized milk to babies. The Indianapolis *Star* made a special effort in behalf of the Fresh Air Mission and raised a considerable part of the funds to run the work. All the papers have assisted greatly during the year. They have never failed to make public appeals for special needs as well as for the general development of benevolent work.

The society is making a specialty of training workers for various fields in charitable and social activities and is also putting forth its first effort toward the prevention and relief of tuberculosis and the study of sanitary conditions. A convalescent home has been planned in one of the healthiest locations in the State, where people with moderate means may, for a small sum, take treatment and rest. In addition to this trained workers are being placed in the field, and by their influence and suggestions will save much unnecessary sickness.

Child Labor in New Jersey.—In Governor Murphy's message to the New Jersey legislature in January, 1903, attention was called to various complaints that children of less than the legal age were employed in factories, notably the glass factories of South Jersey. The governor stated that he had investigated these complaints and was satisfied that they were much exaggerated, but recommended that he be given the power to remove the factory inspector for cause at any time, and that the minimum age limit for the employment of boys be raised to fourteen, to correspond with that for girls. His recommendations were adopted by the legislature, with the proviso that the new laws should not go into effect until September 1. It was confidently expected that John C. Ward, the chief inspector, would be removed promptly on this date, but the governor apparently felt that it was unwise to take cognizance of that officer's past neglect of duty, especially in view of the fact that the department of factory inspection was notoriously undermanned, and that the inspector might set this up as an excuse. The governor met the dilemma by putting his secretary, John L. Swayze, in charge of the work of the department. Mr. Ward continued to draw his salary up to the end of the year and then resigned. Mr. Swayze has full control. Already he has proved that so far from the reports of the disobedience of the law being "exaggerated," the actual conditions were actually understated. Some of the material which Mr. Swayze has to work with in his department is not of a high standard, but he has put some backbone into all of his deputies, and has taken hold of his difficult task with great vigor and efficiency.

The New Jersey branch of the Consumers' League invited a number of representatives of educational and philanthropic organizations to meet in Newark on December 5, to discuss present conditions and the needs for further legislation, with a view to forming a permanent child-labor committee. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Hugh F. Fox, who was the chairman of the child-labor committee of the National Conference of Charities which met in Atlanta last spring. Mr. Fox made a plea for the practical coöperation of all the forces which are dealing with children,—the truant officer, probation officer, child-caring societies, associated charities, relief agencies and labor leaders. He declared that at present the factory inspector is overwhelmed with work. "Complaints of child-labor abuses are piling in on him faster than he can handle them; his deputies are discharging children by the score; he has suits enough now on hand to strain his energies for months; and in the midst of all this hurly-burly he must keep his head level and act with cool judgment, lest the law be made so obnoxious that it defeat its own ends! In this transition period of new experience, it is almost impossible to tell precisely what are the exact limitations of the law, or the imperfections of the present system. That some further legislation will eventually be needed, there is little doubt; but the people who are administering the work are best able to decide what it should be, and just when it is expedient to initiate it." In the general discussion which followed, the importance of a working agreement between the factory inspectors and truant officers was emphasized. Mrs. E. E. Williamson declared that the

truant officers could enter the factories without further legislation. The meeting concluded not to advocate any immediate action, but it was felt that the time had come to federate all the forces which are working for the welfare of the child and the preservation of family life. The chairman was empowered to appoint a representative committee, pledged to the support of the departments of factory inspection, public education, juvenile courts, and the State Board of Children's Guardians, in the administration of the laws to benefit children. The committee was instructed to coöperate with these forces and others in securing further facilities for increased efficiency of service.

As soon as the legislature meets, arrangements will no doubt be made to increase the appropriation for the factory inspector's department, so that it may be enabled to perform its duties completely.

Establishment of a New Jersey State Board of Charities.—The annual report of the New Jersey State Charities Aid Association has been delivered by Charlton T. Lewis, LL. D., president of the association, to Governor Murphy. Its leading feature is the account given by the general secretary, Frederick H. Wines, LL. D., of the powers, duties and operations of state boards of charities and boards of control in all the states which have, or have had, them. The association will concentrate its efforts at Trenton, this winter, on the establishment of a New Jersey State Board of Charities. Dr. Wines was secretary of the Illinois board from 1869 to 1893, and from 1897 to 1899, when he was appointed assistant director of the United States Census. He has been identified with the movement of which he writes, almost from its beginning, and is qualified to speak on the subject as an expert.

A board of control is an executive board; local boards of trustees are boards of control. A supervisory board, on the other hand, has no executive powers; or if it has any, they relate to individuals, not to the management of institutions. Supervisory boards serve without compensation; the members of state boards of control are usually paid salaries, and are expected to give their entire time to the duties of their office.

There are or have been, in the United States, twenty-eight state boards, of which only eight are central boards of control. An account of each of these twenty-eight boards is given, and an abstract of the laws under which they operate, together with a brief notice of what they have respectively accomplished. So complete a task has never before been attempted, and the collecting of so much interesting and valuable matter in a single state document is a service rendered by this association to the entire country and to the world, which should be appreciated as it deserves. Doubtless the report will be in demand by students everywhere, and it will exert a wide and healthy influence upon the general course of American legislation.

This historical and legal account of the powers and duties of state boards is followed by a well-written and highly readable review of the movement from its start to date. The almshouse is the first eleemosynary institution to be created in any community. The accumulation in it of a mixed population of sufferers suggests the need for classification of paupers. The first

institutions to be provided for special classes, such as pauper children and the pauper insane, are furnished by private benevolence. Then subsidies are asked and granted from the public treasury. Finally, the state itself undertakes to meet this demand, and public charity is born.

The state is sovereign, and what is done in this direction by counties and municipalities, is done by its authority. A moral obligation, therefore, rests upon the state, to see that the functions delegated by it are properly exercised. Hence the need of supervision, which the state boards have been organized to supply.

The question whether advisory or executive state boards are most influential and effective for good, has been repeatedly discussed by the National Conference of Charities at its annual sessions, and the weight of opinion in that body is in favor of boards with powers of visitation, inspection, report and recommendation, leaving the control and management of the state institutions in the hands of individual boards of trust.

The arguments in favor of state boards of control, as presented by their advocates, are fairly and fully stated in the report of the association. Nevertheless, after giving them full consideration, Dr. Wines does not regard them as convincing.

It is pointed out that the Kansas and Wisconsin boards of control have acknowledged and complained of political interference with the appointments made by them to such an extent that it is characterized as "an intolerable evil." The Iowa board is now composed of exceptionally able and upright men, and it is not yet clear what will occur in that state, but the extraordinary provisions in the statutes show that the fear of erecting a gigantic and all-powerful political machine was present to the minds of those by whom it was formed.

Attention is called to the testimony of Mr. James E. Heg, ex-superintendent of the New Jersey Reformatory, founded on his personal and very varied experience both there and in Wisconsin, to the effect that the Wisconsin system destroys the initiative of superintendents, reduces them to the position of figureheads, discourages their ambitions and impairs their usefulness to the state.

A state board of control does not exercise the moral or educational influence that resides in supervisory boards.

Such a board itself needs supervision, which that system does not provide for. With local boards of management and a central supervisory board, the state secures the advantages of both systems; it loses nothing, it gains much. A printed list of the powers conferred upon boards of charities in the various states shows that there is work enough for them to do without imposing on them executive duties, while the special functions which they fulfil cannot be discharged, equally well at least, by state boards of control. One common purpose underlies them all. It can be stated in a single word—publicity. No abuse, no wrong can flourish, except in the dark.

The American state boards of public charity have been the center of one of the most noteworthy movements in the evolution of modern civilization.

From them has gone forth an influence that has been felt at home and abroad, in Europe, and even in Asia. They have been behind three great reforms in this country: its child-saving work, the amelioration of the lot of the insane, and the recent modifications in the treatment of crime and criminals. What they could not do directly they have accomplished indirectly, by organizing state and national conferences of charities and county boards of voluntary auxiliary visitors.

New Jersey has shared in the benefits of this movement, but has not yet taken her proper place in it. Full credit is given the State for what it has achieved in the line of philanthropic advance. The State Board of Health and the State Charities Aid Association have performed some of the functions of a state board. But they have not adequate authority and power, and the association is cramped for funds. What it has accomplished in the face of adverse conditions is surprising; but it is not a board of charities, and that is what the state needs and what the association urges the legislature to create without further delay.

The New Jersey Training School for Feeble-Minded Girls and Boys.—The fifteenth annual report of this institution shows a vigorous growth and improvement in its work. The number of children sent by the State and the number of private and free pupils has increased.

Hon. Philip P. Baker, the president, lays special emphasis on the work in the different school departments. He also calls attention to the work of the board of lady visitors in providing the children with amusements which the latter can appreciate and enjoy.

The present organization of the work under the superintendency of Mr. E. R. Johnstone is especially thorough. The daily facts in connection with each child; its general physical condition, its cleanliness, its habits of sitting, standing or walking, and any possible symptoms of anaemia, the various preliminary tests of sight or hearing; its family history and environment before entering the institution, are all carefully recorded.

The report of the physician (Dr. Charles W. Wilson) shows a favorable condition of health in the institution. Dr. Wilson points out the peculiar value of manual training and gymnastics in that "they are essential in developing dormant faculties and form an important part in the work of 'education by doing.'" The defective child's entire body is stimulated and in that way the brain areas are reached.

Attempt to Elevate Retail Liquor Business in Ohio.—At the last annual meeting of the Ohio Brewers' Association, which was held two months ago, the president of the association declared, in his formal address, that it is the duty of the brewers to elevate the retail liquor business and to do all in their power to close disreputable places. He argued that a saloon could and should be conducted as decently as any other business, and that the power to bring saloons to this point lies with the brewers. He recommended that they refuse to sell beer to any place of a low order, and that the retailers be made to understand that if their places are not conducted in a respectable manner they cannot buy beer. The association proved to be

even more radical than its president, for it passed a resolution which went farther than his resolution. The resolution was as follows:

"Resolved, That, whereas the lawless and disreputable element in the saloon business exists to the detriment of all the legitimate interests of the members of the association; be it

"Resolved That it shall be the duty of the executive committee to investigate all cases of complaint involving the conduct of saloons selling beer in this State, and in case it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the committee that a saloon is conducted in a lawless and disreputable manner the member of this association supplying said saloon with beer shall be ordered to immediately discontinue business relations with its proprietor, and to withdraw his support, financial or otherwise, from him; and in case of failure on the part of said member to immediately obey such order of the committee, or in case the saloon shall be supplied or supported by a brewer who is not a member of this association, the committee shall without delay take such measures as may lie in its power, legal or otherwise, to enforce the closing up of such saloon."

It is remarkable that this startlingly novel action of the Ohio brewers has passed almost unnoticed in the press. To those who have any practical experience with the question, it is an event of the greatest significance and a happy augury for the future.

III. NOTES ON COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

Philippine Constabulary.—The report of the Chief of the Philippine Constabulary, General H. T. Allen, U. S. A., shows material progress in the suppression of ladronism.

By an Act of Congress and the various Acts of the Philippine Commission, the Philippine scouts and the constabulary, while not merged into one organization, mutually support and aid each other and operate under the direction of the civil government.

Twenty-nine companies of scouts, viz.: Nine companies of Macabebes; nine companies of Ilocanos; three companies of Cagayanos; three companies of Tagalos; two companies of Bicol, and three companies of Visayans have been turned over to the civil governor for duty under the chief of the constabulary.

The district chiefs of the constabulary, in setting forth the special events of the year, have shown that the disturbances which are the aftermath of a long period of warfare have been aggravated by plagues affecting man and beast. It is also evident from the ease with which many of the people of the mountains and in remote localities can be deceived by skilful intriguers, that we must be prepared to meet frequent local disturbances for some time to come.

One of the curious and interesting features of the local disturbances is the manner in which religious pretensions are customary among the bandits. Nearly all the more important leaders of the local bands are accustomed to assume authority as "popes" or "bishops" of new religious sects.

The following "popes" have been captured: Rios of Tayabas, Faustina Ablena of Samar, and Fernandez of Laguna. Margarita Pullio and Catalina Furiscal, two women who posed as "saints" and who were interested in the distribution of "anting-antings," were also captured. There still remain "Papa" Isio in the mountain fastnesses of Negros and "King" Apo in Pampanga and Nueva Ecija.

Rios represented himself to be an inspired prophet, and found little difficulty in working on the superstitions of the credulous inhabitants of barrios distant from centers of population. He organized an "Exterior Municipal Government" (for revenue only) with an elaborate equipment of officials. He promoted himself and his followers in rapid succession until he had with him one captain-general, one lieutenant-general, twenty-five major-generals, fifty brigadier-generals, and a host of officers of lower grade.

General Allen calls attention to the specially valuable aid rendered at all times by the governors of the provinces of Bulacan, Rizal, Laguna and Pampanga, and furthermore states that it is his candid opinion that every provincial governor of the archipelago is earnestly and sincerely working in behalf of the duly constituted government of the islands.

With the exception of Surigao and Misamis (Moro provinces in Min-

danao), order has been maintained in the entire archipelago by the constabulary and scouts.

To quote from the report, General Allen says, "I hardly deem it necessary to speak of the expediency, economy, and necessity of maintaining native troops. In former days there were able officers who opposed or doubted the policy of arming Filipinos, but the proven loyalty to the authorities furnishing food, shelter, and clothing, the paucity of desertions, the economy of maintenance, the direct education of the men and its general influence upon the people, and the special fitness of the Filipino for the work required of soldiers in the Philippines have answered their objections.

The Filipinos, like all people, will fight when properly paid, fed, and disciplined, but above all when properly led. This is the keynote to successful use of Filipinos as soldiers. It is therefore of the utmost importance that high-grade officers, thoroughly courageous, upright, sober, intelligent and energetic, be placed over them.

Aside from the strategic importance of the Philippines as a military supply depot where troops and war material may be kept for Oriental emergencies, it is thought that for some time to come the American troops should not be further reduced. After extensive warfare, however humanely conducted, several years must elapse before there is mental pacification, and during this period of adjustment to new conditions it is unwise to ignore the great moral effect of a strong armed force. At present there are in round numbers 18,000 American troops occupying seventy posts.

The firm stand taken by the government towards criminals who pose as patriots, the consistent work of the courts, the field service of the constabulary and scouts, and the vigilance of the Division of Information have been effective in reducing vicious elements and in encouraging loyal ones interested in the prosperity and general welfare of the Philippines. This work continues unabated, and it may be truly said that, since American occupation, peace conditions have never been so real as at present, nor has the outlook for the future been so favorable.

Government Encouragement of Agriculture in the Philippines.—The attention of readers of *THE ANNALS* has already been called, at various times, to the valuable work carried on by the Philippine Bureau of Agriculture. As the economic development of the archipelago progresses, the activity of this Bureau becomes more important, until it now promises to be one of the principal means of disseminating scientific information among the agricultural interests of the country and of encouraging the adoption of modern methods. The Bureau has recently issued a valuable commercial bulletin on cocoanut culture, which has been transmitted to the Bureau of Insular Affairs at Washington, and from which the following facts appear:

Cocoanuts in the Philippines furnish two distinct products, the dried meat of the nut, or "copra," and the outer fibrous husk. Until very recently the demand for the "meat" of the cocoanut, or its products, was limited to the uses of soap-boilers and confectioners, but within the past decade

chemical science has produced from the cocoanut a series of food products whose manufacture has revolutionized industry and placed the business of the manufacturers and of the producer upon a plane of prosperity never before enjoyed.

There has also been a great advance in the processes by which the new oil derivatives are manufactured. The United States took the initiative in 1895. In 1897 the Germans established factories in Mannheim, but it remained for the French to bring the industry to its present perfection.

The conversion of cocoanut oil into dietetic compounds was undertaken at Marseilles in 1900, by Messrs. Rocca, Tassy and de Roux, who in that year turned out an average of 25 tons per month. In 1902 their average monthly output exceeded 6,000 tons and, in addition to this, four or five other large factories were working to meet the world's demand for "vegetaline," "cocoaline" or other products with suggestive names, belonging to this infant industry.

These articles are sold at gross price of 18 to 20 cents per kilo to Holland and Danish merchants, who, at the added cost of a cent or two, repack them in tins branded "Dairy Butter" and, as such, ship them to all parts of the world. It was necessary to disguise the earlier products by subjecting them to trituration with milk or cream; but so perfect is the present emulsion that the plain and unadulterated fats now find as ready a market as butter.

The significance of these great discoveries to the cocoanut planter cannot be overestimated. They have a field that is practically without competition and the question will no longer be that of finding a market, but of producing the millions of tons of copra or oil that this one industry will annually absorb in the immediate future.

The fiber of the cocoanut husk, or coir, as it is commercially known, has never yet been utilized in the Philippines. Second in value only to the copra this product has been allowed to go to waste, but highly improved and inexpensive machinery for the complete and easy extraction of the husk fibers is now rapidly superseding the tedious hand process once in general use.

In the Philippines the nuts yield a large amount of fiber and a relatively small percentage of chaff and dust.

There are large areas throughout the littoral valleys of the archipelago, as yet unexploited, which in the essentials of soil, climate, irrigation facilities, and general environment are suitable for cocoanut growing.

The present conditions present especially flattering attractions to cocoanut growers capable of undertaking the cultivation upon a scale of some magnitude. By coöperation, small estates could combine in the common ownership of machinery, whereby the products of growers could be converted into more profitable substances than copra.

The present production of copra (estimated at 278,000 piculs, almost 20,000 tons) is an assurance of a sufficient supply to warrant the erection of a modern plant for the manufacture of the ultimate (the "butter") products of the nut. The average market value of the best grades of copra

in the Marseilles market is \$54.40 gold per English ton. The jobbing value on January 1, 1903, of the refined products, was for each ton of copra:

Butter fats	\$90.00
Residual soap oils	21.00
Press cake	5.20
	<hr/>
Total	\$116.20

The difference representing the profit per ton, less the cost of manufacture.

The minimum size of a plantation on which economical application of oil and fiber preparing machinery could be made, is 60 hectares, approximately 150 acres.

There is no other horticultural tropical product which may be grown in the Philippines where crop assurance may be so nearly guaranteed, or natural conditions so nearly controlled by the planter.

In view of the ever-expanding demand for cocoanut products, the industry promises for many years to be one of the most profitable and desirable enterprises which commands the attention of the Filipino planter.

The Philippine Bureau of Agriculture has also forwarded to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, a report on the introduction and distribution of seeds and plants in the islands which shows that much has been done in the way of introducing new food and forage plants, as well as new fruits and other growths of economic value.

The experiments already conducted demonstrate that many garden vegetables of northern origin may be grown in great perfection in the Philippines.

Experiments have been tried with artichokes, asparagus, beans, peas, beets, brussels sprouts, cabbage, carrots, cauliflower, celery, sweet corn, cucumbers, egg-plant, endives, garlic, leeks, lettuce, muskmelons, water-melons, okra, parsnips, peppers, radishes, rhubarb, salsify, spinach, squash, tomatoes, and turnips.

The results show both success and failures. As was anticipated, the results secured by the Bureau were better than those obtained by the natives who had secured seed for experimental purposes. Beans grew well in many places, while peas gave less satisfactory results. Experiments with pumpkins, cucumbers and melons show a long record of disaster, all practically confined to the ravages of insects or fungous diseases, but it is thought that by planting during the dry season, and by irrigation, better results may be secured.

Egg-plants, tomatoes and peppers, all of unrivaled size and excellence, were generally reported both by natives and by the government agronomic stations. Okra, of tropical Asiatic origin, has given universally good results. The profitable production of beets, turnips, lettuce, endives, spinach and radishes has been demonstrated, and is assured by an intense high-forcing system pursued from the day the seed is sown until the crop is secured.

Among oil-bearing seeds, sesame, rape, peanuts and sunflower have done well and there seems to be a valuable future for them in the islands.

In the Bureau's trial grounds at Manila, a limited number of Japanese plums, persimmons, chestnuts and grapes have been tried, together with Japanese types of citrus fruits and a few pomegranates. The grapes and persimmons have made a good initial start and the progress of the citrus fruits and pomegranates has been of the best.

Experiments with textile plants have been confined to cotton and jute. While the former has given good results, it is a question whether the native grower has an adequate conception of the standard crop requirements of cotton-growing countries. Jute promises to give excellent returns and it is the opinion of the Bureau that the export trade of British India in this fiber, amounting to \$15,000,000 annually, could be largely diverted to the Philippines.

A number of varieties of coffee have been imported from Java and distributed to planters interested in the attempt to rehabilitate the coffee industry, and the Bureau has raised many thousands of young plants which will be set out under its own direction. Fine varieties of tobacco seed have been distributed in the famous Isabela and Cagayan tobacco districts.

With the experience gained from these first trials as to the best soil, the best time for planting and methods of cultivation, there is no doubt but that vegetable, fruit, forage and other crops will be materially increased and add to the agricultural wealth of the archipelago.

Internal Improvements in the Provinces.—The report of M. Crisologo, the governor of the province of Ilocos Sur, has been received by the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, from which the following has been taken:

Since the surrender of the insurgent forces in April, 1901, public order in the province has not been disturbed in the least particular. The collections from all sources during the year 1902 were \$48,788.42 United States currency, and the disbursements were \$41,030.95, leaving a balance in the treasury, January 1, 1903, of \$7,757.47.

There was appropriated during the year, for the repair of roads and bridges, \$18,311.22 Mex. The work done by the Provincial Supervisor up to June of last year succeeded in putting them in fair condition, so that it was possible to travel the whole length of the public wagon-road of the province from north to south, but the rainy season came and destroyed a large portion of the work done.

The construction of roads in such a strong and lasting manner as to resist the destructive action of the rains is an unsolved problem, as yet, in the Philippines. Even during the time of Spanish domination, when the provincial governments had at their disposal the personal labor of the residents, this matter was one that was closely studied, but a satisfactory solution was never reached.

There are in the province 81 public school houses, 5 female and 28 male American teachers, and 157 Filipino teachers. In each of the pueblos there

PRINCIPLES OF MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION

Whatever disagreement there may be about the cause, it is generally agreed that American municipal institutions work badly. As Professor Bryce has said, "There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States," and although it has been fifteen years since "The American Commonwealth" was published,—years full of effort and experiment in municipal government,—the remark is still as true as when first uttered. Progress has been made, improvement has been effected, but the normal tendency of American municipal institutions is towards corruption. Efforts for the improvement of city government are now being conducted chiefly upon lines which imply institutional failure. The prevailing opinion is that the best results are to be accomplished through agencies of supervision and control extraneous to the organization of municipal government and influencing its operation by moral influences. It is an era of civic leagues and reform associations. Their activity is upon the whole beneficial, but as a regular system it means civic betterment by intimidation of the government as organized by law, so as to counteract the normal tendency of the constitutional system. The problem which must be solved in arriving at correct principles of municipal organization is what gives rise to this normal tendency towards corruption.

Commonplace though the statement be, yet it seems necessary to reiterate the principle that for every effect there must be a proportionate cause, since only by grasping that principle firmly and applying it unflinchingly can we hope to solve the problem. Our failure in municipal government has certainly not come by chance; we can at least be sure that there is in it a sequence of causation. Taking this as the starting-point, discarding all other assumptions, renouncing so far as possible all prepossessions, and ignoring if we can our inveterate political superstitions, let us try to work out the problem in as cold blood as if it were a proposition in mathematics.

The cause of the failure must be either: (1) Defect of character in the people, or (2) Defect in the organization of government.

Defect of Character in the People

(1) There is a great weight of authority in support of this hypothesis. Professor Bryce himself inclines to it. While criticising the organization of municipal government in this country, he remarks that in "the growth of a stronger sense of civic duty rather than in any changes of mechanism, lies the ultimate hope for the reform of city government." This is the theme of endless admonition and exhortation, and there is an immense literature dealing with the subject from this point of view. The specifications may be grouped under these general heads: (A) Levity of national character; (B) lack of public spirit; (C) the vileness of local politicians; (D) the spirit of Commercialism; (E) the natural outcome of democracy.

A and B form the hypothesis which gives rationality to the movement in favor of public administration of all municipal utilities. As matters stand the logic of that movement seems to be that because municipal authority does badly what it now has to do it should be intrusted with as many more things as possible. The movement, however, assumes that present incompetency is due to popular neglect and indifference, and that when public interests are given overwhelming importance public opinion will be roused into the needful activity to see that they are properly managed.

The same hypothesis is favored by European critics, who are so impressed by striking evidences of our national strength and efficiency that they feel bound to conclude that our failure must be ascribed to lack of will rather than want of capacity. The *London Spectator* recently offered this explanation in an article entitled "What is it that makes Tammany possible?" published in its issue for November 14, 1903. It finds the explanation of Tammany's triumph in sheer levity of character and exuberance of optimistic spirit. "For some Americans things simply cannot go wrong. Whatever happens, the result will 'pan out' all right. A nation so optimistic, so ready to pit its own energy and talent against any and all obstacles, naturally becomes careless of obstacles. It will even set them up to knock them over again." The particular case was an unfortunate selection, as four-fifths of the New York City electorate are of foreign parentage, but in no case is there any satisfactory evidence in support of the hypothesis. To deny that such levity of

character exists would merely meet assertion with assertion, and it is not a point upon which proof can be offered, but every one must judge for himself. My own opinion is that the general feeling is rather one of despair than of easy confidence, and that affairs are as they are, not because the people of afflicted communities are indifferent, but because they cannot help themselves. But even admitting that levity of character is an American characteristic, why should it be so invariable in its consequences and those consequences produce characteristic effects in government alone. In other fields results due to inattention and carelessness are sporadic and do not produce settled characteristics. There is a great variety of age and circumstances in American communities, and it would be entirely against the doctrine of chances that everywhere municipal government should tend towards waste, inefficiency, and corruption, simply as a result of levity of disposition in the American character as regards this particular kind of government.

A consideration which is conclusive on this point is the difference which exists between the United States and Canada as regards the characteristics of municipal government. Doubtless people acute in such things may trace differences between the average Canadian type and the average type of citizen in the United States, but any one crossing the border experiences no more sense of change than in passing from one State to another in the Union. He sees the same sort of people in looks, dress, and speech. The country is just as new as the United States and is just as intent upon material concerns. So far as public spirit is concerned, one of the things that surprises an inquirer is the absence of the civic leagues and reform associations which abound in the United States. There is a conspicuous absence of the fuss and worry about local politics that are found everywhere in the United States. If the municipal government took its tone directly from the popular disposition, it might fairly be expected to be pretty much the same as in the United States, if not rather worse along the same lines. As a matter of fact, it possesses altogether different characteristics and occupies a much higher plane. The notion that the peculiar characteristics of American municipal government are due to levity of national character has really nothing to support it.

The charge of lack of public spirit is more plausible, for it must be admitted that the class of citizens who are best qualified to ap-

preciate and discharge the public obligations attaching to membership in City Councils or office under the city government hold aloof from such positions. This, however, may be due not to lack of public spirit, but to special conditions attaching to municipal office, making it repugnant to men of dignity and independence. That the latter cause is the true one will be admitted by those who are conversant with the facts of the case, and it is further attested by the fact that there is no difficulty in getting men of character and standing to undertake other public employments. The churches, reformatories, and charities of the country are, as a rule, managed by unpaid trustees actuated by a sense of duty. Associated effort for the advancement of public interests is a marked feature in the life of every community. Upon a broad survey of the facts of the case we must conclude that instead of a lack there is rather an excess of public spirit in this country fraught with some peril to the home life of our people. The truth appears to be that public service exerts a more extensive attraction upon the mass of society than in any other country, exciting a vast and varied amount of private activity in behalf of public interests.

The Wickedness of the Politicians

C is the cause usually assigned in local discussion of local conditions and constitutes the working theory of journalism and of civic leagues. One who makes inquiry among the people of any community as to the cause of the misrule of which they complain has dinned into his ears scornful and indignant or cynical and humorous accounts of the vileness of the local politicians. The remedy advocated by the newspaper and the civic leagues is summed up in the well-known formula, "Turn the rascals out," with the difference that while the newspapers generally make a partisan application of the principle, the civic leagues strive to ignore party lines and base their recommendations upon the personal merits of candidates as individuals. Consideration of this hypothesis need not detain us long, for despite its general acceptance it collapses at the touch of logic. The politicians are as much an integral part of the community as any other class of people in it, and if the politicians are vile it must be because political conditions select and promote vileness. The correct principle applicable to such matters was laid down by Burke when, refusing to join in the personal abuse levelled

against the Bute ministry, he said, "Where there is a regular scheme of operations carried on, it is the system, and not any individual person who acts in it, that is truly dangerous." The public business is not differently circumstanced from any other business in that it must work with such material of character, good, bad, and indifferent, as it finds in its operations, and it selects to its service such as meets its actual requirements. The misfits are eliminated, the suitable retained. It may be laid down as a principle of universal application that the typical characteristics of any business pursuit or professional occupation are the result of the conditions under which its activities are carried on. The notion that the general vileness of municipal politics is due to a fortuitous concurrence of bad men in the business of municipal government is so puerile that its prevalence is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the practical common sense of the American people in other respects. Time and again, with great fuss and fury about smashing the ring and turning the rascals out, a change of administration is effected that simply carries on the same old game with a new set of players. The probable explanation of this obtuseness is that in ordinary business affairs administrative authority implies control of methods, so that individual candidacy embodies systematic reform, a new management having discretionary authority to make such changes as may be necessary to accomplish the results for which it will be held responsible. In municipal business no such discretionary authority as to organization exists anywhere. In its main features the system is fixed by the State, and administrative activities cannot control conditions but must conform to them.

The Spirit of Commercialism

D is the favorite hypothesis of a class of critics whose logic is sufficiently acute to discern that the typical characteristics of local politics are primarily a result rather than a cause, and that for a result so general and constant there must be a cause as general and constant. The spirit of commercialism appears to meet the requirement, and in a work which advocated this view with such brilliancy of rhetoric as to attract a great deal of notice it was asserted that the demoralization of local politics might have been predicted as the natural consequence of the growth of commercialism. The operation of this influence was traced in detail, with practical instances of

its manipulation of elections and of the conduct of local agencies of government. That there is in fact a vast system of this character underlying and influencing the operations of public authority will be doubted by no one who is acquainted with the interior working of local politics. Exertion of influence of such character may be said to be a regular department of activity in the organization of extensive commercial interests, particularly such as make use of public franchises. The existence of this agency of corruption does not, however, necessarily prove that it is the primary cause of the vile tendencies of municipal government; it, too, may be essentially a result rather than a cause, a response to conditions which it did not create, although it may be intensifying them, and thus acquiring a secondary causative influence of formidable magnitude.

In essential character the supposition is like that previously considered, and is indeed simply an extension of the same idea. Instead of the proposition that local politicians happen to be a bad lot in this country, the more general proposition is advanced that American business men as a class are a bad lot, and their badness penetrates the conduct of local politics, generating corrupt tendencies. But it may be urged that the reasoning used to discredit the previous hypothesis is now inapplicable because the present hypothesis assumes a general condition of which the corruption of local politics is a symptom, so that from this point of view the failure of municipal institutions ceases to be an isolated phenomenon. That the conduct of the public business should be so markedly inferior to the conduct of private business, is explained by the fact that, in the business world the influence of the prevailing spirit of commercialism is counteracted by motives of self-interest, whereas in the political field it operates upon trusteeship whose integrity it undermines. The hypothesis is further strengthened by notorious facts indicating that the commercial spirit exerts a like influence upon trusteeship in general when the details of transactions can be covered up in a way to seclude them from ordinary business knowledge and insight. It must be admitted that the hypothesis is better supported and has more consistency than any other so far considered.

Conceding for the sake of the argument, that in this country the spirit of commercialism has predatory characteristics which have obtained peculiar prominence, yet there are plain indications that in the general field of social and business interests a remedial prin-

ciple is at work. While unscrupulous plungers have made big hauls by methods essentially fraudulent, yet energetic reactions are incited which stigmatize such activities and reduce their scope. Hence the predatory characteristics of commercialism are always most prominent in the new fields opened from time to time in the course of economic development, in which business activities operate under conditions whose nature is not as yet fully apprehended by the public. Conditions become purer as they become definite and permanent. There was a period in the development of transportation methods when the rapid introduction of new conditions of control and management afforded opportunities for defrauding investors which were unscrupulously utilized. Such abuses of trust are no longer prevalent in that field; they now most abound in the process of industrial reorganization which forms the latest phase of economic development, but reactions that are tending to repress them are manifestly at work. The predatory characteristics of commercialism, even when most active and influential, appear to be abnormal and transient. Commercialism when regularized tends to accord with the general ethical tone of the community, except in the field of politics, a fact which plainly indicates that the marked difference which exists is the result of special conditions existing in the field of politics. If the conditions are such that business affected by the administration of public affairs can be carried on only by sordid conspiracy with political power, the relations of business and political interests will take that shape and keep that shape. Hence while the fact is undeniable that commercialism pursues corrupt methods in dealing with local government, the same excuse is applicable which Macaulay gave in the case of the system of corruption by which parliamentary government was carried on by Whig ministries in Walpole's time: "They submitted to extortion because they could not help themselves. We might as well accuse the poor Lowland farmers who paid blackmail to Rob Roy of corrupting the virtue of the Highlanders, as accuse Sir Robert Walpole of corrupting the virtue of Parliament."

The Working of Democratic Institutions

E. That the corruption of local politics is the natural outcome of democratic institutions is the explanation one is apt to get in private talk with party managers. It is not propounded as a theory,

but frankly recognized as a condition which must be dealt with on the principle that what can't be cured must be endured. Good and bad go together in most of the affairs of life, and democratic government is no exception to the general rule. It is in the main good, because it secures attention to the wants and desires of the common people, but at the same time it subjects the transactions of government to the play of their passions and appetites. Despite the railing of purists and idealists, the general result is not so bad; the public business in one way or another does get on and social interests are tolerably well protected. It is true that a great deal of grafting goes on, but if there is a strong boss and a solid machine it is kept within bounds and business interests can know just what they can depend upon. It costs a great deal of money to run politics, and in one way or another the public offices must meet the cost of filling them under the system of popular election. The best and really cheapest way of treating the problem is through the boss system, which controls the selection of candidates and determines public policy by putting it upon a business basis.

This opinion is held not only by party managers but also prevails among hard-headed business men who face the facts as they find them. They support ring rule as a practical necessity; that is to say, they believe that some sort of a firm political control superior to and exercising authority over the regular constitution of municipal government is necessary to prevent the government from being simply almoner and pander to the mob, and to make it considerate of business and social interests about which the ordinary run of people know little and care less. Unless there is a boss, government lacks consistency and purpose; there are no settled conditions upon which enterprise can rest; no competent authority with which business interests can negotiate. The occasional interregnums which occur between the downfall of one boss and the rise of another are always a period of political demoralization and contention. While not enunciated as a distinct principle, yet the tone of comment one hears in discussion of municipal politics among practical men of affairs implies that corruption is the natural defence of society under democratic conditions of government.

It must be admitted that close contact with actual conditions is apt to lead to practical conclusions of this kind. No one who ever knew a boss as he is can doubt that he constantly acts under stress

of circumstances which he did not create and which his disappearance would not remove. The individual boss frequently disappears; the boss system remains and is a normal characteristic of American municipal politics. The combinations which the boss makes and by which he maintains his ascendancy are his own, but he must play the game on the board and with the pieces he finds. I have heard a boss speak in tones of unfeigned scorn of city councilmen who were reputed to be his own agents. When asked why he took up with such people, he described the posture of politics in their wards to show that in joining interests with them he had done the best he could under the circumstances. The poor material furnished by the workings of local representation is not unfrequently a subject of remark in the private talk of a boss, but without complaint, for it is the characteristic of the type and the secret of its strength to respond with simple directness to actual conditions, and to base measures on the realities. It is proof of great efficiency of character when a boss is able to maintain himself upon his slippery throne.

The notion that democratic politics are necessarily vile has abundant philosophic support. It pervades the *Federalist* and was fairly rampant in the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. If one consults Calhoun's analysis of the tendencies of "the government of the numerical majority," his prophecy seems startling in its accurate anticipation of the present evils of our politics. As an exercise in dialectics it would be possible to produce a copious thesis in support of Talleyrand's cynical definition of democracy as an aristocracy of blackguards, but there would be a fatal flaw in the argument. For one thing, the marked difference which exists in this country between national and municipal administration, which have a common base in the character of the people, would not be accounted for. Dialectic skill might perhaps get around that, but the working of democratic institutions elsewhere furnishes facts absolutely irreconcilable with the thesis. If corruption is a character mark of democracy, why is it not displayed in the municipal institutions of Canada, England, Switzerland, and Australia? They are far more democratic than those of this country; the policy of government is immediately subject to popular control; checks which we think necessary to guard against results of popular impulse do not exist; mayors have no veto power and all power is amassed in the city council, but there is no boss system,

no machine to run the administration, and honesty is the normal characteristic of the system. Although there is complaint as to the character and tendencies of municipal government, it does not relate to integrity of administration but to its scope and purpose. That democratic government should be successful in securing a faithful stewardship of public resources is assumed as a natural consequence of the system; where it works badly is in the ideas it engenders of the social application of these resources, and some alarm is expressed as to the results of the tendency of municipal government to enlarge its functions. Not content with managing markets, water supply, lighting, and street railways, it is taking on lodging-houses and even dance-halls. While I write this article I notice in the *London Times* a report of the opening of a fine new municipal building at Cheltenham at a cost of \$50,000, which the *Times* says is "to answer in every respect to the social requirements of the town." It contains a hall that will accommodate 2500 people, the floor of which has been especially constructed on girders and spiral springs for dancing. It is stated that "there are also large drawing- and supper-rooms, with refreshment-, smoking-, and card-rooms." Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, ex-chancellor of the exchequer, spoke at the formal opening. In the course of his remarks he said:

"Every man here on his first election as a town councilor must feel that, above all things, it is incumbent on him to do what is vital to the prosperity of your town in maintaining and increasing its attractions to the public. It is for this reason that your town council and their predecessors have spent large sums in widening your streets to allow for the increase of traffic, in founding and maintaining various kinds of municipal institutions, in providing public gardens and winter gardens, in establishing electric lighting, and last and greatest of all in that sanitary work in which you, Mr. Mayor, have taken so prominent and so able a part, and in securing for Cheltenham an admirable and sufficient water supply, at a cost, I believe, of something more than half your whole municipal debt. All these are works of necessity, absolutely works of necessity."

Commenting upon the address, that strong and influential financial journal, the *London Economist*, condemned the alleged reaction against municipal trading, socialism, or whatever it may be called, and the reason it gives is particularly interesting as regards the subject under consideration. It says:

“ We look upon municipal institutions as providing, to a large extent, the very salt of English life. We are, therefore, frankly glad to see the cordial way in which Sir Michael Hicks-Beach pays tribute of honor to those who, for no salary and for very little glory, accept the often very irksome burdens connected with membership of county, city, and borough councils, and recognizes that it is well for them to take a large and liberal and not a poor and contracted view of their functions.”

Such facts are absolutely conclusive on the point that the low character of American municipal government is not the normal outcome of democratic government. If that were so there would be some evidence of the same character in the more democratic institutions of England, and Switzerland, and on the contrary they excel so conspicuously in integrity of administration that this characteristic is fully conceded even by critics who see danger in some of their tendencies.

General Observations on the Character Theory

We have now passed in review every hypothesis embodying the idea that the failure of this country in municipal government is due to defect of character, and have found each inadequate to explain the phenomena. Before leaving this branch of the subject some general considerations are in place. It is doubtful whether there can be such a thing as inadequacy of popular character to sustain fit government. If a people are left to their own devices, it seems to be a necessity from the constitution of human nature that local institutions will conform to popular disposition, although there does not appear to be any essential connection between the real worth of local administration of government and the attitude of popular sentiment. Orientals live contentedly in dirt and squalor, and are apt to regard as an outrage the imposition of sanitary regulations or other exertion of public authority to better conditions, while they view with satisfaction displays of magnificence on the part of their rulers which to Western ideas appear to be senseless waste and injurious extravagance. Then, too, there are countries veneered but not really informed by civilization, whose condition is one of social disorganization and hence chronic political instability, in which gross corruption and incapacity of local government coexists with a habit of bawling patriotism which claims for institutions moral superiori-

ties which do not exist and which extenuate defects which are too patent to be denied. Neither praise nor blame of the character of institutions is proof or disproof of real merit, but where there is chronic dissatisfaction it is at least proof that institutions of local government have not taken shape in accord with the popular character and in adaptation to its normal motives, but that they are essentially an imposition. If the principle of authority is that of self-government, the existence of such chronic dissatisfaction is evidence that the machinery of government is not adjusted to the force which moves it.

Looking at the matter from this point of view we may be able to perceive the fallacy contained in a proposition frequently advanced in regard to municipal government,—namely, that since in this country the people rule they must put up with the consequences if they happen to be bad; that the stream can rise no higher than its source, and hence it must be affirmed that on the whole the people are getting the kind of government they deserve. If they want better government, let them make better government. There is a degree of truth in this, as regards government in general and viewing the character of a people as inclusive of their traditions, beliefs, ideas, and political superstitions, but it is true only in the general sense that government of every kind, no matter how despotic or how liberal, is founded upon public opinion. As regards municipal government in the United States it is almost wholly untrue and altogether misleading. Suppose the shareholders of a railway or business corporation were subjected to by-laws which require them to elect the general manager, the board of directors, and various division chiefs as distinct and separate authorities debarred from even transacting business together! If the affairs of the concern were in a chronic state of demoralization and mismanagement, would it be argued by any sensible man that since the shareholders had the power to choose whom they would to serve them they had no right to be dissatisfied with results? Such a situation would certainly be taken as evidence of defective principles of organization, preventing the shareholders from establishing effective control. What possible reason can there be for reaching any different conclusion if the corporation happens to be a municipal corporation. The situation may be evidence of chronic stupidity, or of unreasoning acquiescence in

traditional forms of procedure, or of blind subjection to political superstitions, but it affords no proof of ethical deficiency.

Defect in the Organization of Government

(2) We now take up the second branch of the inquiry,—namely, the possibility that the cause of failure may be defect in the organization of government. On first thought it might seem to be impracticable to submit this hypothesis to the test of facts, so many experiments have been tried in municipal charters and so many varieties exist. Upon this score alone one might feel justified in rejecting the supposition off-hand, since if the trouble lay in defect of organization surely it would have been gotten at in the course of so much anxious effort. We are, however, bound by our plan to discard all assumptions and to proceed with scientific precision. Since American varieties of municipal government unite in common failure, we need not consider them in detail. Whatever the cause may be, it is generic. Furthermore, we must conclude that this generic cause will manifest itself as a generic difference when American municipal government is compared with municipal government in other civilized countries. Now when the comparison is made, what generic difference appears? Nearly all cities here and abroad have their own peculiarities, and a survey of the general field reveals great variety of organization. The only difference which appears to be generic is this, that whereas everywhere else the executive and legislative departments are connected, in the United States they are disconnected. It further appears that whatever evils or defects may accompany the connection of the executive and legislative departments in one organ of municipal sovereignty, the boss system is unknown wherever that principle of organization obtains, no matter in what country we look for examples. It is a phenomenon characteristic of and peculiar to municipal government organized upon the principle of separating the executive and legislative functions by embodying them in distinct organs of authority. The logical conclusion is that the principle of corruption in American municipal government is this disconnection of the executive and legislative functions.

On reaching this conclusion one instinctively revolts from it, because it seems to attack the fundamental principle of American constitutional law,—the principle of the separation of the powers of

government. Moreover, one finds that the idea which pervades theories of municipal reform is the necessity of sharper division and more effectual separation of the executive and legislative functions. This idea is the cardinal principle of reform advocated in the municipal programme adopted by the National Municipal League, and so high an authority as Professor Goodnow argues that it is a principle based upon the laws of psychology, governing all conscious activities. It would seem to be a supposition too monstrous to be entertained that the whole theory upon which American institutions of government are founded is malign, and that the anxious studies of reformers have so grievously miscarried as to prompt them to select the fundamental cause of corruption as the cardinal principle of municipal organization. But, on the other hand, the conclusion in which our inquiry has resulted has been reached by logical inference, so that the need is suggested of close scrutiny to determine whether the apparent conflict really exists.

Separation of the Powers of Government

What is meant by the separation of the powers of government? If it means simply that the executive, legislative, and judicial powers shall be separately constituted, there is no radical divergence between American institutions and those of other civilized countries. The generic difference which has been noted lies in this: outside of the United States it is the practice to join together in one organ of government and thus indissolubly connect in their operations the separately constituted powers of government; in the United States it is the practice not only to constitute these powers separately, but also to disconnect them in their operation by embodying them in separate organs of government. For instance, in Toronto the people elect a mayor to be head of the executive government; they also elect a board of controllers upon a general ticket to represent the community as a whole, and in addition members of the city council are elected in every ward to represent the interests of locality. Each of these separately constituted bodies have their special powers and functions which are sharply defined, but they meet and act together as the city council, the organ of municipal sovereignty, whose determinations are final and conclusive. The mayor presides, but he has only his own vote, and has no veto power. He does not even appoint the committees, that being the province of the ward repre-

sentatives; but the mayor is *ex officio* a member of the board of controllers and of every committee. The controllers, as representatives of the community as a whole are the medium through which the reports of council committee are submitted to the city council, and the recommendations of the controllers form the subject of legislative action. All appointments to office in the service of the corporation are made by the nomination of the mayor and controllers subject to the approval of the city council. At every point in the organization of the city government the executive and legislative functions, while separate and distinct in constitution, are connected so that they operate as a reciprocal control. While the means by which the executive authority and the legislative authority is separately constituted varies in different countries, the usual English and Swiss practice being to form the executive administration through the action of the legislative body, yet the two functions are always sharply distinguished and separately constituted, but are at the same time invariably connected.

In the United States the authority of the mayor is not only separate and distinct from that of the legislative branch, but is altogether disconnected by being made also a separate organ of government. The legislative authority is embodied in the city council, organized as a separate organ of government. In many cities it is divided into two branches so that one may be a check upon the other, and a further check is provided by giving the mayor a veto over the acts of the city council. It is frequently the case that such offices as those of treasurer and controller are separately constituted and independently organized. The process of separate organization is in some cases—as, for instance, in Ohio municipal corporations—carried out to such an extent that important branches of executive authority, such as police control, fire department administration, and the management of public works, are separately embodied.

The Views of the Fathers

The essential difference between the two systems in organic principle is not in the separate constitution of different powers of government, but in the fact that one system connects them while the other disconnects them. Is it contrary to the principles of the separation of powers to connect them? It is generally assumed that it is. While the point was not considered in the discussion attending the

adoption of the programme of the National Municipal League, the tone of the discussion and the recommendations made assume that this principle requires the embodiment of executive and legislative authority in separate organs of government. Nevertheless, there is conclusive evidence that no such assumption was made by the framers of the Constitution of the United States, and, indeed, that it is contrary to their ideas of the meaning of the principle of the separation of the powers. Their ideas are not to be inferred from the relations between the executive and the legislative departments as they now stand in our national government, for, as is well known to students of our constitutional history, they contemplated a much closer connection than that which now exists. It fortunately happens that this very point was discussed in the *Federalist*. In numbers 47 and 48 Madison argues that the principle of the separation of powers "does not require that the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments should be wholly unconnected with each other." Not content with this negative statement of the case, he goes on to say that "unless these departments be so far connected and blended as to give to each a constitutional control over the others, the degree of separation which the maxim requires, as essential to a free government, can never in practice be duly maintained." The profound truth of this observation is conspicuously attested by the present condition of government in this country. Any one possessing insight into actual conditions knows that executive and legislative functions are not really separate in practice. Members of legislature and city councils habitually extort surrender to them of executive function, especially as regards appointments to office, and are enabled to do so because the executive department, being disconnected from the legislative department, has no way of securing consideration of public business save by the favor of members. The same is true as regards the national government also, but presidential authority is a force of such high tension that it tends to establish a regular connection although subject to interruptions which cause jarring vibrations through the whole frame of government. The connection is, however, sufficiently constant to preserve the national government from the system of boss control which is the natural adjunct of state and municipal government. When those functions of government whose concerted action is essential to administration are connected, there is no room for the boss system, and it has never

been developed under such circumstances. The conditions are such that actual control can be developed only inside the formal constitution of government and not outside of it. Hence in the municipal institutions of other countries having fairly representative institutions there appears, instead of the irresponsible boss ruling from the outside by combinations of class interest, the responsible leader basing his control upon the support of public opinion. The variation in the practical application of the principle of separate powers which has such disastrous results in the United States, so far from being constitutional doctrine, is the result of departure from it, and the consequence has been just as Madison predicted,—the destruction of constitutional separation in actual practice.

The Psychological Basis

Let us now proceed to consider the principle itself, to see whether analysis of its nature will enable us to determine how it should be construed. Professor Goodnow has suggested that it has a psychological foundation. He says:

“It is a distinction based upon a sound psychology. In the case of a single sentient being the will must be formulated, if not expressed, before its execution is possible. In the case of political bodies, which are more and more coming to be recognized as subject to psychological law, not only must the will or policy be formulated before it can be executed, but also the very complexity of their operations makes it almost impossible to intrust the same authority as well with the execution as with the determination of the public policy.”¹

Following out this line of reasoning, which is extremely valuable and suggestive, Professor Goodnow distinguishes between the formation of policy, which he regards as the legislative function, and the execution of policy or the administration function, and he concludes that these two functions should be separately constituted in any proper organization of government. “The failure to distinguish legislation from administration” he considers to be the root of trouble in our municipal institutions. The proper connection of these functions is not considered, but the subject is treated in a way which assumes that separation means also disconnection. This as-

¹ A Municipal Programme. The Macmillan Co., page 74.

sumption, moreover, affects the statement of psychological principle which appears to have been unconsciously warped to fit the case. If we consider the volitional process it will be seen that while there is a separation of function it is not exactly such as Professor Goodnow has delineated. A man sees something he would like to buy, doubts whether he can afford it, decides to gratify his inclination, and makes the purchase. The totality of his action is made up of volitional and inhibitory impulses, but his resolution and the execution thereof are both stages of volition. The will participates in what Professor Goodnow designates as the policy-forming function, which, psychologically speaking, is not a function at all, but a process in which the volitional and inhibitory impulses participate in conjunction. The distinction suggested by psychological law is not between administration and legislation, but between administration and control, corresponding to the volitional and inhibitory functions of mental activity, and as those functions meet together in determinations of conduct, so administration and control should be connected in legislation.

If the organization of municipal government outside of the United States be examined, it will be found that it conforms to these psychological principles. Administration and control are separately constituted, but meet together in the city council. In practice, administrative experience furnishes the legislative impulse. The organs of administration conceive and mature the legislative proposals, a process conforming to the psychological law that perception is developed through the agency of special organs. The administration submits its legislative proposals to the city council, representing the function of control, assists deliberation by explanation and advice, and thus determinations of conduct are reached in strict conformity to psychological law, through the interaction of the volitional and inhibitory functions.

We have all about us illustrations of the same principle in the business world. There administration and control are invariably connected, distinguished as the management and the directory, which meet in determination of policy. It is the function of the management to plan the operations of the concern as well as execute them, subject to the approval of the board of directors. Is it a question of entering a new field, adopting new processes, enlarging the plant, providing fresh capital? The management conceives and formulates

the measures and submits them to the board of directors for approval. What may be called the legislative initiative of the management is justly regarded as its most important and valuable function.

If, however, the organic connection of the separately constituted functions of administration and control is a principle founded upon psychological law, it must be immutable in its operation, whether or not it be recognized or provided for in the intentional structure of government. Although the generic type of American municipal institutions violates that principle, yet if the principle is sound the actual operations of government should conform to it. That is invariably what we do see if able to see things as they really are. The vital principle of the boss system is that it furnishes this connection between the executive and legislative departments. It has grown up in satisfaction of practical necessities of government, and it is peculiar to our institutions because they disconnect what must in some way or another be joined in carrying on administration. This is the secret of the normal tendency of municipal government towards corruption; it is so constituted that it cannot be carried on without corruption. In the national government this tendency is mitigated by the fact that executive authority has escaped the disintegration to which it has been subjected in State and municipal government. Functions which in the latter are separately constituted are in the national government united in one executive authority, making it so massive that it attracts legislative initiative despite the formal disconnection, and "the policy of the administration" is ordinarily the informing principle of legislative activity, but in this field also defect of regular connection is the source of continual evil.

The Course of Improvement

In further illustration of the operation of this principle despite failure to recognize it, observe that such reforms of municipal government as have resulted in real improvement have really connected the executive and legislative powers. The New York and Baltimore city charters are typical examples of this process. Both the formulation of public policy and the execution of public policy have been concentrated in the executive department which fixes the tax levy, frames the appropriations, determines the conditions and terms of legislative grants, and in general decides upon ways and means. A pretence is made of retaining the usual disconnection through the

separate organization of the city council, but it has become an atrophied organ of government. While there is a formal reference to the city council of the determinations of the governing body, yet its authority is so reduced that all it amounts to is a limited veto power. It has become the practice of the New York city council to treat its authority frankly as such, allowing appropriations to become law by lapse of the time in which the city council has power to act, and interfering only for the purpose of negating some particular appropriation when exertions of political influence temporarily energize council proceedings. The practical benefits of the system causes its violation of traditional theory to be ignored. The enormous gains it makes for the public in the granting of franchises has excited general notice and has stirred up angry agitations for like benefits in other cities, which, however, they will never secure until they adopt like methods. These gains are essentially economies introduced by dispensing with the boss and the machine as the basis of administrative connection. By abolishing their office, its emoluments have been turned into the public treasury. There is, however, a principle of evil still at work, in that the system, although a vast improvement over the old one, aggrandizes the administrative function at the expense of the function of control, which, lacking adequate expression in the organs of government, tends to pass outside of them to become part of the inorganic mass of public opinion, confused with popular prejudice and ignorance, operating blindly and spasmodically upon the conduct of government, and exposing it to violent alternations in character and tendency.

Summary of Conclusions Reached

In view of all these considerations, we must conclude that the truly remarkable thing about American institutions of government is not that they work so badly as that they should work so well. Owing to misconceptions which have hardened into political superstition our institutions have been subjected to conditions violating principles of government universally recognized and usually correctly applied except in the administration of public affairs. That with such defective organization a tolerable degree of administrative efficiency has been secured, is the strongest possible proof of the great capacity of American character. This opinion is corroborated by the weighty authority of Bagehot, whose writings evince

a rare combination of business sagacity and political insight. He remarked: "The Americans now extol their institutions, and so defraud themselves of their due praise; but if they had not a genius for politics, if they had not a moderation in action singularly curious where superficial speech is so violent, if they had not a regard for laws such as no great people have yet evinced, and infinitely surpassing ours, the multiplicity of authorities in the American constitution would long ago have brought it to a bad end."² The particular reference is to the organization of the national government, but it applies to all our institutions of government. The chief agency of the moderating influence which makes actual results enduring is that very spirit of commercialism against which sentimentalists are in the habit of inveighing. It establishes connections of interest which enfold the organs of government, and while it imparts to government a plutocratic character it interposes defences against disorder. When our institutions are imitated by countries in which the spirit of commercialism is not sufficiently developed to acquire political ascendancy, chronic disorder is the result. In this way our political example has been a source of immense mischief in the politics of Central and South America. For the same reason, municipal institutions of the American type introduced into Porto Rico and the Philippines, where the commercial spirit is not strong and masterful enough to govern by corruption, will tend to generate fraud and violence as their political adjuncts. This may be asserted with the certainty of scientific deduction.

The results of our extended inquiry may be summarized as follows: The bad operation of American municipal government is due not to defect of popular character, but to defect in the organization of government. The organic defect lies in the fact that the executive and legislative departments, in addition to being separately constituted, are also disconnected, and this very disconnection has prevented in practice the degree of separation in their functions which their integrity requires, a consequence precisely what Madison predicted if separate powers are not duly connected in their operation. The remedy is therefore to be found in establishing a proper connection between the executive and the legislative organs of government, so as to make the functions of administration and control coextensive. No arrangement can secure this short of one

² The English Constitution. Walter Bagehot. Chapter VIII.

which gives the executive department complete legislative initiative, and at the same time secures to the legislative department complete supervision over all administrative transactions. If this be accomplished, nominal relations or divisions are unimportant.

A Municipal Programme

The practical question now presents itself, How are correct principles of organization to be applied to municipal government? Government is a living thing, whose growth may be conditioned but not determined by statute. All that can be beneficially attempted is to introduce correct principles of organic activity, and these should be as simple as possible and should innovate as little as possible. Existing material should be utilized, and surprising as the statement may seem, considering the usual clamor against politicians, displacement of existing political interests should be avoided. If the principles of organization are sound, their ordinary operation will gradually purge conditions and supplant irresponsible boss rule by responsible leadership. The following is a sketch plan, having in view the division of the city council into two branches, which is a common feature of municipal organization in the United States:

The second branch should be elected at large.

All business requiring the concurrent action of both branches should be transacted in joint convention. The mayor, or such person as he may designate for the purpose, should preside. Such officers of the city government as the mayor may designate from time to time, or whose presence shall be requested by the city council, should attend the sessions, with the right to address the chair.

The mayor should have the power to introduce measures and fix a time at which the vote shall be taken, and when that time has arrived the city council should not be capable of transacting any other business until the vote has been taken and recorded.

No appropriation should be made except upon the recommendation of the mayor, save by a two-thirds majority of the city council.

Any measure proposing an expenditure of public money or the performance of any executive act, before consideration by the city council should be referred to the executive department concerned for a report upon its advisability.

No measure proposing a grant of the use of the streets or other public property should be considered by the city council until it has

been referred to the executive department, which shall give public notice of a hearing in regard to it, and after diligently seeking information as to the value of the grant, shall report upon the same to the city council, fixing the terms and conditions, which shall not be altered except with the consent of the executive department.

No ordinance should be considered by the city council until the draft has been approved by the law department of the city government, and any amendment by the city council should be put in the form of instructions to the law department to embody the desired change in the draft of the ordinance.

The scheme separately constitutes executive authority, general representation, and particular representation, and connects them in the transaction of public business. It is a common practice now to require certain business to be acted upon in joint convention. The greatest innovation is that of making the mayor the presiding officer, but that seems necessary in order to connect executive and legislative authority, without which the function of control is impoverished. It would probably be resisted as an inordinate increase of executive authority, but in reality it will add to the responsibilities rather than to the powers of the mayor. The head of the executive department is from the nature of its function an essential branch of the legislature, and should be dealt with as such. This was well understood and distinctly stated by the fathers. In the article of the *Federalist* already quoted from concerning the separation of the powers, Madison explains that it is violated only "when the whole power of one department is exercised by the same hands which possess the whole power of another department," and as showing that the new federal institution is not open to that charge he remarks: "The entire legislature can exercise no executive prerogative, though one of its branches constitutes the supreme executive magistracy." That is to say, the president is a branch of the legislature. In the same way, the mayor is a branch of the legislature, and municipal conditions are such that unless he is plainly exposed as such, and connected with the city council as an integral part, his authority is not subject to proper control. This is the defect in the New York City and Baltimore charter scheme, putting the city council out of touch with the city government. The council should be a deliberative body, and that its discussions shall have pertinence and effect it should be confronted by the executive department, just as in all business or-

ganization the general management meets with the board of directors in arriving at determinations decisive of administrative policy. In cities where the city council is but a single body, the mayor and other administrative officers elected upon a general ticket embody the principle of general representation, and should sit as part of the city council.

The scheme is a demarcation of functions based upon the principles of organization which have been discussed, but it may be noticed that the main provisions resemble those contained in the organization of boards of estimate and control, such as advanced municipal charters now provide, but the resemblance is due simply to the fact that those charters have approximated correct principles of organization in devising practical expedients to reach and correct abuses. The organic principles are the same as those upon which municipal government in Switzerland, England, and the various British Commonwealths is founded. Mention of appointments to office is intentionally omitted, as that matter will take care of itself under nearly any method, provided sound principles of organization are introduced into the government. Every system works badly now, because the real power of appointment is taken over by members of the city council who are in a position to exact submission as the price of the co-operation of legislative activity with administrative requirements. But when the administration has a direct and open connection with legislation, so that members can always be confronted with a public responsibility, there is no inducement for such prostitution of executive patronage, and other considerations will govern appointments to office. Moreover, the separation of the powers of government will be such that about all that members of the city council will find to do is to examine and criticise executive acts, or in other words they will exercise the function of control in its integrity. When a vacancy occurs and councilmen are so situated that they cannot get the filling of it, they will be apt to see that whoever does fill it has a good title. Influences are set in operation which raise the standard of public service, even without any special safeguards such as civil service regulations provide. For instance, in Toronto the municipal service is not under civil service rules, but on the contrary it is distinctly provided by law that all appointed officers of the city government "shall be deemed to hold their respective offices during pleasure;" nor "shall

any person be appointed or hold any office or employment for any fixed time." In practice, however, official employment is permanent during good behavior, and vacancies rarely occur. On the other hand a municipal government in which executive authority is confined by civil service regulation is in a desperate plight when "graft" has worked into the public service. The dykes raised against corruption now serve to keep it in, baffling endeavors to expel it. The President of the United States can cut the dykes if necessary, since civil service regulations are simply rules laid down by executive authority and he can alter or amend them in his discretion, but municipal executive authority has no such power.

It should be observed that the introduction of these principles of organization will work no sudden cure, although they will cause immediate improvement. They are not a drug or a physic, acting as a specific against corruption as quinine acts upon malarial fever, but they change conditions in such a way as to affect the practical conduct of government. In adapting themselves to the new conditions political interests will naturally prefer men who can cope with the new responsibilities. Thus the system will exercise both a preventive and a remedial operation, gradually excluding politicians of the old type and substituting a new type. Corruption will be gradually eliminated and the tone of the administration will be brought into accord with public sentiment, both as regards moral purpose and business efficiency. If municipal government did, in fact, mean, in this country, simply the management of municipal interests, we might expect that in actual practice, under such an organization of government, the standard of public service would tend to become rather higher and more exacting than that which exists in private employment, from the peculiar honor and esteem which attach to achievement in behalf of the public welfare. But there are certain limitations arising from the very nature of these principles of organization which should be considered.

Limitations upon Municipal Efficiency

In considering the nature of these principles an analysis was made showing that they were based upon the psychology of volition. That is to say, an organization of government embodying these principles provides the collective personality of the community with fit organs for the expression of its will, but what that will may

be is determined by the character of the personality. Institutions are purely instrumental in their operation. Now, if municipal government is simply a business proposition, then participation in it should be confined to those who have an interest in the business, just as control of the affairs of a business corporation is vested in the shareholders. Thus municipal suffrage stands upon a different foundation from political suffrage. This is a distinction habitually recognized in other countries and habitually ignored in the United States. In Toronto, for instance, the shareholder idea of municipal suffrage is strictly adhered to, so that in this field there is no distinction of sex, and a woman, if an individual rate-payer, has a vote because of that fact, just as a woman who has stock in a business operation has a vote in the election of its officers. Municipal suffrage is restricted to owners of real estate, renters of real estate, and persons paying a tax on incomes assessed at not less than \$1200 a year. A man may be earning only laborer's wages, but if he rents one of the little cottages which may be had for a few dollars a month in Toronto, he has a vote, but others who may live in the house, have no vote unless qualified as individual rate-payers. It will be seen that these restrictions exclude from municipal elections the herds of voting cattle in which our ward politicians traffic,—which business is the potent source of the naturalization frauds so frequently occurring. On the other hand, in all elections to office under the general government manhood suffrage prevails, so that some persons who cannot vote in municipal elections may now vote, and some persons who may vote in municipal elections cannot now vote. In the United States questions of representation are not treated with the care and discrimination which the proper working of representative institutions requires, and the government of municipal corporations is circumstanced as the government of business corporations would be if casual interlopers were allowed to vote as well as shareholders. The strength of this factor of corruption is, however, I think, usually exaggerated, and even with such inequitable conditions of municipal suffrage as generally exist, sound principles of organization would give a healthy tone to local government.

A far more serious condition remains to be considered, involving interests of greater importance even than integrity of administration in municipal affairs. The essential function of a mu-

municipal corporation is business administration; it has no more direct connection with politics than any other corporation. Civil rights emanate from State authority, and their protection devolves upon State authority. In order that the exercise of the police power of the State shall be in sympathetic accord with the needs and aspirations of the community, it is necessary that it shall in some effective way be connected with municipal administration. This is usually accomplished elsewhere by providing for municipal representation in the organization and direction of the police force, but State control is never surrendered, and is usually established as a branch of judicial authority. For instance, in Toronto the board of police commissioners is composed of the presiding judge of the judicial district, the presiding judge of the police court, and the mayor by virtue of his office. Thus the control always rests with an independent, permanent judiciary, but the city government is in a position to supervise expenditure and express its views, to which great weight is given by the fact that the city pays the bills, so that the approval and good will of the municipal authorities are of high importance. In organization and control the police force is as detached from politics as the regular army is in this country. It is a permanent force, under regular discipline, and thus acquires a professional bearing, one of the marks of which is the trained civility of behavior which strikes every visitor to an English community.

In the United States, the State has generally surrendered the police power to local control, so that municipal elections do not simply involve the question, How shall your municipal business be conducted? but also the question, How much enforcement of law do you want, and will you have hot or cold what you do want? Hence municipal elections often have very little to do with municipal government, but are really a struggle to reach and use the police power for some special purpose. Such conditions are full of incitement to fanaticism on the one hand and vice on the other. The fanatics will subordinate every other issue to their desire to use the police power to impose their ideals of conduct upon the community. At the same time criminals and law-breakers are incited to organize as a class interest in politics. As that interest is always active, and since opportunities of minority control over public action now abound, so that any interest getting control of a council committee or confederated with some important administrative office can hold up the

public business, it is in a position to extort favor, and hence we have the institution known as "the pull," or the intervention of political influence in behalf of privileged offenders, often taking the shape of a systematic protectorate of vice and crime. The stream of corruption thus generated flows across the field of municipal government and defiles its character, but its source lies outside, and it cannot be altogether excluded by measures of municipal scope. All that can be expected is that its influence will be diminished and the effect mitigated by a proper organization of municipal government. The truth is that we are here confronted by a problem of greater magnitude,—namely, the general corruption of State authority and the decay of public justice. Disturbance of municipal administration is but a minor phase of results from these conditions. Their true virulence is more clearly manifest in the appalling increase of crime, the growth of the spirit of lawlessness, and the extent to which lynch law has superseded the official administration of justice. To elucidate that problem it would be necessary to trace stage by stage the decomposition of authority through the multiplication of elective offices and the abandonment of the judicial functions of government to local discretion. In a systematic study of cause and effect the fact would appear that the growth of the boss system in State and local government is as distinctly a reparative process in the social organism as was the rise of feudalism, both alike conforming to the same general principles; but this fascinating field of scientific study extends beyond the limits of our present subject.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT CITY GROWTH: THE ERA OF SMALL INDUSTRIAL CENTRES

I.

When in 1898 New York City annexed the rural regions of Staten Island and the western end of Long Island, it afforded the jokers on the staffs of newspapers published near the foot of Lake Michigan and the mouth of the Delaware, opportunity for mirth anent the apprehensions of Father Knickerbocker for his title as premier among American cities. It certainly did seem curious that considerable bodies of citizens of the metropolis of the Western hemisphere should be farmers and dairymen, for one was not accustomed to salute the "hayseed" as a city man. And yet the consolidation was a typical instance of the expansion of American municipalities, and is finely illustrative of the gradual interpenetration of urban and rural life that is becoming increasingly characteristic of this country.

Herein lies the reason why the problem of the concentration of population has with us scarcely any of the national significance that attaches to it in the crowded countries of Europe. Our census statistics, indeed, revealed a steadily increasing concentration of population occasioned by the necessary growth of commerce and industry. In fact, American cities have grown even more rapidly than their European rivals, and by the very rapidity of their growth have created municipal problems that are now fairly well recognized. But these are almost entirely local problems and have not appeared in the domain of national politics. With the exception probably of the immigration problem, no phase of city growth has aroused discussion in the halls of the national legislature. On the other hand, we have lately observed in both Germany and England a heated discussion of the evils of city life that enlisted the talents of eminent economists and public men. In Germany, the fundamental argument of the Agrarian party for its policy of extreme Protectionism was based on the alleged devitalizing effects of city life upon the national strength and vigor; to preserve which, they maintained, agriculture, the mainstay of a vigorous soldiery, must be made more

profitable by means of high tariff duties. In England, national pride was touched to the quick by the decadence of its soldiery revealed in the successive reductions of the physical standards for recruits for the South African war. The decadence was all but universally attributed to city life, which has become the lot of the vast majority of the British masses.

In the United States it would require an unusually close observer to detect more than a trace of the fierce denunciation that in Germany and England has been heaped upon a public policy which allows the concentration of population, by migration from country to city, to go on unhindered. The obvious explanation of the different attitude which Americans assume towards the question is that concentration in this country has not reached the point where it threatens the national vigor; less than one-third of our population is concentrated in cities, while in England the proportion of city dwellers is two out of every three inhabitants. The explanation is, however, inadequate; for in Germany the proportion of urbanites is very little larger than that in the United States. The truer explanation is, that owing to the construction of American cities, urban life in this country is less destructive of bodily vigor than is the urban life of Europe. That is to say, the congestion of London, which in slightly lesser degree is reproduced in the other cities of Britain and Europe, is not characteristic of American urban centres. In 1890 the 28 leading cities of the United States housed 9,700,000 people on 638,000 acres, while 22 English cities housed nearly as many (8,800,000) on almost one-third the area (231,000 acres). The density of population in the American cities was 15 per acre, of the English cities 38 per acre, and of 15 principal German cities 25 per acre.¹ The contrast between Europe and America appears also in the following table of areas of a few metropolitan centres of nearly equal rank:

EUROPE		UNITED STATES	
City.	Acreage.	City.	Acreage.
London	74,692	New York	208,640
Paris	19,295	Chicago	102,765
Berlin	15,661	Philadelphia	82,807
Liverpool	5,210	St. Louis	39,276
Manchester	12,788	Boston	24,231 "

¹ Social Statistics of Cities, Eleventh Census, p. 14.

In each instance the European city has the larger population, while the American city has much the greater area. It is clear that "concentration of population" signifies something slightly different in the United States from what it means in Europe. Only in exceptional cases does it on this side of the ocean connote the congestion that gives English and Continental statesmen so much concern. The public papers of the chief executive of New York State have at times portrayed heartrending conditions in the tenement houses of New York City, but they have never assumed the tone of Lord Rosebery's address as chairman of the London County Council in 1891. "There is no thought of pride associated in my mind with the idea of London. . . . Sixty years ago a great Englishman, Cobbett, called it a wen. If it was a wen then, what is it now? A tumor, an elephantiasis sucking into its gorged system half the life and the blood and the bone of the rural districts."

And the recent investigations of Mr. Rowntree in the city of York have shown that London's poverty and helplessness are paralleled in the provincial cities of England.

II.

The crowding in European cities is a sign that mediævalism is not yet outgrown. Until modern times city and country were clearly separated one from the other,—and by walls of solid masonry. The classic words *urban* and *rural* emphasize the distinction,—the community walled in from the surrounding fields. The nineteenth century busied itself with developing the means of transportation that brought into the cities greater masses of business and population than the walls could contain; and the walls had to go down. But in Europe the improvement in transportation methods halted for a time before it had completed the destruction of the line between city and country. That line was still maintained by the necessity under which city people lived of being within easy reach of their work; they could not dwell out in the open country and carry on work in the city.

But in the United States the railroad had scarcely begun to build up large cities before it developed auxiliary lines which permitted the cities to expand over a wide territory. The horse-car, followed by the electric car, carried the workers from segregated

factories and shops to their detached houses. Hence the characteristic differences between the widely extended American city and the compact city of foreign countries that have been backward in establishing the newer means of locomotion. Hence in the United States, at the present time, one of the most embarrassing problems that confronts the statistician is to draw the line between urban and rural populations. What is the real distinction? The most obvious one is the fact of agglomeration, or grouping. A Massachusetts town (a territorial subdivision of the county) may have a population of 20,000 persons, and still be wholly agricultural and rural, if the town is large in area and the inhabitants dwell in isolated houses. But if some of them dwell in groups they form a community or agglomeration. Legally, the group becomes urban as soon as it is incorporated. But is an incorporated place of two or three hundred people a city? If not, how large a population must it have before we call it a city? The answer must be an arbitrary one, and as a matter of fact there is as yet no agreement among citizens or law-makers. In some parts of the country a place with a population of less than 2,000 is called a city. In New York the legislature rarely incorporates a city until it has a population of eight or ten thousand people. In Massachusetts the limit is still higher. Government statisticians at home and abroad are likewise unable to come to an agreement. Our own census authorities offer the alternatives of 2,500, 4,000, and 8,000, as the line of demarcation between urban and rural populations. For reasons elsewhere set forth,² the present writer prefers to draw the line at 10,000 and make a separate class of villages and towns under that limit, thus:

RURAL POPULATION	Scattered.
VILLAGE	Incorporated places with a population under 10,000.
URBAN	{ Incorporated places with a population of 10,000 or more.
LARGE CITY.	Population of 100,000 or more.

The difference between a rural and a village population is easily recognized. The strictly rural population is scattered over the fields, as etymology indicates, and each household constitutes an economic unit,—even if the farm-houses be grouped together in hamlets as in

² In the Introduction to the "Growth of Cities."

Europe. It is not until the hamlet becomes so thickly populated as to necessitate communal action for securing a supply of untainted water, disposing of wastes, and caring for streets, sidewalks, etc., that the "four-corners" post-office seeks incorporation as a village. Villagers are merchants and traders, hence do not belong to the rural population. And yet usage is essentially correct in classing the rural and village population together under the term "country" in opposition to "city," for village life is homogeneous even as rural life is homogeneous. Every villager knows all of his fellow-villagers; and there is no escape from the domination of village opinion. It is only when the community becomes too large for every member to be his fellow-citizen's neighbor that the provincialism of rural life begins to break down and give place to the liberality of cities. The psychological effect of the mental freedom that is assured by cities to the individual swallowed up in the mass is far-reaching, but is too familiar to justify elaboration here. It will suffice to say that the statistical boundary line between village neighborliness and city independence seems to be fairly marked by the 10,000 population limit, as virtually recognized in the legislation of New York and other commonwealths. Finally the characteristics of city life appear so conspicuously in large cities that there is justification for the formation of a special class of cities of 100,000 population and upward. As a matter of fact, this is the only boundary line between municipalities that is uniformly recognized in the census reports of all governments. Abroad much of the current discussion of municipal problems is confined to cities of this class,—*die Grossstadt* of the Germans, *la grande ville* of the French.³

III.

The distribution of population in the United States within the several classes of communities described above is disclosed, as nearly as may be, in the following summary table:⁴

³ Cf. the monograph of Dr. Paul Meuriot, *Des Agglomérations Urbaines* (1897), and the collection of addresses delivered at the Dresden City Exposition in 1902; *Die Grosstadt* is the title of the collection, which includes the following papers: Bücher, *Large Cities in the Past and Present*; Ratzel, *The Geographical Situation of Large Cities*; v. Mayer, *The Population of the Large Cities*; Waentig, *The Economic Significance of the Large Cities*; Simmel, *The Large Cities and Mental Development*; Petermann, *The Spiritual Significance of the Large Cities*; Schaefer, *The Political and Military Significance of the Large Cities*.

⁴ Twelfth Census, vol. i. pp. lviii-lxxx.

	Number of Persons.		Percentage increase, 1890 to 1900.	Ratio of each class to whole population.		
	1890	1900		1890	1900	
	Country ...					
	{ Rural population ...	36,890,793	40,184,365	8.9	58.5	53
	{ Village population *	8,143,027	11,145,807	36.9	13.0	14
Total		45,033,820	51,330,172	13.9	71.5	67
City						
	{ Small city †	8,215,934	10,456,056	27.2	13.0	14
	{ Large city ‡	9,697,960	14,208,347	46.5	15.5	19
Total		17,913,894	24,664,403	43.3	28.5	33
United States		62,947,714	75,994,575	20.7	100	100

* Incorporated places having a population of less than 8,000.

† Incorporated places having a population of 8,000 to 100,000.

‡ Incorporated places having a population of more than 100,000.

At the latest census about one in five of all the persons enumerated in continental United States resided in the large cities. An additional 14 per cent. dwelt in small cities, thus bringing about one-third of the population into the class of city dwellers. Another 14 per cent. dwelt in villages, *i.e.*, incorporated places of less than 8,000, while somewhat more than one-half the population lived outside the cities and villages and constituted the strictly rural population.⁵ This country, it appears, cannot yet be grouped with the countries whose population is predominantly urban. At the preceding census, however, the rural population constituted a much larger proportion of the entire population; in 1890, the country districts contained 71.5 per cent. of the whole population. But of the 13,000,000 increase in the last decade, the country districts contributed not 71.5 per cent., but less than 50 per cent.,—in round numbers 6,300,000 as compared with a gain of 6,700,000 for the cities.

The decline of the rural population and the disproportionate increase of the city population cannot be attributed off-hand either to a larger excess of births in the cities or to the migration of countrymen into the cities. In a territory in which there was an increasing population but no migration whatever, and not a single city, we should see a relative decline in the rural population brought about by the growth of villages into cities. In 1890, the first year men-

⁵ The number would be somewhat diminished if the unincorporated communities within New England townships were to be classed with the similar, but incorporated, places of other States, in the urban group. The only incorporated places in Massachusetts are the cities, villages having no legal entity of their own.

tioned in the preceding table, there were only 28 large cities, while in 1900 there were 38 such cities. An increase in population no greater than that in the rural districts might have sufficed to raise the 10 additional cities from the lower to the higher class. Hence, in order to determine whether the cities do as a matter of fact grow more rapidly than the villages or country districts, it becomes necessary to institute a comparison between a definite number of cities, as below :⁶

Limits of population in 1900.	Number of towns.	Population.		Percentage increase.	
		1890	1900	1880-90	1890-1900
Country :					
Rural, and places under 2,500	39,893,236	45,411,164	14.1	13.8	
Places, 2,500 to 4,000	704	1,619,308	2,211,019	44.4	36.5
“ 4,000 “ 8,000	612	2,524,986	3,380,193	45.8	33.9
City :					
Places, 8,000 to 25,000	385	4,029,929	5,273,887	51.2	30.9
“ 25,000 “ 100,000	122	4,177,671	5,509,965	59.3	31.9
“ 100,000 or more	38	10,702,584	14,208,347	46.0	32.8
United States	1,861	62,947,714	75,994,575	24.9	20.7

The table clearly shows that the rural districts had a very slow rate of increase in both decades, when compared with the urban rates of increase. The striking fact brought out in the table, however, is the remarkable growth of the villages and smaller cities in the last decade. In the decade 1880 to 1890 the most rapidly growing places were the 122 medium-sized cities (from 25,000 to 100,000 population in 1900), but since then the 704 towns or cities having a population in 1900 of 2,500 to 4,000 have wrested the lead away from the larger cities. Places over 4,000 have had a remarkably uniform rate of increase since 1890. Of the 38 large cities the decennial rate of increase was largest for the three great cities that have a population of more than 1,000,000, namely 38 per cent. ; the next three largest cities (St. Louis, Boston, and Baltimore) averaged 23.3 per cent. increase ; the five having a population of 300,000 to 500,000 (Cleveland, Buffalo, San Francisco, Cincinnati, and Pittsburg) averaged 27.6 per cent. ; the eight in the class 200,000-300,000, 28.5 per cent. ; and the remaining nineteen cities of 100,000 or more, 33.4 per cent. Of the 19 cities of 200,000 or upward only 6 (New York, Chicago,

⁶ Census Bulletin, No. 4 (1903), p. 32.

Cleveland, Buffalo, Detroit, and Milwaukee) had a higher rate of increase than the villages of from 2,500 to 4,000 inhabitants; and of the 19 cities of from 100,000 to 200,000 population, only eight.

It is a significant fact that five of the six most rapidly growing cities in the first class are situated on the Great Lakes, but one cannot venture an explanation of the causes of the growth of certain cities without further details. Below are listed all of the cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants which gained more than 60 per cent. in the last decade:

Rank as to rate of growth.	City.	Rank as to size.	Population.	Percentage in increase, 1890 to 1900.
1.....	South Omaha, Neb.	156	.....	....
2.....	Butte, Mont.	133	.....	....
3.....	Joplin, Mo.	155	.....	....
4.....	Superior, Wis.	129	31,091	159.5
5.....	Newcastle, Pa.	144	28,339	144.3
6.....	Atlantic City, N. J.	149	27,838	113.2
7.....	Passaic, N. J.	150	27,777	113.2
8.....	Los Angeles, Cal.	36	.....	....
9.....	St. Joseph, Mo.	34	.....	....
10.....	East St. Louis, Ill.	137	29,655	95.5
11.....	Portland, Ore.	42	.....	....
12.....	Seattle, Wash.	48	.....	....
13.....	Spokane, Wash.	106	.....	....
14.....	Easton, Pa.	160	25,238	74.3
15.....	Bayonne, N. J.	125	32,722	71.9
16.....	Honolulu, Hawaii	95	.....	....
17.....	Chester, Pa.	119	33,398	68.0
18.....	Jacksonville, Fla.	143	28,429	65.3
19.....	South Bend, Ind.	110	35,999	65.0
20.....	McKeesport, Pa.	116	34,227	65.0
21.....	Johnstown, Pa.	112	35,936	64.8
22.....	York, Pa.	120	33,708	62.1
23.....	Houston, Tex.	85	.....	....
24.....	Toledo, Ohio	26	131,822	61.9
25.....	Indianapolis, Ind.	21	169,164	60.4
26.....	Waterbury, Conn.	81	45,859	60.1
27.....	Duluth, Minn.	72	52,969	60.0

As the growth of cities in new territory is abnormally rapid, it seems hardly worth while to inquire further as to the causes of their growth, and the rates of increase of cities west of the Mississippi River have been omitted. They include 10 of the 27 most rapidly

growing municipalities having a population of 25,000 and upward. Of the remaining 17, nine are in Pennsylvania and New Jersey and are essentially manufacturing cities, with a population between the limits of 25,000 and 36,000. Most of the other cities in the list are industrial centres of about the same size, only two cities (Toledo and Indianapolis) having more than 60,000 inhabitants. There are eight more cities that gained more than 50 per cent. in population in 1890-1900, and nearly all are middle-sized industrial centres of New England and New York, Chicago (with a gain of 54.4 per cent.) being the only large city in the bunch. New York is not included, as its gain on the present territory was only 37 per cent. Nearly all of the Pennsylvania cities appearing in the foregoing list annexed some territory in the decade 1890-1900, but no extension of boundaries is recorded for the New Jersey cities.

The principal inference to be drawn from the comparison is that manufacturing industry no longer centres in the great commercial cities, but is developing smaller cities of its own. The inference is supported by the census of manufactures, which demonstrates that, whereas in the decade 1880-90 the number of factory wage-earners in the 100 principal cities increased at a rate far above the average, in the decade 1890 to 1900 the increase in these cities was only 14.2 per cent. as against a gain of 37.4 per cent. outside. Hence the share of the large cities in manufacturing industry has declined, as shown below :

	Population.		Wage Earners.		Value of Man'fd products.	
	1890	1900	1890	1900	1890	1900
100 large cities (more than 38,000 population each) ..	21.0	22.8	54.3	49.7	60.0	52.6
64 smaller cities (20,000-38,000)	2.8	3.2	7.0	7.1	6.9	7.4
Remainder of United States	76.2	74.0	38.7	43.2	33.1	40.0
United States	100	100	100	100	100	100

The table clearly reveals the movement of manufacturing industry away from the large cities. The smaller cities barely held their own, while the substantial gains were in the places of less than 20,000 population. Unfortunately the available statistics do not permit of a classification of these smaller places, in respect of manu-

facturing development, but observers of industrial movements know that the real progress is in villages of from 2,000 to 10,000 population. Those who are familiar with the industries of New York City, for example, understand that innumerable large enterprises have been compelled by the pressure of high rents to move across the river into New Jersey, which, with Long Island, is becoming the factory quarter of the metropolis. The net result of this migration of industry in the last decade appears in the following table of rates of increase of the population of the different classes of cities, towns, and villages compiled from Professor Wilcox's *Discussion of Increase of Population* (Census Bulletin No. 4) :

Percentage rates of increase, 1890 to 1900, of different classes of cities and villages :

DIVISION.	100,000 and over.	25,000 to 100,000.	8,000 to 25,000.	4,000 to 8,000.	2,500 to 4,000.	Rural remainder.	Entire population.
New England	30.1	36.2	26.4	16.1	14.7	*2.0	19.0
N. Y., N. J., and Pa.	32.6	33.3	35.5	44.9	45.4	3.4	21.6
Northern South Atlantic ..	18.5	16.4	28.3	39.6	26.7	13.3	15.7
Southern " " ..	25.0	25.0	28.7	52.4	46.6	17.6	19.6
Eastern North Central	45.2	31.0	32.1	35.5	36.5	6.1	18.6
Western " "	21.9	24.5	20.7	17.4	31.9	13.4	15.8
Eastern South " "	36.1	19.8	21.9	32.9	48.1	15.5	17.4
Western " "	18.6	34.2	38.5	66.1	84.3	37.5	37.8
Rocky Mountain	25.4	66.2	64.7	68.3	64.3	38.6	42.1
Utah, Nevada and Arizona	19.4	19.4	9.6	35.3	35.3	28.8	27.6
Cal., Ore., and Wash.	27.4	55.3	38.1	72.6	24.9	19.2	28.0
U. S.	32.8	31.9	30.9	33.9	36.5	13.8	20.7

* Decrease.

In all but two divisions of the country the highest rate of increase was in the village population (places with a population between 2,500 and 8,000). The exceptions were the eastern North Central States (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin), in which the village growth was overshadowed by the wonderful development of the great ports on the Lakes, and the New England States, in which the population classed with the villages is largely rural owing to the fact that the large territorial division of the town was adopted by the statistician in the absence of incorporated villages

in the principal States of New England. The township containing only 2,500 to 8,000 inhabitants will seldom have any considerable village population,⁷ and for that reason the above-mentioned low rates of increase in New England are probably misleading. Conditions there are so similar to those in the other North Atlantic States that if the requisite data could be obtained they would doubtless reveal the same tendencies in the increase of the smaller places.

As fully 70 per cent. of the urban population of the United States is found in the geographic divisions of the North Atlantic and Eastern North Central States, the rates of increase in those divisions possess the greatest significance. At the same time it is interesting to note the remarkable development of villages in the Southern States, where the cotton manufacturing industry has made such rapid progress in recent years. Southern cotton factories are almost invariably located in small towns that are still in the village stage of development.

To recapitulate: The most rapid rate of increase of population in the United States is found in the villages or small towns (places with a population between 2,500 and 8,000), which are chiefly dependent for their prosperity upon manufacturing industry. The great cities—the centres of trade and commerce—nearly rival the villages in rate of growth. Moreover, the continual passage of villages into the ranks of small cities and of small cities into the class of large cities brings it about that an ever-increasing proportion of the people become residents of the larger cities, in which political and social problems are of commanding importance. In the light of these tendencies, what is to be the social policy of a well-governed commonwealth?

IV.

Until recent years statesmen assumed that the distribution of population was a matter to be left to itself,—*i.e.*, to the control of natural forces. This attitude was admirably set forth by the statesman-economist who is the present prime minister of Great Britain in a speech delivered in Parliament in December, 1893:

⁷ Thus the first two counties in New York, in their alphabetical order, yield the following contrasts: (1) Albany county—Bethlehem town, 4,226; Colonie town, 7,035; Coeyman town, 3,952, no villages; Green Island town, 4,770, village population, 4,770; Guilderland town, 3,530, village population, 689; New Scotland town, 3,058, village population, 554. (2) Allegany county—Wellsville town, 4,981, village population, 3,556.

"Do not let any member," he said, "suppose that if agriculture were as prosperous now as it was twenty years ago, or as the dreams of the greatest dreamer of dreams would make it, you could by any possibility stop this emigration from the country. It depends upon causes and natural laws which no laws we can pass can permanently modify. The plain fact is that in a rural district there is and can be only one investment for capital and only one employment for labor. When prosperity in agriculture increases, immigration into towns diminishes, no doubt; but however prosperous agriculture may be, a normal point must be reached when no more capital can be applied to the land and no more labor can be applied, and when you have reached that point it does of necessity happen that if marriages occur with the frequency with which they occur at the present time, and if families are as large as they are at the present time, there must be an emigration from the country to the town, from the place where there is only one kind of employment of labor, strictly limited by the natural capacity of the soil, to another place where there is no limit whatever to the employment of labor, except the limit set by the amount of capital seeking investment and the amount of labor capable of taking advantage of that capital."

With the premises assumed, no fault can be found in a policy of *laissez-faire* based on the foregoing argument. But the speaker failed to understand the natural forces that even as he spoke were transferring a branch of industry co-ordinate with agriculture from the large cities to villages and small places with only semi-urban characteristics. With a well-developed system of transportation, large factories will avoid the high rents of commercial centres and seek thinly populated localities. Herein lies the opportunity of progressive statesmanship for planning a healthy environment of the industrial population. Instead of permitting cities to grow up haphazard, following the lines marked out by cow-paths (and in after years rectifying the mistake by enormous expenditures for wider and straighter streets or underground subways, as Paris, Boston, and other great cities have done), the men who plan the Pullmans, Wilmerdings, Schenectadys, Solvays, and greater cities of the future will demand the latest word of science regarding the proper disposition of streets, parks, factories, houses, and stores for the procurement of unlimited amounts of light and air. We have learned that the packing of human beings into tenement barracks devoid of

light and air is not due to the necessity of any natural law, but to the greed of man. The city, even the largest city, can now be made as healthful as the country, because cheap rapid transit enables city workers to live many miles away from their work-places.

To make transit cheap as well as rapid requires, however, a strict control of franchise privileges by the public authorities. *Laissez-faire* is wholly out of place in modern civic policy. In contrast with Mr. Balfour's views may be recorded the more modern attitude as described by Dr. Albert Shaw:

"The present evils of city life are temporary and remediable. The abolition of the slums and the destruction of their virus are as feasible as the drainage of a swamp and the total dissipation of its miasmas. The conditions and circumstances that surround the lives of the masses of people in modern cities can be so adjusted to their needs as to result in the highest development of the race, in body, in mind, and in moral character. The so-called problems of the modern city are but the various phases of the one main question, How can the environment be most perfectly adapted to the welfare of urban populations? And science can meet and answer every one of these problems."

These words occur in the introduction of an extended account of the ways in which British cities are adjusting environment to needs instead of permitting environment to determine the conditions of life.⁸ Since they were written, municipal co-operation has won great triumphs in England, but the greatest triumph of all seems to be in store for the "Garden Cities" planned by Ebenezer Howard, a prominent London stenographer. It is several years since Mr. Howard set forth his plan in a little book entitled "To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform."⁹ The scheme is a combination of three ideas made familiar by other writers. An organized migratory movement of population (Wakefield); the system of land tenure first proposed by Thos. Spence; and the design of a model city. The essence of the scheme is the acquisition of an advantageous location for factories in the open country or on a village site, by a trust formed to hold the title of the land until the town has been laid out and factories started by the inducement of low rents. Later the title

⁸ Shaw, *Municipal Government in Great Britain*, p. 3.

⁹ London: Sonnenschein & Co., 1898. Later editions were entitled "Garden Cities of To-Morrow."

to the land is transferred to the community, the aim thus being to preserve to the city as a whole the unearned increment due to the mere growth of the city. Already has the Garden City Pioneer Association been formed with a distinguished list of members and with stock subscriptions aggregating \$100,000. If the experiment should succeed in abolishing ground-rents and appropriating to the communal treasury the increase in land values, it would open unlimited possibilities for the reconstruction of urban centres. Even if that feature should not prove wholly successful, Mr. Howard's plan of a model city (in circular instead of rectangular form, with the public buildings in the centre and streets radiating to the circumference, where the factories are located) will have become familiar and will provoke imitation on account of its success in combining the advantages of the city and the country, so well described by Emerson long ago:

"A man should live in or near a large town, because, let his own genius be what it may, it will repel quite as much of agreeable and valuable talent as it draws, and, in a city, the total attraction of all the citizens is sure to conquer, first or last, every repulsion, and drag the most improbable hermit within its walls some day in the year. In town he can find the swimming-school, the gymnasium, the dancing-master, the shooting-gallery, opera, theatre, and panorama; the chemist's shop, the museum of natural history; the gallery of fine arts; the national orators, in their turn; foreign travellers, the libraries, and his club. In the country he can find solitude and reading, manly labor, cheap living, and his old shoes; moors for game, hills for geology, and groves for devotion."

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RECENT CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT OF LONDON

The system of municipal government of the greatest city in the world is a mystery to most of its inhabitants. It is as complex as the net-work of its streets, and, like them, it is largely the result of the accidents of time and circumstance, perpetuated by the Englishman's instinctive regard for the survivals of antiquity. It is only within the last fifty years—and, to a great extent, within the last fifteen—that the legislature has taken the matter in hand and has attempted to introduce into it anything like systematic uniformity.

The area of London is one hundred and twenty-one square miles. Its limits are the same as those constituted by the Metropolis Management Act of 1859, with the addition of Penge, which was added thereto only two years ago. Its ratable value, or the amount which a rate of twenty pence in the pound would produce, is about forty million pounds sterling. Its population reaches the prodigious figure of some six and a half millions, or considerably more than that of the whole of Scotland, Ireland, or Canada. Its municipal debt in 1901 was over fifty-four millions of pounds, and is constantly increasing.

By reason of its paramount importance, London has from the earliest times been placed upon a different footing from the other towns of the Kingdom. Their government is more or less uniform, being regulated for the most part by the Municipal Corporations Acts of 1835 and 1882. These Acts do not apply to the metropolis, which has been left to the mercy of piecemeal legislation;¹ so that if at the present day a code were to be produced of the existing law of London government, it would be a patch-work of some hundreds of public and private acts of Parliament and charters. It is not surprising that this task has not been attempted. There are still at the present day some three hundred public authorities in London, though the London Government Act of 1899 alone abolished about two hundred bodies with a membership of five thousand persons. Between these authorities the superintendence and administration of municipal affairs is distributed. The division is not a logical or even

¹ London has its special Act (known as Michael Angelo Taylor's Act) providing for lighting paving, and street improvements; it has its own Public Health Acts, its own Building Acts, and its own assessment system.

a convenient one; a certain amount of jealousy and friction, too, exists between some of them. It is due, undoubtedly to the common sense and moderation of the members and the London electorate generally, that, in spite of this cumbrous machinery, London is governed in a manner which compares not unfavorably with other great municipalities.

There are three organizations in London which stand out as pre-eminently the most important and influential; two of them are of modern creation and are adaptations of older institutions. They are the London County Council and the various Metropolitan Borough Councils. The third, on the other hand, is one of the most ancient of all corporations, the city of London.

The London County Council is the successor of the Metropolitan Board of Works. The latter was the outcome of the report of a royal commission appointed in 1853. That body issued a recommendation in favor of the formation of seven separate municipalities in London under a central board of works. The second part of this suggestion alone was carried out, and a bill was introduced in the session of 1855 by Sir Benjamin Hall, which became law under the title of the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855.

The Metropolitan Board of Works was the first authority which in any way linked together the distinct components of the area of London. It was accorded powers with reference to the control of main-drainage, the carrying out of improvement works, the regulation of streets and bridges, and the management of the fire brigade. But its constitution was inherently vicious. Its forty-six members were not directly elected, but were chosen by the voice of the vestries and the district boards into which London was then divided. It proved quite incompetent to carry out the important duties intrusted to it. It was discredited on all sides, and the revelation of certain cases of corruption among its members brought matters to a climax. A royal commission was appointed to inquire into the subject, and reported that the board was not worth reforming. Shortly afterwards a bill was introduced into Parliament by the Right Honorable C. T. Ritchie, and was passed under the name of the Local Government Act, 1888. This enactment strengthened local government over the rest of England by the establishment of the County Councils, the modern equivalent for the ancient "shire moots." The bill also provided that the powers and authorities of the Metropolitan

Board of Works should be handed over to a new body called the London County Council, which was put on a footing analogous to that of the other County Councils. The area of London was formed into an administrative county, while the metropolis outside the city and the city itself are each counties for non-administrative or judicial purposes, possessing their own Courts of Quarter Sessions and their own justices.

The London County Council first met on March 21, 1889, under the chairmanship of Lord Rosebery.² It consists of a chairman, a vice-chairman, one hundred and eighteen councillors, and nineteen aldermen. Two women were originally elected, but they were unseated upon a petition to the Queen's Bench Division. The councillors are chosen by direct election, four for the city of London and two for each of the Parliamentary divisions of the rest of the London area. They are elected for a term of three years and retire together. The next election is in March of this year. The aldermen are elected by the councillors, but not necessarily out of their own body. They hold office for six years, and nine or ten retire every three years. The chairman is elected by the rest of the Council and serves for a year. The Council holds its meetings every Tuesday.

Very important powers are possessed by this body. The Act of 1888 intrusted to it not only the ordinary duties of a county council, exercising the administrative powers till then performed by the justices in Quarter Sessions, but those also which were formerly exercised by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and also various other duties of a special character. The Council has the power of raising and lending money and of sanctioning loans required by the metropolitan boroughs. The total advances which they have made amount to nearly £35,000,000. They have to attend to the main drainage of London and also to supervise the laying of local sewers. The Metropolitan Fire Brigade is entirely under their control. The police, however, are independent of them and are under the direct government of the Home Office, except in the city, which possesses its own police force. The Council had the power, which it has not exercised, of taking over the control of the main roads in the county. The only roads vested in or managed by it are the Thames Embankment and certain other roads which have been the subject of special

²The first vice-chairman was Sir John Lubbock, now Lord Avebury.

Improvement Acts. The public bridges over the Thames are vested in and maintainable by it. It controls and supervises the making of new streets and their naming and numbering. It is an authority (and until the London Government Act, 1899, the only authority) for enforcing the execution of the London Building Act, 1894, which provided, among other matters, that no new buildings should be erected of a greater height than the extent of the roadway intervening between them and the opposite houses, and for the leaving of sufficient space in the rear of new dwelling-houses. These duties the Council carries out by its superintending architect and district surveyors. It has powers of supervision also over the erection of dangerous structures, over offensive businesses, and over the structural arrangements of theatres, music-halls, and artisans' dwellings; it is the licensing authority for all theatres and places for public music and dancing not under the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain; it has powers of management over parks and open spaces; it is the authority for testing the supply of gas and water; it authorizes the laying of electric mains and cables, and maintains the necessary testing-stations; it provides asylums for pauper lunatics and reformatories and industrial schools; it appoints and pays the different coroners. There are a multitude of other duties as well which devolve upon it.

Most of the Council's work is done by its committees, of which there are twenty-eight. Among them may be mentioned the Asylums Committee, the Housing of the Working Classes Committee, the Highways Committee, and the Bridges Committee. In 1893 a Works Committee was started for the employment of direct labor. This is not the place to discuss the merits or demerits of that system. Suffice it to say that the tendency in the Council has been constantly to increase its sphere and to do without the contractor whenever an opportunity presents itself. In the year ending 31 March, 1903, over £350,000 was spent by this committee. The Council is also the tramway authority for London, and has been active in purchasing the tramway systems in the metropolis. The fifty miles of tramway line which it possesses in the north it has leased to the North Metropolitan Tramways Company until 1910. The southern portion, to the extent of some forty miles, it works itself. The latter is being changed to electric power, and the conduit or underground system is being introduced thereon. Where the Council

has taken over the management of tramways, the result has been beneficial in several respects. The employeés have received better wages; fares generally have been reduced. Workmen have been carried at specially reduced rates, and an all-night service has been inaugurated. An attempt was made by the Council to run a service of omnibuses between their tramway termini, but the House of Lords decided in 1902 that this business was illegal, for, being a statutory corporation, the Council's powers were limited to those which Parliament had expressly bestowed upon it.

The most important committee of the Council is undoubtedly the Finance Committee. No liability of over fifty pounds is allowed to be incurred by the Council except after an estimate has been submitted by the Finance Committee and a resolution passed thereon. All payments require an order of the Council signed by three members of the Finance Committee and countersigned by the clerk. The Council obtains every year, by its Annual Money Act, the power of spending capital and of raising money through the creation of Consolidated Stock. The total debt of the Council is £57,500,000, but deducting £24,000,000 due from the Borough Councils and other authorities and £4,000,000 representing the value of property held, the net debt is about £29,000,000. The rate collected in the county outside the city was for the year 1903-04, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* in the pound; for the city it was 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ *d.* The Council was enabled in 1894 to levy half-yearly an equalization rate of 3*d.* in the pound for distribution among the parishes of London, according to their population, the result being to benefit the poorer districts at the expense of the richer. The estimated expenditure for the year 1903-04 was £7,875,090, and the amount of the loans to be advanced to different authorities was £4,749,000, making a total of over twelve and a half millions. The Council's accounts are audited by the Local Government Board.

Several important works are in course of construction by the Council, under powers obtained by special acts of Parliament. One is the driving of a broad thoroughfare from the Strand to Holborn, for which purpose a vast quantity of buildings are in the course of demolition; the cost will be about five million pounds. Under the roadway a shallow electric tramway will be run to connect at Theobald's Road with the Council's northern line of tramways. Another improvement is the continuation of the Victoria Embankment from

the Houses of Parliament to Millbank, and the clearing away of an eyesore of wharves, slums, and ill-constructed alleys, which have made that portion of the Thames such a contrast to the Seine at Paris.

The present chairman of the London County Council is Lord Monkswell. At the election of Councillors in 1901, eighty-four Progressives were returned, thirty-one Conservatives, and three Independents. The influence of the Progressives is to be traced in the establishment of the Works Department and in the regard paid to trades union conditions and hours of labor.

For some years after its creation the Council was the object of a good deal of jealousy and some fear by the local authorities of the metropolis, who were apprehensive that it would pursue an aggressive policy against them. Moreover, a good deal of the odium attaching to its predecessor clung to the new body. But in course of time the Council has lived down these feelings, and it is generally regarded as possessing in its members a very high command of ability and energy, and as comparing in these respects by no means unfavorably even with the House of Commons.

Such, then, is the central body of London government. The early history of the metropolis, however, is that of the city corporation. The city has an area of just over a square mile. Its ratable value is about five millions. Enormous as its day population is, its sleeping population is insignificant, and consists almost entirely of caretakers and charwomen. The government of the city is as complicated as that of the rest of London. It possesses some one hundred and twenty charters and fifty general acts of Parliament. It is governed by its Common Council, consisting of the Lord Mayor, twenty-five aldermen, and two hundred and six commoners of the city of London. The city, as has already been observed, has its own body of police. For some purposes the County Council has no jurisdiction within the city; for instance, with respect to the execution of the London Building Act or the erection of sky-signs. On the other hand, the city has certain powers over the whole of London, as, for example, with regard to markets and the inspection of animals imported from abroad.

Beyond the city, until 1855 the unit of government was the parish. The parish was governed by a common-law vestry or general meeting of the inhabitants, which controlled ecclesiastical as

well as civic affairs. The incumbent and church wardens were *ex-officio* members, and the former presided. In addition, certain bodies of commissioners were from time to time created over various areas to deal with different needs as they arose. The Metropolis Management Act, under which the Metropolitan Board of Works was created, gave the parishes a more crystallized form. It set up elective vestries everywhere in place of the common-law vestries. In the larger parishes it intrusted these bodies with powers of municipal government analogous to those possessed by the municipalities of provincial towns. The government of the smaller and more thinly populated parishes was grouped into districts administered by a board of works appointed by the different elective vestries in the areas composing them. Upon the new vestries and district boards were conferred additional powers as to roads, drains, lighting, cleansing, watering, and so forth, many of which had till then been discharged by different bodies of committees, commissioners, and trustees.

The vestries and district boards, however, although an improvement on the pre-existing form of government, did not command popularity or enthusiasm. A general tone of apathy pervaded them. The key to it undoubtedly lay in their *personnel*. They offered no attractions to ambition, and their membership conferred no social status. As a result, they drifted for the most part into the hands of small local tradesmen and of those who had some private axe to grind.

A royal commission was appointed in 1893, over which Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., presided, to inquire into the feasibility of amalgamating the city with the rest of London. The committee reported, among other things, that both the evidence before them and *à priori* considerations from the historical development of London led to the conclusion that the government of the metropolis should be intrusted to a general body and to a number of local authorities exercising certain other functions within the local areas which collectively make up London, the central bodies and the local bodies deriving their authority by direct election, and the functions assigned to each being so determined as to secure complete independence and responsibility for each member of the system. They strongly recommended bringing London into line with the other towns of the Kingdom by applying to it as far as possible the pro-

visions of the Municipal Corporations Acts. London, however, they admitted, was too large to be made into one town; it was, in fact, a collection of towns, and as such its local affairs needed to be governed by different municipal authorities. They recommended a certain adjustment of boundaries, and that the vestries should at once be styled councils and be invested with the privilege of choosing a mayor. Parliament took no action on the main recommendation, which was the establishment of a local authority for the city, but adopted that which concerned the rest of London. In 1899 the government introduced a measure entitled the London Government Bill. The Progressive party in London generally were opposed to it, and Mr. Herbert Gladstone moved its rejection in the House of Commons, but it was carried by a considerable majority in both Houses, and came into operation on the 9th of November, 1900. In obedience to the report of the Commission, the vestries and local boards were done away with and were superseded by borough councils possessing the form and clothed with a good many of the powers of a municipality. Seventy-eight elected vestries, consisting of more than four thousand members, were abolished by the act, twelve district boards of nearly six hundred members, one local board, and one urban district council. The parish was allowed to remain as a unit for rating purposes, and ecclesiastical matters were again restored to the hands of the inhabitants from whom the Metropolis Management Amendment Act, 1856, had transferred them to the elective vestry. But the local unit for all important purposes became the borough. The administrative county of London outside the city was divided into twenty-eight boroughs, sixteen of which were coterminous with single parishes. As a counterpoise, possibly, to the prominence of the city, the area of Westminster was given the title of the City of Westminster. The governing body in each case was to be the Borough Council, consisting of a mayor, aldermen, and councillors. The total number of councillors in each borough was not to exceed sixty, and the aldermen were to be one-sixth of the number of councillors, making a possible maximum total of seventy-one. This reduction of size was an undoubted improvement, some of the vestries having had as many as one hundred and twenty members. The determination of the boundaries of the boroughs and the wards into which they were divided for the purposes of election, the fixing of the precise numbers of the council, and other details

were delegated to be worked out by orders in council and by schemes and orders settled by the Local Government Board; but it was directed that in fixing the membership of the different councils and their wards, regard should be had to ratable value as well as to population. The franchise was declared to be the same as that introduced by the Local Government Act, 1894. The qualifications for a vote thereunder arise from occupation, possessing property in the district, being a lodger, or by service. Women are entitled to the franchise, but married women cannot exercise it in virtue of the same property as that under which their husbands become entitled. Women, however, are not eligible to serve as mayors, aldermen, or councillors, and in this respect the act was retrogressive, for women could be, and were in fact, members of the old vestries. It is a small concession that they may be co-opted on the library committee of a borough.

The qualifications for a councillor are that he should be a parochial elector for the borough or that he should have resided therein during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election. Councillors hold office for three years and are then capable of re-election. The option which the act gave of holding triennial instead of annual elections has been exercised, and there is consequently a general retirement at the end of every three years. The first election was held on the 1st of November, 1900, when (the election being largely influenced by feelings with regard to the Transvaal war) a large conservative majority was returned. The aldermen are elected by the councillors from themselves or from persons qualified to be councillors. They are elected triennially on the 9th of November for a term of six years, so that half of them retire every three years. The mayor is elected by the Council on the same day for the term of one year from among the aldermen and councillors or persons qualified to serve as such. He is *ex officio* a justice of the peace for London, and may receive such remuneration as the council thinks desirable. The vicar and churchwardens are no longer entitled to seats by virtue of their office, the act at length divorcing the long-standing union of ecclesiastical with municipal administration. Yet it is remarkable that at the recent elections two clergymen were chosen as mayors,—namely, in Marylebone and in Woolwich, in the latter of which the mayor represents the interests of the labor party.

To the new borough councils were transferred the powers, duties, properties, and liabilities of the vestries and district boards. They were also made the body for the carrying out of certain adoptive acts which had been passed from time to time, relating to public baths and wash-houses, libraries, burials, and other matters. They were empowered to make by-laws for the good rule of the borough and the suppression of nuisances therein. A much-needed right was given them in permitting them to promote bills in Parliament and to pay the costs of doing so out of the rates. The vestries had only the power of opposing bills, but not of promoting them.

In addition, certain powers of no great importance were transferred to the borough councils which had previously been vested in the London County Council, with reference to the licensing of wooden structures, the removal of obstructions in the streets, and the maintenance of main roads. The power and duty of repairing these and the expense incident thereto were made to fall on the borough councils without any liability on the County Council to contribute to their maintenance. The exercise of some powers was given to the borough concurrently with the County Council, as in the case of the demolition of buildings erected in contravention of the London Building Act and the execution of works under the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890. An enactment of some importance is that contained in section 5, (3) and (4), under which the Local Government Board are empowered, on the application of the London County Council and of the majority of the borough councils, to make a provisional order for transferring to all the borough councils any power exercised by the County Council, or *vice versa*. A similar provision is included with regard to the Common Council of the city of London. Considerable latitude is thus given for a future redistribution of the powers of local government. A provisional order, it may be explained, has, if it is passed, all the effect of an act of Parliament without entailing the long process and heavy expense incident to the obtaining of a special act. It is a measure sanctioned by a government department and by it embodied, often with other measures of a similar character, into an act, which becomes law automatically after being laid before the notice of Parliament for a certain time; while, if it is objected to by any member, it is then treated as an ordinary opposed private bill, and goes before

a select committee, which hears the parties and their counsel and witnesses and conducts its proceedings after the manner of a judicial tribunal.

A simplification of great service to the rate-payer is the provision in the act that all separate rates collected in any metropolitan borough shall for the future be levied together on one demand note. Where the borough comprises more than one parish, its expenses are to be divided between the parishes in proportion to their ratable value. The separate office of overseers is abolished and the borough council is to discharge their functions, excepting only those of registration and the preparation of jury lists, which matters are cast upon the town clerk, presumably with a view to introducing a direct personal responsibility for these duties.

Part of the system of checking financial expenditure which was imposed upon the County Council has been applied to the metropolitan boroughs. The accounts of the borough council and the borough treasurer have to be made up to the 31st of March in each year and are audited by the district auditors of the Local Government Board. This salutary check presents a favorable contrast with the system in force in the provincial boroughs, where the auditor is elected by the council itself and where the municipality is therefore under no immediate criticism of its finance. The necessity for such control is particularly necessary when the governing body of the town embarks upon enterprises of a commercial and perhaps of a speculative nature, for it is easy to mislead the rate-payers as to the real prosperity of such an undertaking by making an insufficient allowance, or no allowance at all, for depreciation, or by setting off the loss on one enterprise against the profit made on an entirely different one. And the country generally has of late loudly voiced its demand that an independent control of the kind introduced into London should be extended to the rest of the Kingdom. Every metropolitan borough is, moreover, compelled to issue an annual report in the June of each year and to send it to the London County Council. As in the case of the latter body, a finance committee has to be appointed and no expenditure of more than fifty pounds can be incurred, save upon a resolution of the Council based upon an estimate of that committee; all payments require an order of the Council and the signature of three members of the committee as well as that of the town clerk.

With regard to the borrowing of capital, the same powers as were possessed by the vestries and district boards are given to the borough councils, but with this modification, that where the consent of the London County Council is required to the raising of a loan, and that body refuses to give it, the borough may appeal to a body less likely to be influenced by narrow views or local prejudice,—namely, the Local Government Board. The same body is allowed to confer the overriding power of compulsory purchase under the Lands Clauses Acts to a borough council which requires land for some legitimate purpose and cannot obtain it by agreement with the owner. On the other hand, the Local Government Board is given the right of preventing a council from parting with any of the land it already possesses.

Such being in outline the reforms introduced by the London Government Act, the question naturally arises: How far have they been successful? The time that has elapsed since the act has come into operation is not great, but the results that have shown themselves in that time are certainly disappointing. The same work is, in fact, being done in the same way by the same men under a different name. The attempt of the government to put new life into the vestries by calling them borough councils unconsciously suggests the superstition prevalent among some tribes of changing a child's name when it is dangerously ill, so that the spirit of Death may be misled as to its identity. For if it was hoped that the dignity attaching to the titles of mayor, alderman, and councillor would attract men of higher ability to devote themselves to municipal work, the expectation has not been fulfilled. With the exception perhaps of Westminster and Kensington (in the former of which the Duke of Norfolk was the first mayor and the Marquis of Salisbury is the present holder of that office), practically the same men form the council as made up the vestry. The act appears, indeed, to have made greater changes of theory than of practice. The simplification of rate-collecting, the system of audit, and the co-ordination of the powers of the borough with those of the County Council are no doubt salutary innovations, but the fact remains that the chief result which the average Londoner sees of the new act is the framed name-plates at each street-corner with the name of the borough almost as conspicuous as that of the street. What appeals to him most is the reduction of his rates, and since the act these have gone

up by leaps and bounds, with a corresponding increase in the amount of local indebtedness.

In the borough of Marylebone matters have almost reached a crisis, owing to the rashness of the council in embarking upon a large scheme of electric lighting without properly examining into the cost which it would entail upon them. They gave notice to the Metropolitan Electric Supply Company, who distribute electric light and power over a considerable area of London, of their intention to buy out their undertaking within the borough under the Electric Lighting Acts. An arbitration was accordingly held, and the arbitrator awarded the sum of £1,212,000 in February of last year. This, however, does not represent the whole of the amount which the council will be called upon to expend; for with the costs of the arbitration, an allowance for capital expended by the company since 1901, interest on the purchase money until payment, and the extension of generating stations which is essential, the total cost cannot well fall short of £2,000,000. The purchase price was due on the last day of the old year, and the company has obtained an order to enforce the award. The council, being without funds to meet it, applied to the High Court for an extension of time until June 30, 1904. Mr. Justice Buckley, however, would only consent to extend it till the end of February. The London County Council have refused to make an advance, and the Government Departments will not come to the aid of the borough. The council, under pressure from the rate-payers, have attempted to get the company to agree to a modification of the award, but the only terms which the latter have consented to take are virtually prohibitive. The proposal is that the company shall accept a charge upon the rates and revenues for the borough and interest at an agreed rate upon the sum awarded by the arbitrator, and that the council shall redeem the whole amount at par in forty-two years. Meanwhile, the council is to lease the undertaking to the company from 1905 till 1931 at a rental equal to the interest on the stock. No competition is to be allowed in that time on the part of any other company; and, in addition, at the termination of the lease, the council is to purchase part of the generating station at Willesden. It is not surprising to learn that the reading out of these suggested terms by the mayor was greeted in the council with laughter. But that body is left with no alternative save to proceed with the bill which it has introduced into Parliament allowing it to raise the sum of £1,800,000, and which can alone

extricate it from this *impasse*. Yet it must be remembered that a meeting of the rate-payers will first have to be held, for, under the standing orders of both Houses, their consent is a condition precedent to the passing of the bill, and the rate-payers' committee is at the present moment issuing a circular recommending the rate-payers to refuse it. Moreover, it is always possible that Parliament may decline to interfere to save the borough from the consequences of its ill-advised experiment. To raise the amount by a rate would, it is estimated, require a rate of 15*d.* in the pound, in addition to the existing rates, the very possibility of which has filled the householders of Marylebone with horror and dismay.

There are two measures recently passed which are of considerable importance to the inhabitants of the Metropolis and which may be briefly referred to. These are the London Water Act, 1902, and the Education Act of last year. The problem of the water-supply for the area of London—or "Water-London," as this district is commonly called—is an old one, and has been under constant discussion for the last fifty years. Water has now for many years been supplied to the town by eight companies created under various acts of Parliament. To some extent their areas of supply overlap, and competition thus existed at one time between them; but to save one another's pockets the companies came to mutual understanding by which they made a voluntary delimitation of their areas where these conflicted. To protect the consumer, therefore, Parliament, by the Water-Works Clauses Act of 1847, limited their profits to a cumulative dividend of 10 per cent., and after providing for a reserve fund, the balance is made to go in reduction of the water-rate. The bulk of London's water comes from the Thames and the reservoirs constructed along it; a smaller quantity is obtained from the river Lee and from wells sunk in the chalk. Two questions have accordingly arisen: first, whether the water companies could be safely and conveniently left with the monopoly of the most essential of all commodities; and, if not, to whom the management should be given; and, secondly, whether the existing sources of supply were likely to be sufficient for the near future. As regards the second of these questions, a royal commission appointed in 1893 and presided over by Lord Balfour, of Burleigh, and Lord Llandaff's Commission, which sat from 1897 to 1899, both reported that the present sources were sufficient for at least another fifty years. Nothing accordingly came of the London

County Council's scheme to obtain water from Wales by constructing a long line of aqueducts thence to London. Lord Llandaff's commission was also intrusted with an inquiry as to the desirability of the purchase and management of the water concerns by a public body. The commission, after sitting for two years and hearing an immense quantity of advice offered by the different parties interested, issued their report in a volume of considerable size. They advised that the undertaking of the companies should be acquired, but that the body to take them over should not be the London County Council, but a water board consisting of not more than thirty members chosen for their business capacity and, if possible, for their knowledge of matters connected with water-supply, ten being appointed by the London County Council and nearly all the others by the other county councils within whose districts water-London lies. The vestries were not to be represented. In 1900, however, when the government introduced their bill, the London Government Act was already law, and they resolved, in the face and in spite of this report, to give a preponderating influence to the borough councils at the expense of the London County Council. The joint select committee of both Houses before whom the bill was referred was presided over by Lord Balfour, of Burleigh, and decided against the inclusion of separate representatives from the boroughs. The government, however, brought pressure to bear upon it by threatening in that case to withdraw the bill altogether. As a result, a board was constituted consisting of a chairman, vice-chairman, and sixty-six members, of which the London County Council are to choose fourteen, and the borough councils one each, with the exception of the city of London and the city of Westminster, which are to choose two apiece. Representatives were also allotted to the other county councils, the Thames and Lee Conservancies, and other authorities. This miniature parliament is to come into being on June 24, 1904, and is to hold office for three years at a time. It is to take over and administer the undertakings of the companies within the London area. The determination of the purchase price was left to a specially constituted court of arbitration consisting of three well-known gentlemen, Sir Edward Fry (formerly Lord Justice Fry), Sir Hugh Owen, late permanent secretary of the Local Government Board, and Sir John Wolfe Barry, one of the foremost of modern engineers. Questions of law arising in the course of the arbitration are to go direct to the Court of Appeal, and thence (by leave) to the

House of Lords. No allowance was to be made for compulsory sale or for the enhancement or depreciation of market-values, owing to the passing or the anticipation of the passing of the act. The sum to be paid may (if so agreed) be discharged by the issue of water-stock. The size of the undertakings thus to be acquired may be gauged by the claim of one company alone (the New River Company), which demanded £15,000,000; this sum, however, will in all probability be considerably abated, owing to the decision of the arbitrators that the 10 per cent. limit on dividend applies to this company in common with the others, a matter which till now a congeries of acts of Parliament has involved in the greatest doubt. The East London Water Company claimed £6,500,000, and was awarded either £3,900,000 or £4,300,000, according to the view which the court should take of another legal question involved with regard to a sinking fund, known as the Chamberlain's Fund. Two other companies, the Grand Junction Water Company and the West Middlesex Water Company, have been awarded sums of approximately £3,500,000 each. The responsibility of the control of this large concern will be in proportion to its size, for the welfare of London must be largely dependent upon its obtaining a sufficient supply of wholesome water at a reasonable price. It is to be hoped that the general apprehension may not be realized, that the new authority may have its efficiency and energy impeded by its somewhat cumbersome size.

The Education Act of 1903 is the complement of the measure of the preceding year, and extends with some modifications to London the system then introduced into the rest of the Kingdom. The principle of both acts is the taking over by the local authority of the primary schools both the voluntary, or "non-provided schools," and the board schools, or "provided schools." The former are schools in which the religious teaching of some particular denomination is taught (whether it be that of the Church of England or that of Roman Catholics, Non-Conformists, or Jews), and which are supported by an association of that denomination and receive aid out of government grants. They are opposed to the board schools, or "provided schools," in which, under a section of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, known as the Cowper-Temple clause, no denominational religious teaching is given, and which are supported entirely out of the rates. The cost of the up-keep of the voluntary schools which are taken over under the act is now also to fall mainly on the rates, the general expense of teaching and maintenance being

borne by the local authority, whilst the denominational body pay for structural repairs, or what in a repairing lease is generally included under "landlord's repairs." The "provided" schools will continue to be kept up by the rates, but the school board will be abolished and will be succeeded by the local authority. The reason for treating London separately was the difficulty and importance of determining what the local authority should be. The prominence of the educational question in London may be realized from the fact that the expiring London School Board has five hundred and fifty thousand scholars to look after and nearly fourteen thousand teachers to educate them, while there are no less than five hundred and sixteen voluntary schools with nearly one hundred and eighty thousand scholars. As at first drawn, the bill of 1903 divided the control between the borough councils and the London County Council, but the strong opposition with which this proposal was received induced the government to constitute the London County Council the authority, at the same time allowing the borough councils a voice in the arrangement of "provided" schools. As the local education authority, the London County Council will have some general control over both "provided" and voluntary schools, and will have to raise the necessary rates. It will have to act, however, in all except financial matters through an education committee. This body is to consist of members of the Council, in addition to whom the act allows of the co-operation of persons possessing experience in education and acquainted with the various kinds of schools; and women, or at least one woman, will have to be on each committee. In the case of the first committee chosen, regard is to be had to the inclusion of members of the outgoing school board. It is important that the Progressive party, who command a majority in the Council, should already have avowed, through their leader, Mr. T. McKinnon Wood, their intention of refraining from co-option and, so far as the act does not force them to do otherwise, of including nobody except their own members on the Education Committee. It is to be hoped, however, that this attempt to override the spirit of the act will be defeated by the Board of Education, which is intrusted with the duty of sanctioning the final constitution of the Educational Committee. As Mr. Wood himself says, the main object should be to obtain a body which shall administer the act, free from sectarian bias and partiality, in the public interest and in the interests of education and the children.

The detailed administration of the school will devolve upon a body of managers. In the case of "provided" schools, they will be chosen as to two-thirds by the borough council and as to one-third by the London County Council. In the case of voluntary schools, two-thirds will be foundation managers representing the denominational body to which the school belongs and one-third will be appointed by the London County Council. Women are to be included as managers in the proportion of not less than a third. The act is to come into force on the 1st of May, 1904, or at a date within twelve months thereof, to be fixed by the Board of Education. Like the act of 1902, the measure is unpopular with a considerable class, who see in it the endowment of Church of England schools out of the rates, and regard it as a symptom of ecclesiastical tyranny; they have threatened to adopt with regard to it the policy of passive resistance to the payment of the education rate, which has been the manifestation of this displeasure over the rest of England. Yet the body of thinking Londoners do not, on the whole, appear to regard the principles of the act with disfavor. The control of a central body is calculated to create greater educational uniformity and efficiency throughout the London schools. The cost of denominational teaching in any particular school will fall on the denomination which supports it, while (as is only just) the cost of secular education will fall upon the rate-payers. They will have to pay more in the form of rates, but it will be taxation with representation.

In these pages I have attempted to give a bare outline of the recent changes in the municipal government of our greatest city. The intricacy and difficulty with which I premised that the subject was enveloped have, I fear, been made only too manifest. Nevertheless, this much, I think, will be clear: that Parliament has awakened to the need that exists for improvement and simplification, and that it has done not a little in this direction. And if all its measures have not been as successful as might have been wished, this result is due less, perhaps, to the measures themselves than to the men who have been chosen to execute them; for in this connection, too, the old maxim holds good, that it is the men who make the city.

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THE MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS OF AUSTRALIA

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN NEW SOUTH WALES

The beginning of Municipal Government in Australia dates back to July, 1842, when an act was passed in New South Wales to declare the town of Sydney (the capital) to be a city and to incorporate the inhabitants thereof.

Under this act, which was the foundation for much of the subsequent legislation, the city of Sydney was divided into six wards, and the council consisted of four councillors elected by the citizens, and six aldermen elected by the councillors, the whole council electing a mayor from among themselves. The only persons entitled to vote for the election of councillors were males of the full age of twenty-one years (other than aliens), who had occupied any house, warehouse, counting-house, or shop within the city at the annual value of £25, clear of all charges thereupon, during the whole of one year preceding such election, provided that no person could vote who had failed to pay his rates. The act also prescribed the mode of voting by requiring that every citizen entitled to vote should deliver to the presiding officer a voting paper containing the names of the persons for whom he voted, such voting-paper being previously signed by the voter, who was also required to fill in his address. Every citizen elected to the office of councillor, alderman, auditor, or assessor, and every councillor elected to the office of mayor, was required to accept the office or pay a fine to the city fund. Persons convicted of bribery in connection with the municipal elections were liable to penalty as well as permanent disqualification. The usual provisions were made for the retirement of a certain number of the council each year, and also for the vacation of office in event of bankruptcy or absence without leave. The council had the entire control of the appointment and remuneration of all the officers, including the town clerk and the treasurer, and also had the power to grant a salary to the mayor "in lieu of all fees, perquisites, and other emoluments." The power of the mayor was exceedingly limited, and he was, in fact, merely the chairman of the council.

Under this act the council was authorized to levy a city rate not exceeding one shilling in the pound per annum on the full, fair, and

average annual value clear of all outgoings, of practically every building within the limits of the city, and also a "lighting rate" not exceeding four pence in the pound computed in like manner. It was also empowered to raise a "police rate," not exceeding six pence in the pound on the annual value of ratable property, for the purpose of remunerating a number of special constables who were to be sworn in every year, because the ordinary police force of the city (which was under the control of the government) was insufficient to maintain the peace. In addition, it was given power to regulate the markets and the market wharf, to control the roads within the city, to construct common sewers, drains, and watercourses, public wells and pumps, as it thought necessary; and was also charged with the responsibility for the good rule and government of the city, and for the prevention and suppression of all nuisances, sanitary or otherwise.

For the purpose of carrying out the work devolving upon them, the council was authorized to borrow on the credit of the corporation, by mortgage or otherwise, any sum of money not exceeding the average amount of the revenue of the corporation (exclusive of the police rate) during a period of five years. It was provided, however, that the total debt of the council at any time should not exceed five average years' revenue, exclusive of the police rate and any grant received from government.

A few days after this act of 1842 came into force, the government passed the Appropriation Act, whereby they were empowered to pay to the city fund each year a sum equal to the amount paid by the citizens under the council's assessment, but not exceeding £5,000 in any one year.

I have just touched upon the main provisions of this important act, but probably enough has been said to show that even in those early days of municipal government the councillors were intrusted with wide powers and important duties, which, if zealously and intelligently carried out, could not fail to be of the greatest public value. It is not to be wondered at that experience revealed some defects in the first act, and that consequently in October, 1850, Parliament passed a new act for the regulation of the corporation of the city of Sydney. In considering this latter act it will be necessary to look only at the points of difference between it and the earlier measure.

It is interesting to note that while the qualification of the voters remained practically the same, greater care was taken to insure, by means of revision courts, that every qualified voter should be enrolled, and that names improperly on the roll should be expunged. More stringent qualifications were required for the office of councillor or alderman, to which office no citizen became eligible until he was possessed of real or personal estate, or both, to the amount of £1,000, either in his own right or in that of his wife, or unless he was rated on the annual value of not less than £100. Persons elected to these offices were not entitled to hold any office or place of profit under the council, either directly or indirectly.

One important reform effected by this act was the election of mayor, councillors, and aldermen by the citizens, the method of voting being by means of a ballot paper signed the voter. Plural voting was not permitted, as a citizen assessed in respect to property situated in several wards was entitled to vote in only one of them as he might select.

The act also defined bribery or corruption in connection with municipal elections; that is to say:

“The giving of money or any other article whatsoever, cockades included, to any elector with a view to influence his vote, or the holding out to him any promise or expectation of profit, advancement, or enrichment in any shape to influence his vote, or making use of any threat to any voter, or otherwise intimidating him in any manner with a view to influence his vote, treating of any voter, or supplying him with any drink, lodging, or horse or carriage hire, or conveyance by steam or otherwise whilst at such election or whilst engaging in coming to or going from such election, the payment to any elector of any sum of money for acting or joining in any procession during such election or before or after the same, keeping open or allowing to be kept open any public house, booth, or tent, or place of entertainment, whether liquor or refreshment of any kind be distributed at such place of entertainment or not, giving of any dinner, supper, breakfast, or other entertainment in any place whatsoever by a candidate to any number of persons with a view to influencing their votes.”

An offence against this section was punishable by a fine of £200 for each offence, besides disfranchisement for seven years. Principals were bound by the acts of their authorized agents, and persons other than authorized agents found guilty of so offending were liable to be convicted of misdemeanor and punished with fine or imprisonment. Moreover, any voter who received any reward or loan,

or any consideration whatever for refraining to vote was liable to a penalty of £50 for each offence, and to be forever disfranchised.

The powers of the council in respect to sanitation were considerably widened, but the general powers which the original act conferred upon it for the making of by-laws and regulations were limited in so far as such by-laws were to be subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Council. No additional restriction was placed upon the borrowing powers of the council, but the excellent provision was enacted that in order to discharge all loans the council should establish a sinking fund to be invested in government securities.

Unfortunately the municipal control of the city fell into the wrong hands, and so much public dissatisfaction was created that three years later,—viz., in October, 1853,—the Parliament of New South Wales passed the Sydney Corporation Abolition Act, and put the whole municipal control of the city under three salaried commissioners, who held office from the beginning of 1854 to the end of 1857. In March of this latter year the municipal council of Sydney was re-established with powers practically the same as it had under the previous acts.

Several important developments are revealed in the act of 1857, among them being the constitution of the council by aldermen only, instead of councillors and aldermen as formerly. The aldermen were elected by the rate-payers, and from among themselves elected the mayor. One rather startling innovation was contained in this act in a brief clause as follows :

“The mayor, aldermen, and auditors shall be entitled to receive for their services out of the city funds such salaries and allowances as the council shall from time to time determine.”

The auditors had, of course, always been salaried officials, and it had been customary to grant an honorarium to the mayor, but it is somewhat novel to find the aldermen entitled to pay themselves any salaries they thought fit! Owing doubtless to the increase in the population of the city, the subject of public health had become one of great importance, and the city council was charged with the duty of appointing a qualified medical practitioner as a health officer with power to investigate the origin of diseases and to attend to such matters as the ventilation of buildings, and indeed anything which affected the health of the citizens.

Up to October, 1858, the acts relating to municipal government were only those in connection with the city of Sydney to which I have already referred, although in 1843 several of the country districts were incorporated under letters patent into district councils. The act of 1858 was, therefore, the first piece of legislation of any importance dealing with general municipal government.

Under this act the Governor-in-Council was empowered to declare a municipality formed on the petition of not fewer than fifty householders, unless a counter-petition signed by a greater number were received. At the first election all persons having a freehold, leasehold, or household qualification were deemed electors, and at subsequent elections all such persons who were also rate-payers were qualified to vote. If the population of a municipality did not exceed 1,000, six aldermen were to be elected, but if the population were greater, the number of aldermen was increased to nine. Among the powers and duties committed to the suburban and country municipalities was the right to erect toll-gates and charge tolls on any road, market, bridge, ferry, wharf, or jetty. They were authorized also to impose a general rate not exceeding one shilling in the pound on the average annual rental value of buildings, and also to levy special rates for water supply, sewerage, and lighting. With the sanction of the Governor-in-Council any municipality could borrow an amount not exceeding the estimated revenue for three years. The government undertook to endow each municipality during the first five years with a sum equal to the amount of the rates actually raised in the year; during the next five years with a sum equal to one-half of the amount so raised, and in each of the next five years one-fourth of the amount raised, after which the endowment should cease.

The next step in the work of municipal legislation in New South Wales was an act passed in July, 1879, consolidating and amending the laws relating to the corporation of the city of Sydney. This act with the amendments of it was consolidated in August, 1902, and remains in force to-day. I need, therefore, refer only to this latter act by way of illustrating the conditions under which the municipal government of the second largest city in the British Empire (estimated by the annual value of its ratable property) is carried on.

There are several directions in which important amendments on preceding acts are embodied in this latest measure. First, as to the qualifications of citizens, it is provided that any natural-born or

naturalized British subject, male or female—for the first time women are given a vote—possessed of a freehold interest in property assessed at a yearly value of £5 or upward, or of a leasehold interest of a yearly value of £25 or upward, is entitled to vote in every ward in which he or she is so qualified. Any British subject who has been continuously during the preceding six months in joint or several occupation of any house, warehouse, counting-house, shop, or other building including any room or part of a house separately occupied in the ward, of a yearly value of £10 or upward, or who, as a lodger, has continuously during the previous six months occupied, jointly or severally, any lodgings in a ward of a clear yearly value of £10 or upward, is entitled to one vote only. This qualification confers on practically every adult citizen in Sydney who has resided in any one ward for six months prior to an election the right to vote in that ward.

Another, and perhaps the most important, reform effected by this act is in the method of voting, which is by means of a secret ballot. This is so important that I make no apology for quoting from the section of the act as follows:

“Such citizen shall take such ballot papers into an inner compartment, and there without delay cancel them by striking through the name of every candidate except such as he intends to vote for, and shall then fold up each ballot paper so as to conceal the names and immediately put it into the ballot box, and thereupon he shall at once quit such booth or room and shall not re-enter the same during the election.

“No two voters shall be in the same inner compartment at the same time.”

The ballot paper is not signed, nor is there anything upon it to indicate the identity of the voter. Ample provision is made for the accommodation of blind or illiterate citizens, and safeguards are provided against impersonation. The greatest possible care is exercised in the supervision and examination of the ballot boxes so as to prevent any ballot papers being taken therefrom or inserted therein, and the examination of the ballot papers is made by the returning officer in the presence of scrutineers, and the result of the ballot is thereupon declared by the mayor.

The money which any candidate for election as alderman is entitled to disburse in electioneering expenses is limited to the sum of £50, and the details of such expenditure, verified by statutory declaration, are to be furnished to the town clerk within seven days after

the holding of an election. If any candidate should spend more than the sum of £50, he is liable to a penalty of £20 and his election is declared void. As in the earlier acts so in the present act, every person holding any place of profit under the Crown or the council, is disqualified from being elected to the office of alderman, and in like manner every person who within three years has compounded with his creditors, and every uncertificated bankrupt or insolvent, is also disqualified. With these exceptions any male person on the roll for any ward of the city shall be qualified to be elected as alderman. The whole of the aldermen are required to retire simultaneously every two years.

The sections of the act which relate to bribery, treating, intimidation, etc., in connection with the municipal elections are the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as relate to parliamentary elections, and provide that every person guilty of bribery (the definition of bribery is minutely set forth in seven sub-sections) shall be liable to a fine of £100 or to six months' imprisonment or to both, and shall be incapable of voting at such election; and every candidate for election who shall be guilty of "treating" (the definition of which offence is clearly described) shall be liable to the penalty just mentioned. The offence of intimidation is defined as a misdemeanor punishable in a similar way. Moreover, the act expressly provides that:

"No act, suit, or other proceeding whatsoever shall be brought or maintained whereby to charge a person upon any contract or agreement for the loan of money or the doing of any work or service or the supply of any goods for or towards or concerning or in carrying on or in prosecuting any election of a member under this Act,"

and further that:

"Any person who makes or is concerned in any wager, bet or other risk of any nature whatsoever upon the result of any election shall for every such offence be liable to a penalty not being less than £5 nor exceeding £50, and every such wager, bet, or other risk shall be and is hereby declared an illegal act."

As in former years the officers of the council are entirely under the control of the council, who fix their remuneration and terms of service. The mayor has the power to suspend any officer or servant of the council, provided that he report the suspension at the next meeting of the council, who shall thereupon confirm such suspen-

sion or otherwise deal with the matter. The provision in the earlier act which enabled the aldermen to remunerate themselves out of the funds of the council is entirely done away with, and in lieu thereof provision is made that a mayoral allowance may be granted by the council each year. In the city of Sydney this is usually fixed at £1,000 per annum, in Melbourne at £1,500 per annum, and at smaller sums in the other capital cities in Australia. This allowance is spent in civic hospitality, and is usually insufficient to cover the expenses which the office entails upon its holder.

The act of which I have just been speaking refers only to the city of Sydney, as the present law under which the suburban and country municipalities operate dates back to the Municipalities Act of 1867, which with the amendments thereon was consolidated thirty years afterwards. In almost all the other states of the Commonwealth of Australia there are more or less comprehensive systems of local government in force, but, unfortunately, in the parent state of New South Wales the efforts hitherto made to introduce a local government bill have been frustrated, so that the government remains the one great centre from which every portion of the state seeks to obtain all the financial assistance it requires. Every road, every bridge, and, in fact, every local work of a public character in the country is constructed and maintained at government cost. The existing system cannot be defended on any grounds ethical or political, and its continuance has tended in no small degree to the degradation of politics.

It may be worth while to enumerate briefly the constitution and powers of these suburban and country municipalities. The number of aldermen in each municipality varies from six to twelve according to the population, who are presided over by a mayor elected from among themselves each year. Every rate-payer of the full age of twenty-one years is entitled to vote, and accumulative votes are permitted according to the assessed value of the property occupied, leased, or owned by the rate-payer. Voting is by secret ballot as in the case of city elections, and generally speaking the same ceremonies are observed and the same safeguards exercised as in the case of city elections.

Besides the power to fix rates, these municipalities may borrow up to five times their estimated annual revenue, exclusive of government endowments, for the purpose of building town halls or council

chambers, or for carrying out any other work within the powers of the municipality. These loans are usually secured by mortgage or debentures, or both, and with very few exceptions are regarded as safe and remunerative investments. A number of the municipalities have erected gas-works and water-works, some of them having constructed municipal baths, and it is lawful for them to erect wharves, jetties, or piers where necessary or convenient.

Every council has power within its municipality to abate and remove all nuisances therein, to order and compel the extirpation of noxious weeds, and to establish tolls on roads, bridges, wharves, etc. As a matter of fact, however, there are no tolls on any roads or bridges, and no rates are levied beyond the general rate and the lighting, water, and sewerage rates.

The entire police force of the state is presided over by the inspector-general of police, and is under the control of the government, so that neither the mayor nor council of any municipality can exercise any authority over them whatever.

The municipalities in Australia take no part in the educative work carried on by means of art galleries, public libraries, and the like, the most important of which are maintained and controlled by the government or by local schools of art. Neither do they conduct charitable organizations, most of the asylums for the blind, deaf and dumb, indigent, and insane being carried on by the government. Numerous organizations for the relief of the poor exist throughout the country, but these are maintained either by charitable, religious, or non-sectarian bodies, and not by the municipalities.

There are many suburban and country districts in New South Wales which are not incorporated into municipalities, but whose interests are looked after by voluntary committees called progress associations, and in one suburb, at least, the residents have cheerfully taxed themselves in order that the progress association might carry out certain local works that were desired.

In the city of Sydney the municipal council has recently entered upon an extensive and costly scheme of electric lighting under the powers conferred upon it by an act of Parliament passed in 1896. An admirable site has been selected for the power station, of sufficient area to accommodate machinery and plant equipment developing approximately 30,000 horse-power. Electricity will be generated at 5,200 volts on the three-phase alternating system, with a

periodicity of fifty cycles. The object of the council is to supply electricity to the citizens of Sydney as economically as possible.

Unlike most of the other capital cities, the streets of Sydney are under a divided control, for although nominally under the direction of the municipal council, certain other bodies have independent powers in connection with them. For example, the railway commissioners carry on their electric tramway system (or street railways) without deference to the municipal council, and maintain at their own cost about one-third of each road-way along which the lines are laid. The metropolitan board of water supply and sewerage (which is practically a governmental department, notwithstanding that the city and suburban municipalities have their elected representatives on the board), and the Australian Gaslight Company and the Sydney Hydraulic Power Company (which are private corporations), each possesses certain powers in the way of opening up the foot-paths and streets for the purpose of carrying on their respective works, which have been granted to them by act of Parliament and outside of the authority of the municipal council. The vehicular traffic of the city is controlled by the police, who, as previously mentioned, are under the direction of the government through the inspector-general.

All the telegraph lines and stations and the telephone systems in Australia are state-owned, and on the establishment of Federation, in 1901, they were handed over to the control of the Federal government, which, like the state authorities before them, can erect telegraph poles, construct telephone tunnels, and carry out any other necessary work in connection with the department without sanction from the municipal authorities.

Besides these independent bodies there is the board of health, whose powers are exercised by each council within its municipality, and which include the control of noxious trades and cattle slaughtering, and the supervision of dairies. The fire brigades board controls the fire brigades within the metropolitan and suburban area. One member of this board is elected by the municipal council of Sydney, and one by the suburban municipalities within whose boundaries the board operates. The annual outlay for the fire brigades board's maintenance is contributed in three equal shares by the fire insurance companies, the municipal councils of Sydney and suburbs, and the government, respectively.

In the other capital cities of Australia the municipal councils possess wider powers in many directions than is the case in Sydney, notwithstanding that the latter city is the largest in Australia and the capital of the oldest state. In Melbourne, the capital of the state of Victoria, the street tramways are on the cable system and are the property of a private company. At the end of a certain period of years (having still about fourteen years to run), the council is to take over these tramways at their then value. Somewhat similar schemes have been adopted in Brisbane, the capital of the state of Queensland, and in Perth, the capital of the state of West Australia, where street electric tramways have been constructed by private companies under the authority of the municipalities.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the municipal council of Sydney is seeking to acquire additional powers, which it claims to be entitled to exercise. Two bills have been prepared for submission to Parliament, one of which is to give the council a new building act on modern lines. This act will provide, *inter alia*, for the streets being vested in and under the control of the council, who shall have civil remedies of the owners of the soil in establishing, maintaining, and defending public rights; for the regulation of the position of gas and water pipes; for the limitation of the height of buildings in crowded districts; for the ventilation of basement floors, and for damp-proof and rat-proof construction of basements; for regulating the construction of house-drains and their ventilation; for power to close all buildings certified as unfit for human habitation; for providing fire-escapes; and generally for powers dealing with the construction and alteration of buildings within the city. A great deal in this direction is already being done by the city surveyor, the city health officer, and the city building surveyor under the limited powers they possess, but if the new bill be passed into law, a much wider scope will be given to the operations of the council.

The other bill is mainly to give the council authority to obtain rates from public boards and trusts,—*e.g.*, the water and sewerage board, and Sydney harbor trust commissioners; and to provide that fees which at present are paid to the government for auctioneers' licenses, liquor licenses, registration of dogs, supervision of dairies, weights, and measures, and licensed vehicles shall be handed over to the city fund.

While it is not unreasonable that the municipal councils of our

capital cities should claim to be entitled to exercise fuller powers within their boundaries, there are many reasons for supposing that the Parliament of New South Wales, having been shorn considerably of its former glory by the establishment of federation, will now be unwilling to delegate any of its remaining authority to any municipality. We may therefore have to wait the advent of a Greater Sydney scheme, and the consequent establishment of some central council on the lines of the famous London County Council. Certain steps have already been taken towards the creation of a Greater Sydney, but the question can hardly be said to have gone beyond its embryonic stage at present. There are the advocates of unification and of federation who still require to settle their differences, and there are a multitude of other initial difficulties upon which public opinion still remains absolutely uninformed. In this connection I quote a paragraph from the voluminous Annual Report for 1902, compiled by the town clerk of Sydney, in which he says:

“The possibilities of Sydney as an ideal municipality are in my opinion large, and this is a fact practically unchallenged and unchallengeable, but this can never be attained or developed until the government and the existing suburban councils actually realize their responsibility in the matter, and are prepared by a spirit of self-sacrifice and self-abnegation to recognize that an ideal city with an ideal city government is a goal to be aimed at by all, irrespective of the internecine conflict engendered by stress of party politics, state or municipal.”

The larger spirit which the federation of the Commonwealth of Australia will undoubtedly breathe into the national life of the people will be reflected in their municipal as well as in their political affairs, and it is therefore to be expected that the extension of our municipal activities will be more markedly important in the future than they have hitherto been. Very much yet remains to be done before ideal municipal government is accomplished. Fortunately for Australia, its political and municipal institutions have, on the whole, been hitherto free from those grossly corrupt influences which have wrought such pernicious results in some other countries. The apathy of the public, and the indifference which our leading citizens exhibit towards this important department of local legislation, is mainly responsible for the shortcomings which undoubtedly do exist. The control of affairs has been left in the hands of persons who, however well meaning, are utterly incapable of adequately dis-

charging the responsibilities of office. The creation of a healthy public opinion, and the recognition that even in this utilitarian age something of the old Roman sacrifice of self for the good of the state is essential to the honest and efficient administration of public affairs, will do much to raise our municipal life to a higher plane. Our best and most capable citizens are so busy attending to their own personal concerns that, while exercising to the full the Britishers' privilege of grumbling, they are slow to recognize, and still slower to accept, any measure of the blame which undoubtedly falls upon them. Notwithstanding this, however, the outline I have given of the development of Australian municipal life exhibits the constant upward and progressive tendencies manifested therein. We are undoubtedly farther advanced to-day than we were twenty years ago, and one may reasonably hope that that silent evolution which is working out its eternal purposes in the social, as truly as in the physical world, will equip us for the achievement of higher things in the future.

B. R. GELLING.

Sydney, N. S. W., Australia.

PROBLEMS IN ADMINISTRATION OF MUNICIPAL CHARITIES

I.

To give or not to give out-door relief is the first and greatest problem in municipal charity. Shall the city undertake to provide provisions, fuel, clothing, rent, and other necessities to needy families in their own homes, in addition to maintaining hospitals, almshouses, and other institutions; or shall it limit its activities to the latter function, leaving the assistance of the poor in their homes to organized charities, churches, and benevolent individuals? The problem is not a new one; in fact, it has been discussed at greater length than probably any other phase of municipal charity. Extended experience has been had by large cities on both sides of the question. The fact that several of the largest cities in the country have given no out-door relief for a quarter of a century, and that it is the impression and belief that the poor in those cities are as well cared for as in the cities giving out-door relief, may be said to have shown beyond question the practicability of abolishing public out-door relief in large cities. Those who favor the continuation of public out-door relief in the few large cities in which it still persists—Chicago, Boston, and Buffalo—would doubtless claim that in New York the absence of out-door relief, while probably a good in itself, has led to other evils, notably the sending of large numbers of children to institutions. The fact that the absence of out-door relief in other large cities—Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and others—has not led to this result indicates that other factors must be regarded as primarily responsible for the large proportion of destitute children in New York City. The question of public out-door relief in large cities in this country was ably presented to the National Conference of Charities in 1900 by Mr. Frederick Almy, secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo. The experience of American cities during the three and a half years since the date of Mr. Almy's paper tends to strengthen the position of those who favor the abolition of public out-door relief in large cities. During this period no city which had discontinued public out-door relief has re-established it. Societies, churches, and individuals seem to have proved their ability to meet the situation in different cities and

under varying conditions, not perfectly, but certainly as well as it is met by public action. Each year which passes without the resumption of public out-door relief in any large American city strengthens the argument for its abolition in the small number of large cities in which it still exists.

It is interesting to note that although the past three years have shown a very marked swing of the pendulum towards a more general recognition of the important part which material relief must play in the help of needy families in their homes, this fact has not in any locality, so far as we know, led to even a discussion of the question of the resumption of general public out-door relief. It has led charitable societies to strengthen their relief departments, seek new sources of income for relief purposes, give larger amounts, and yet it has not in any case led to an agitation for the return of what was once the well-nigh universal custom of public out-door relief in all our cities, large and small, as well as in rural districts.

The few years that have elapsed since Mr. Almy's paper was written have, moreover, served to accentuate the very great advantage of this division of the field as between public and private charity. The responsibility for the adequate relief of needy families has been more keenly felt, and this has strengthened the societies and agencies established for such work. Municipalities have fewer but more definite responsibilities, and have improved the management and material condition of their hospitals and almshouses.

The trend of the past decade in regard to public out-door relief in American cities is all the more interesting by reason of the recent ominous increase in dependency in London. The *London Spectator*, of January 2, 1904, devotes a leading editorial, under the caption of "The Rising Tide of Pauperism," to the extremely serious recent increase in the number of both out-door and in-door paupers in the Metropolitan district, the figures on Christmas day, 1903, being higher than for any corresponding date since 1871.

II.

We may place as second in the present problems of municipal charity, because of its important bearing upon all phases of the situation, the question of dealing with able-bodied persons, casual lodgers, tramps, vagrants, etc.

In former years we heard much about "able-bodied paupers."

We hear the term but seldom nowadays, because most of the class who formerly were able-bodied paupers are now able-bodied *prisoners*. Able-bodied pauperism is a misnomer. So long as able-bodied persons were admitted to almshouses upon application and upon their own declaration of destitution, or even, as in some cases, committed by magistrates to almshouses for definite terms, the almshouse necessarily took on more or less of a correctional character. It is not too much to say that at the present time in cities whose municipal charity is generally considered as well administered, no able-bodied persons are admitted to almshouses or to any other charitable institution for extended care. Whatever else should or should not be done for able-bodied persons who declare themselves destitute and unable to find work, there is general belief that they should in the first instance be admitted to a lodging-house for temporary shelter. Under the plan which prevails in New York City and which seems to stand the test of experience, all able-bodied persons applying for assistance, whether temporary or permanent, are sent to the Municipal Lodging-House. The most evident features of this institution are enforced bathing and cleanliness, fumigation of clothing, and in general sanitary conditions and regulations. Still more important, however, from a social point of view, are the careful questioning of each lodger as to his recent employer, previous residence, length of time in city, etc., and the paid force of investigators who, on the following day, visit these references for the purpose of ascertaining the facts so far as possible as to the character, habits, and circumstances of the lodger. A large number of the lodgers come only once or twice. Those who come three times or more and who by investigation have been found to be tramps or vagrants, or who have given false references, or have been disorderly in the lodging-house, or seem to be "suspicious characters," are taken before magistrates for commitment as vagrants, and if the magistrate is convinced that such course is proper are sent to the workhouse, a correctional institution. The officials of the lodging-house must make out a case to the satisfaction of the magistrate.

The comparatively small number of lodgers who come three times or more and who upon investigation appear to be men who are not of the tramp or vagrant class, but are temporarily out of employment, are allowed to come to the lodging-house for a somewhat longer period. Quite a proportion find temporary employment

at low wages in the city institutions, others succeed in finding private employment. Recently an arrangement has been effected with the Charity Organization Society by which men of this class are supplied by the lodging-house with wood-yard tickets, enabling them to earn enough each day at the Charity Organization Society wood-yard to pay for lodgings and meals and leaving them a considerable part of the day for further effort to find employment.

The New York City Lodging-House has no "work test." Experience has led most of those familiar with its workings to believe that the investigation made by its visitors and the possibility of commitment have been much more satisfactory in determining the future treatment of the lodgers than a work test would have been.

III.

The third problem in municipal charities may be stated thus: What should be the standard of clothing, food, and care in the municipal almshouse? Shall it have the *régime* of the prison, or shall it be a hospital, or is it possible to make it a home? If it is to be a home, how far can it be made comfortable, clean, sanitary, and how varied can the food be and how good the clothing, without making it "too attractive"? The answer to these questions is being found in the solution of the second problem stated above. The elimination of the able-bodied element from the almshouse, together with the segregation of certain classes of defectives now commonly sent to State institutions, is making the almshouse a home for the aged and infirm, or at least a place where none but the aged and infirm are cared for, and which should be *homelike*. If the applications are carefully investigated, so that only those who are actually unable to earn a livelihood and whose immediate relatives are actually unable to maintain them, and who are unable to do any regular and ordinary work, are allowed to enter the institution, the danger of its becoming "attractive" is minimized. We can all assent to higher standards of care, better food, better clothing, and a more comfortable place for the really infirm, incurable, and senile than we would favor if able-bodied were also to share in such provision.¹

¹ The writer's views on this matter were stated before the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Atlanta, Ga., in May last, in a paper entitled "Disease and Dependency," published in *Charities* of October 3, 1903. The views expressed therein seemed to some to be extreme, if not dangerous. Further reflection and experience, however, tends to confirm the writer in the views therein expressed as to the proper standard of management of municipal homes for the aged and infirm.

One of the first facts in the situation to be recognized is that the population of a home for the aged and infirm in a large city is a very diversified population. It has little homogeneity, aside from the two facts of physical disability and destitution. It represents many nationalities, many religions, many previous occupations, and many different standards of life. It includes all varieties of disease that afflict the aged, and in all degrees. It represents all attitudes towards its caretaker—the city. It is a little city in itself. It will, if left to itself, and if its circumstances permit, break up into many smaller groups on lines of nationality, tastes, and character. This suggests the lines along which the administration, to be successful, should be directed. The buildings should be so constructed and the labor so directed as to allow some opportunity for natural groupings, and in particular so as to allow each inmate, able to do even a little work, to do that which he is most able to do. While there will be no able-bodied element in our almshouse population if it is thoroughly investigated and wisely judged upon admission, there will also be comparatively few who are absolutely helpless. The man who can do only half a day's work by working all day, the man who can only work half of each day, the man who has the use of hands but who walks with great difficulty or not at all,—all these, with hundreds of others, are as certainly debarred from participation in the ordinary industrial life of the community as though they were absolutely helpless. Yet very many of them can do some work, can contribute in some degree towards the orderly operation of the institution in which they are cared for or towards the production of some article required in that or some other city institution. While considerable progress has been made in utilizing the labor of some of the inmates of our large municipal almshouses, much remains to be accomplished in this direction. Greater resourcefulness than is usually found in an institution of this class is required, however, for devising and carrying to success further efforts of this character.

In every large population of the aged and infirm, acute illness, accidents, or conditions requiring surgical operations will continually develop. The hospital ward is a necessary adjunct of the almshouse. And if there are included as hospital patients those suffering from incurable diseases which permit long years of life, the hospital portion becomes a large factor. At the New York City Home for the

Aged and Infirm, from one-quarter to one-third of the entire population are cared for in buildings known as hospitals and organized so far as practicable on a hospital basis. The diseases are of such a character that it is difficult, if not impossible, to maintain training-schools for nurses. It is not that the patients are objectionable or that the diseases are objectionable, but that they do not afford sufficient opportunities for the care of acute illness or acute surgical conditions. The same reason makes it difficult to secure a satisfactory medical service; the great majority of cases have but little interest or "value" to the ordinary practitioner. To provide graduated nurses in any considerable number is impossible because of the great expense involved. The more usual course is to employ untrained nurses of about the class who ordinarily go into domestic service and to employ one or more skilled supervising nurses who are graduates of training-schools.

It is interesting to note that one of the charges seriously made against the trustees of pauper institutions in the city of Boston is that they have maintained a training-school for nurses and have spent too much money on operating-room furniture. If the trustees have been able to establish an efficient training-school for nurses in the almshouse hospital, they should receive general and warm commendation for having devised a plan for securing the best quality of nursing at the lowest cost. The training-school for nurses is the most economical plan ever devised for caring efficiently for the sick in large hospitals. If, by the establishment of the training-school and by providing hospital operating-room furniture and other necessary facilities for medical and surgical work, the trustees of the pauper institutions of the city of Boston have succeeded in securing efficient nursing and high-grade medical and surgical service for the hospital portion of their population, they have measurably solved one of the most difficult problems in municipal charitable administration, long recognized as such, both here and abroad.

IV.

Aside from the hospital portion of the home for the aged and infirm, every large municipal department of charities finds it necessary to maintain hospitals for the care and treatment of the sick, both accident and acute cases and those of a more chronic character. A problem arises as to the proper standards of administration of mu-

nicipal hospitals: Shall they be as good as the best, or shall they, in view of the fact that they care only for the destitute, many of whom have become such probably through their own faults, be conducted on a simpler and less expensive plan? Who has not heard the wise citizen, the sage doctor of philosophy, or the head of a wealthy church, in visiting a public hospital, remark under his breath, but apparently with misgiving, that the patients are receiving better food and clothing, and withal are more comfortable and are living under more sanitary and cleanly surroundings than they did in their own homes? The implication seems to be that the patients are getting better than they deserve, or that it is hardly fair for the citizens to be called upon to do so much at public expense for this purpose, or that in some way the social structure is involved in serious though vague danger in thus forcing higher standards of living upon this class of people. Never were there more shallow attempts at reasoning nor a more thoroughly uncharitable attitude. As has been well said, the best occupation of the sick man is getting well—best not merely for him, but for his family, for the city which otherwise continues to contribute to his support in a hospital, and for the community of which he otherwise remains a non-productive member and a burden. There can be only one rational, only one truly charitable standard for the administration of public hospitals: they should be equal to the best, so far as essentials are concerned. Nothing that will contribute to recovery is too expensive to be economical. We can omit ornamental features, but in the essentials of sanitation, cleanliness, medicines and surgical facilities, clothing, and, above all, a plentiful supply of food, well cooked and well served, there should be no scrimping. These conditions not only conduce to the early cure of the patients, but exert a marked educational influence, and raise the standards of life of all who become for a time the subjects of city care.

V.

Recent advances in medical science have made the care of consumptives one of the serious problems in municipal charity administration. Municipal hospitals and almshouses have always sheltered large numbers of consumptives, but the knowledge of the communicability of the disease in all stages and the curability of some cases in the earlier stages changes radically the nature of the problem. It is no longer simply a question of providing shelter, food, and

clothing for a given number of unfortunates ; it has become a question of such care for these sufferers as will protect the other patients and inmates of the city institutions from infection, will extend to the consumptives all the opportunities and advantages which modern science suggests for their improvement, if not for their cure, and will make the hospital for consumptives a large factor in the substantial eradication of the "white plague" from our large cities—an end towards which some of our municipalities are beginning consciously to direct their enormous powers. So great has been the education of public opinion very recently in this matter that it seems almost impossible that less than two years ago hundreds of consumptives were still cared for in the general wards of public hospitals in New York City, that other hundreds were in wards devoted to this disease but in the same buildings as medical and surgical wards, and that many others were left to wander about the streets of the city spreading infection and with no place to which they could turn with certainty of admission and care for any period of time. The segregation of consumptives from other patients in the hospitals of New York City during the last two years, the establishment in the hospital devoted to their care of most of the features which have been successful in sanatoria for consumptives in other States and cities, and the set purpose, carried into effect, to turn away no consumptives asking for care, and to discharge no one from the Hospital for Consumptives, unless for serious misconduct, except upon his own urgent request or as substantially cured, have been considered the most important achievement of the Charities Department during the Low administration. The example set by New York and other cities (New York was not the first to move in the matter, though it has probably carried its plan into effect more thoroughly than any other city) should be the adoption of similar measures in the charities departments of all the large municipalities of the country. It is not necessary to wait for the construction of expensive permanent buildings ; tent-cottages or temporary wooden structures are probably better suited to the purpose, in that they afford better opportunities for the fresh-air treatment, are much less expensive at least for the original outlay, and, what is perhaps of greater importance, can be made available with very little delay. The tent-cottages, of which there are twelve at the Tuberculosis Infirmary of the Department of Public Charities, on Blackwells Island, accom-

modating about one hundred and forty patients, were modelled after a design by Dr. Holmes, of Denver.²

Since the health departments of large cities have begun to classify tuberculosis as a communicable disease and to require all cases of tuberculosis coming to the notice of physicians or hospitals to be reported to such departments, a new question has arisen as to whether the management of the hospitals for tuberculosis should be placed under the Department of Health, as is the case with hospitals for smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and measles. As a matter of fact, many of the diseases which contribute most largely to the census of municipal hospitals are being found to be communicable, though not in the ordinary sense contagious. Pneumonia, influenza, typhoid fever, and many other diseases would fall within this latter classification, as also leprosy, certain skin diseases, certain eye diseases, and the venereal diseases. It has never been suggested that all these diseases should be transferred to the Department of Health, and it is the opinion of the writer that it is not desirable that they should be. Their proper care and treatment does not demand the unusual precautions which are requisite in hospitals for the treatment of the strictly contagious diseases. There is also, in the writer's opinion, grave danger that the burdening of the Health Department with the administration of large series of hospitals for infectious diseases would almost inevitably result in impairing the efficiency of the work of that department in those important lines that directly affect the health of the entire community, such as the protection of food supplies, especially milk and fruit, the protection of the water supply, the medical examination of school children, etc.

It is very important, however, that the Health and Charities Departments should work in complete co-operation and harmony, and that the Health Department should always be able to refer to the Department of Charities, for care in its hospital, cases of tuberculosis which come to its notice and whose circumstances and habits are such as to conduce to the spread of the disease. It may be that the Health Department should exercise its jurisdiction to the extent of requiring the retention at the hospital of the Charities Department of cases of tuberculosis who may wish to be discharged but whose

² A detailed account of their construction and of the development of the institution during the past two years may be found in the quarterly and annual reports of the Department of Public Charities for 1902 and 1903, and also in the publications of the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis appointed by the Charity Organization of New York City.

circumstances are such that proper home care is out of the question, and who would spread the disease by frequenting lodging-houses, parks, and other public places, particularly those who cannot be made to take proper measures for the destruction of their sputum.

While the question of change of climate and change to a great altitude is considered much less important than formerly, it is likely that but few cities can find within their limits the proper location for a sanatorium for incipient or only moderately advanced cases of tuberculosis. Pure air, attractive surroundings, and opportunity for moderate exercise in suitable cases are not likely to be found in or in the immediate neighborhood of large cities. These municipalities should therefore be given statutory authority to locate sanatoria for consumptives outside their corporate limits. Such authority was conferred upon cities of the first class in the State of New York several years ago, but later legislation so hampered the exercise of this power, by requiring the consents of so many local authorities, that it is doubtful whether such sanatoria can be established without change of legislation. The authorities of New York City have the matter under consideration, and considerable examination as to available sites has already been made. If the city makes reasonable effort to proceed and finds itself unable to secure a suitable site by reason of local opposition, it cannot be doubted that the law will be changed.

VI.

Municipal charity administration, in common with other branches of municipal action, has always before it the problem as to what constitutes the most effective method of administration, an unpaid board whose membership changes but slowly, or a salaried commissioner, with definite term or subject to removal by the mayor. History is being made rapidly on this question. In 1897 the city institutions of Boston were removed from the jurisdiction of one paid officer, and placed under the jurisdiction of three boards of trustees, each board consisting of seven members, serving without salary. The best-known municipal hospital in New York City,—Bellevue,—with its three tributary institutions, was placed on February 1, 1902, under a newly appointed board of trustees, seven in number, serving without salary, the term of one member expiring each year. The objects sought to be obtained by this change were the elimination of partisan influences in the hospital, the establish-

ment of continuity of policy in its management, and the securing of higher standards of efficiency in all branches of its service than had theretofore obtained. It was not claimed that such a board would be more effective than one official giving his entire time to his duties if that official were in all respects qualified for his position and assured of a reasonable tenure of office, but it was contended that the mutations of municipal politics in New York City were such that an appointment of the right kind of person for commissioner was to be regarded as a happy accident which might happen once in a great while, rather than as the usual type of municipal administration of this department.

As Commissioner of Public Charities, the writer was an *ex-officio* member of the Board of Trustees of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals during the first two years of its existence, but his part in the work of that board was so inconsiderable, owing to the pressure of his duties as Commissioner, that he may speak of the work of the board without violating the dictates of propriety.

In a word, the new board of trustees has laid deep and secure the foundations of a new and regenerate Bellevue Hospital, not only in its physical aspects, but in its management and in its spirit. There is every reason to believe that this board will succeed in placing the hospitals under its jurisdiction on a par with the best hospitals of the country, and that its work will soon receive that same confidence and commendation on the part of the public, and be as much a matter of municipal pride, as is the case with the Boston City Hospital and the Boston Public Library. To do this the board must maintain with each successive administration such relations as will enable it to secure liberal appropriations, both for maintenance and for permanent improvements. It must be able to withstand the insidious efforts which will doubtless appear in all sorts of unlooked-for places and will be felt through many unsuspected channels, once more to reinstate favoritism and make the hospital an adjunct to a political organization.

It is to be hoped that the Bellevue board will not be called upon to pass through all the experiences which have befallen the trustees of the pauper institutions of the city of Boston. In the writer's opinion, no one who has even a moderate acquaintance with their work can deny that great improvements have been effected by this board and that the institutions under its jurisdiction have been

vastly improved and have been much more humanely managed and are far more creditable to the city of Boston than was the case under the former system. Yet we have recently seen this board subjected to a series of plausible charges, brought by one of its own members, with the assistance of certain disaffected employees of the board. These charges were, after investigation, placed by the board itself before the mayor, with the request that he order an investigation. The investigation was undertaken by a committee of the Common Council of the city of Boston, which, after a long inquiry, brought in a majority report (the committee dividing on strict party lines), which was characterized editorially by the *Boston Herald* of December 4, 1903, as "deserving no more confidence than the verdict of a bribed jury." The same authority states that the investigation was undertaken for the purpose of securing the abolition of the board of trustees and the re-establishment of a single paid commissioner.

A partisan majority of the committee finds certain of the charges against the board sustained, and, without suggesting in what way a change in administration would remedy the conditions which they think they find to exist, recommends that the legislature abolish the board of trustees and provide for the appointment of one salaried commissioner. It does not seem likely that this recommendation will meet with much favor at the hands of the legislature of the State of Massachusetts, especially as the minority of the committee finds every charge against the trustees unfounded. The incident is significant, however, in showing the persistency of the influences which would subordinate public charities to political considerations.

It is not for the writer to speak of the administration of the Department of Public Charities during the past two years under a salaried commissioner who had had previous and extended experience in dealing with charitable questions and who was already familiar with its institutions, nor to attempt to compare the rate of change for better or for worse in the Charities Department during the past two years with any preceding period, nor to attempt to guess as to the extent to which whatever charges were made during the past two years will be continued under a different administration. All this will enter into the history of this question, which, as stated above, is making rapidly, and on the basis of which some-

thing more nearly approaching a consensus of opinion should be reached within the next decade as to the best form of administration for municipal charities. Greater than all the problems of the department and underlying all of them is the greater problem of securing efficient, disinterested administration.

HOMER FOLKS,

Secretary New York State Charities Aid Association; Commissioner of Public Charities of New York City, 1902-1904.

MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS OF CHICAGO

The fundamental problem with which Chicago now has to cope is to secure a new city charter. For years every mayor in his annual message has called attention to this basic need; for years citizens and associations have directed their every effort towards its solution. Only when this is accomplished can Chicago take up other pressing questions with the assurance of being able to solve them successfully and quickly.

Although this is universally recognized, such were the conditions that for a long time it seemed impossible to do anything. Petty party jealousies prevented uniform action on the part of Chicago's representatives. The city is Democratic in its politics, the county Republican, and it seemed as though each party feared lest any legislation affecting Chicago might affect its political prestige.

Within the city limits of Chicago there are even to-day not less than eight separate tax-levying bodies. It is clear that a new charter would bring about the consolidation of most of these bodies into one, and every office-holder, therefore, fearing for the loss of his official head, did everything he could to frustrate any such scheme. But finally, the steadily growing popular demand for a new charter, voiced by the city council, by newspapers, and many semi-public organizations, put a quietus to the opposition, and after much effort the State legislature last April adopted a resolution "that there shall be submitted to the electors of this State for adoption or rejection, at the next election of members of the General Assembly, a proposition to amend the Constitution of this State."

This amendment gives power to the General Assembly "to pass any law providing a scheme or charter of local municipal government for the city of Chicago. The law so passed may provide for consolidating in the municipal government of the city of Chicago the powers now vested in the city, the Board of Education, the township, park, and other local governments and authorities having jurisdiction confined to one within said territory." This amendment further authorizes the legislature to "abolish all offices, the function of which shall be otherwise provided for; to create municipal courts in the city of Chicago and abolish the offices of justices of the peace,

police magistrates, and constables in and for the territory within said city," and finally to "pass all laws which it may deem requisite to effectually provide a complete system of local municipal government in and for the city of Chicago."

Next November this proposed amendment to the constitution will be submitted to the suffrage of the voters of the State. While it is hoped that it will be adopted, this is by no means certain, although Chicago casts about one-third of the entire vote of the State. In the excitement and uproar of a Presidential election the special ballot is easily lost sight of, and home dissensions or apathy of the voters may defeat the object in view, as the constitution provides that only "if a majority of the electors voting at said election shall vote for the proposed amendments, they shall become part of this constitution." That such a thing is thought possible is proved by the fact that the City Council of Chicago has recently appointed a special committee of seven which is to carry on a campaign on behalf of the amendment.

If the amendment is adopted, the next legislature, meeting in January, 1905, may and undoubtedly will "pass all laws which *it may deem requisite* to effectually provide a complete system of local municipal government for the city of Chicago." And then the struggle will begin. Every interest that will be affected by a consolidating measure will fight for its existence; fencing for party advantage, "wire-pulling," "log-rolling," and every other political device known will be brought to play upon the "country legislator," who, not being familiar with the needs of a large city, and bewildered by the many demands made upon him, will not know which way to turn, and may possibly defeat the honest efforts of the well-meaning members of the assembly.

That this is not a pessimistic view may be seen from the experience had when the resolution for the constitutional amendment was before the legislature. In April, 1900, Mayor Carter H. Harrison, in his annual message to the City Council, said, "We can weld the present taxing bodies exercising municipal functions within the limits of Chicago into an harmonious whole by which useless officers may be dispensed with." And again, in April, 1902, the mayor recommended: "Earnest effort should be made to bring about the ultimate extinction of all separate taxing bodies except the city of Chicago and the Board of Education within Chicago's

limits. The towns, the parks, the sanitary district, and the county, all should be brought under one common care and direction. . . . The fact of Chicago's management of public affairs and exercise of municipal functions being divided up among eight different corporations, each levying its own taxes, maintaining its full complement of officers and employees, managing its own affairs, and spending its own money without regard to unity of action or community of purpose, works irremediable injury to good local government. . . . The divided responsibility for government in the territory of Chicago between the county and the city is productive of evil and should speedily and permanently be ended."

These recommendations of Mayor Harrison were generally approved by public opinion and urged upon the legislature by the Council, the Civic Federation of Chicago, and other societies, but with all their efforts they succeeded only in securing the amendment in a garbled form.

The most important thing that Chicago will have to get from the State legislature will probably be the hardest task of all,—namely, a change of the revenue laws. As the matter stands to-day, the city does not receive nearly as much revenue from taxation as it ought to have. Not that the taxes should be higher; they are—although lower than in most other cities—fully high enough if they were only paid as honestly by the large property interests as they are by the smaller tax-payer. The property, real and personal, within the limits of the great city of Chicago, with its area of 190.6 square miles, its nearly two millions of inhabitants, its stupendous business interests, its magnificent palaces, and its many multi-millionaires, represents a far greater value than a little over two billions of dollars, the present valuation figure. This is but about \$10,700,000 per square mile, while New York's valuation is not less than thirty millions per square mile; Boston's, \$27,700,000; Philadelphia's, \$12,600,000, and Baltimore's, \$15,400,000. What makes the present revenue laws particularly inadequate for the needs of the city is the plan prescribed for the distribution of the taxes. Under the law, taxes are levied upon the so-called "assessed" value of all property, equal to one-fifth of the "full" value, which in reality is rarely more than about 70 to 80 per cent. of its "actual" value. The tax-rate is limited to 5 per cent. of the assessed value, for all purposes except State, school buildings, and bonded indebtedness taxes. When the

aggregate of all the taxes exceeds the limit of 5 per cent., the county clerk is required to reduce the rates for the various taxing bodies, so as to bring the total within the legal limit. As the county clerk has great power in establishing the rate, it is not very surprising that he could not and did not resist the temptation to favor those of the eight taxing bodies that were of the same political faith as he, to the disadvantage of the others, and the city government, the Board of Education, and the Library Board were for years the sufferers. Their proportion of the tax levy was regularly reduced to as low a figure as the law would possibly permit. The charter limit for the city rate is 2 per cent. For 1902 the rate was scaled down to 1.582, and for the year 1903 still further to 1.563, while the rates for the other taxing bodies were either increased or at least remained nearly the same, so that, although the valuation had been increased for these two years, the city, on account of the reduced rate, profited but very little by this fact. Out of the total amount of taxes, about twenty-five millions, raised within the city limits, less than 25 per cent. are allotted to the city government for its corporate purposes.

Of course, the proposed consolidation of nearly all the taxing bodies would in some degree remedy this defect, but as even after consolidation there will be at least three taxing bodies, the law should fix a definite rate for each of these and further clearly define the rights and powers of the county clerk in this direction, so that each body would know exactly where it stands.

Another change of the tax laws that would be most desirable for the city of Chicago would be the increase of the assessable value from one-fifth to the full value and the corresponding decrease of the rate from five to one per cent. While this change would apparently leave the result *in statu quo*, it would have the great advantage of making the valuation absolutely clear, and thus enable the people much better to discover any possible mistake on the part of either the property owner or the assessor. The average man can see no valid reason why the law should play hide-and-seek with the valuations. There is another advantage the city would secure by such a change of the revenue law. The constitution limits the bonded indebtedness of the State to "five per centum on the value of the taxable property therein," and the Supreme Court a few years ago decided that the term "value" in that clause must be interpreted to mean the "assessed value," although the makers of the consti-

tution knew nothing of "one-fifth" values or of any "assessed" values arbitrarily established by legislative enactment. To them the word "value" had only one meaning, and they hardly had the intention of reducing the power of cities to issue bonds to some arbitrary limit that the legislature might fix. Chicago to-day cannot issue a single dollar's worth of bonds, nor has it been able to do so for many years. The entire bonded indebtedness is but \$15,123,000, or less than eight dollars per capita of its population, and includes \$4,500,000 issued by the city in behalf of the World's Columbian Exposition, under authority of a special grant by the legislature. The remainder was issued before this generation, in the days after the great fire, in the early '70's, and the great city of to-day is thus prevented by this inheritance from the past to raise the funds for the many improvements so necessary for its welfare. The need for a bond issue is generally recognized, and the proposed constitutional amendment contains a clause specifically authorizing the legislature to pass a law permitting the city to become indebted to an amount in the aggregate not exceeding 5 per cent. of the *full* value of all property within its limits.

To secure this special law, or a general revision of the tax laws, necessary as it may be, is likely to prove a most difficult thing. The outside counties do not require these changes as much as Chicago, and it will therefore be no easy matter to win over enough legislators from those districts to overcome the opposition.

That something will be done by the legislature of 1905 is almost certain, and that this will not turn out to be worse than the present is also probable, as it is left to the people of Chicago finally to accept or reject any charter law that the General Assembly may pass. It will, therefore, be at least another year and a half before Chicago will be in the position to do anything towards the solution of the many problems it has before it.

Chicago has to-day the best City Council in its history. In seven years not a single measure has been passed by the Council that could arouse suspicion. Chicago has remained absolutely free from the corruption and scandal that has wrecked the reputation of so many fair cities in our land.

Political "pull" has disappeared from the municipal government, all of its nine thousand employees being under a strict civil service system, sought to be carried out honestly to the minutest

detail. Its system of accounting is to-day in excellent shape; slipshod methods have been abolished entirely; no private use of public property is granted without adequate compensation to the city treasury, and the government is making earnest efforts to conduct the administration in all its branches on business principles.

One of the great works that has been carried on for more than ten years and is fast nearing completion is that of elevating the railroad tracks within the city limits. Other cities have had to contribute from 30 to 60 per cent. of the cost of such work; Chicago succeeded not only in making the railroads bear the entire cost, with the exception of less than \$6000 per annum for maintenance of the city's track elevation department, but also in having the work carried on without interruption. Since May, 1892, when the work was begun, until December 31, 1903, not less than 80.67 miles of main tracks and 420.19 miles of other tracks have been elevated and 351 subways constructed at a total cost of about \$25,500,000, not a single cent of which came out of the pockets of the tax-payers. Under ordinances already passed and accepted by the railroad companies, 57.43 miles of main track and 279.76 miles of other tracks are yet to be elevated, and 186 subways to be constructed. The cost of the entire work yet to be completed under the ordinances is estimated at a little over \$18,000,000. Within a few years this great undertaking will have been completed, and then not a single foot of railway track, not a single deadly grade-crossing will remain to endanger the lives of the people.

Another important work being carried on by the city and nearing completion is the construction of a system of intercepting sewers which is designed to divert the flow of all sewage now being emptied into Lake Michigan, so that it will be carried into the Chicago River, and thence into the main drainage canal of the Sanitary District, thus obliterating the danger of polluting Chicago's water supply.

As Chicago has more than fifteen hundred miles of sewers, the magnitude of this undertaking can hardly be grasped. Since the work began in 1898, more than one hundred thousand lineal feet of intercepting sewers, having a diameter up to twenty feet, have been built at a total cost of about \$3,500,000, and what is still more remarkable, not one cent of this amount was obtained from taxation, the entire cost of the undertaking being defrayed out of the net

earnings of the water-works. Whether this system will forever keep the city's water pure, or whether it will become necessary to purify the supply by some system of filtration or other artificial purification, is a problem for the future.

A problem that is engaging the attention of many cities has, at least in part, been satisfactorily solved by Chicago,—the problem of performing municipal work by the direct labor plan as against the private contract system. In the construction of new land tunnels, the work had to be completed by the city under the direct labor plan, as the contractors had failed to carry out their contract and suspended operations. The city completed the work, which offered most serious obstacles, without difficulty, and at a cost less than the contract had provided for. To-day the city is engaged in constructing part of the above-mentioned intercepting sewers by direct labor, it having been found that the work can be performed by the city at a cost less than the lowest contract price offered. Not only does the city, by this system, profit through the savings in the original cost, but it also escapes thereby the exactions of contractors in the shape of bills for "extras," from which cause it has seriously suffered for many years.

The best test of the advantages of the direct labor system, however, has been in the work of collecting garbage. Until 1898 the city had awarded the work of removing the garbage to contractors. To-day the city employs the teams and the men individually, and the work is performed under the supervision of the ward superintendent cheaper and more satisfactorily to the public than under the contract system. While in 1897, the last full year of the contract system, eight thousand eight hundred garbage complaints were registered, this number has shrunk to about fourteen hundred in 1902, and nine hundred in 1903.

On the other hand, improvement work carried out by contract, such as street paving, is steadily getting more and more unsatisfactory, and its cost so high as to be nearly prohibitive, so that property owners who, under the law, have to pay for paving by special assessment, are averse to make any such improvements. Chicago, like many other cities, is in the grasp of a powerful contractors' combination, and it will remain helpless until, by charter amendment, the city is enabled to establish its own department of construction, under which all municipal work may be performed by the direct labor plan.

Providing for small parks and playgrounds in the overcrowded districts of the city is another problem that Chicago is solving at present. Despite its immense territory, Chicago has but a small park area, comprising not more than two thousand two hundred and eighty-five acres, of which nearly two thousand one hundred acres are part of the great park system in each of the three main divisions of the city. On account of their great distances from the densely populated district, these parks are not easily accessible to the masses of the people. This leaves but about one hundred and eighty-five acres for the small parks, which are very unequally distributed. In fact, not less than nine of the largest wards of the city, having an area of twenty-one thousand one hundred and forty-four acres and a total population of nearly five hundred thousand, have no park area at all.

The necessity of creating new breathing spots for the poorer classes became very urgent, and in November, 1899, Mayor Harrison, by authority of the City Council, appointed a Small Parks Commission, consisting of ten aldermen, a representative of each of the three regular park boards, and nine citizens. The commission decided to transfer the establishment of the small parks to the various park boards, and legislation was obtained from the General Assembly whereby these boards were authorized to acquire, improve, and maintain small parks or playgrounds not exceeding ten acres in area each. Further acts authorize the boards to issue \$2,500,000 in bonds for these purposes, leaving the expenditure of the moneys with the commissioners of the three park boards, the Small Parks Commission acting in an advisory capacity. Exhaustive reports were prepared dealing with the conditions which prevail in the districts of congested population remote from the existing parks, and recommendations made for small parks for the purpose of relieving these conditions.

These park boards are now engaged in the task of purchasing, either by private contract or by condemnation proceedings, the sites, and within a short time some twenty-five or thirty small parks will be added to Chicago's park area.

Meanwhile, the City Commission did not rest idly, but began to establish playgrounds. The Council granted for that purpose the use of property belonging to the city, and a small appropriation enabled it properly to equip these grounds and place them under

supervision of trained directors. Then several public-spirited citizens took an interest in the matter. Some gave the free use of land, others donated equipment, money, medals. Since the commission began its work three years ago it has established nine public playgrounds, which, during 1903, were attended by not less than seven hundred and thirty-four thousand boys and girls. The Council appropriated in these three years the total sum of \$56,500 for the salaries of the directors, purchase of equipment, maintenance of the grounds, and all other expenses. Circle, ball, and dance games, singing, marching, Maypole dances, and similar entertainments for the smaller children are conducted under the supervision of trained women, while athletic sports, gymnastics, drills, and games for the larger boys and girls are under supervision of the directors of the playgrounds and a general athletic director. In winter these grounds are converted into skating rinks.

While Chicago has been and is successfully solving all of these problems, each important, each bearing upon the well-being and the progress of its citizens, many other most serious problems demand immediate attention. But no matter how great the necessity, no matter how anxious the authorities, how clamorous the demand of the people, here Chicago for the present stands helpless because the solution of these problems rests upon the one *conditio sine qua non*,—money.

First of all comes the problem of providing for adequate police protection. Chicago expends annually about \$3,300,000, or more than one-half of its entire income from taxation, for police purposes. This is much less per capita than in other large cities. In 1901, according to Carroll D. Wright, New York expended for police purposes \$3.21 per capita; Philadelphia, \$3.20 per capita; St. Louis, \$2.88 per capita; Boston, \$5.03 per capita; Chicago, \$2.19 per capita. Although Chicago has grown in area and population, its expenditures for police purposes have remained nearly stationary for more than ten years. No matter how much the authorities tried, it was found impossible to provide for more police protection. From the lack of it, Chicago's good name has suffered more than from any other cause; has been exposed to the malicious attacks of ill-meaning individuals; has been made the target of unjust criticism from that part of the press whose political or personal antagonism, hatred, and prejudice against the administration blind it to the real

conditions. To such an extent has this been carried on, that even well-meaning citizens became prejudiced and were led to take steps that, instead of repairing Chicago's reputation, still more impair it. Even now a Citizens' Committee has been formed for "the suppression of crime," and large amounts of money are being raised for its purpose. It is said that they will begin work by investigating the Police Department.

In proportion to its area and population, Chicago has the smallest police force of any large city in the world. At present the total number of employees in the department, including clerks, drivers, keepers, matrons, operators, laborers, etc., is only three thousand two hundred and five, of which two thousand seven hundred and sixty-five are officers; of these, two thousand four hundred and forty-two are patrolmen. Even if every one of these would be available for actual patrol service, each one would have to guard a territory averaging fifty acres. But in fact not more than about thirteen hundred are available for patrol duty, the remainder being assigned to duty at street crossings, depots, docks, markets, city offices, courts, etc. That it is utterly impossible for any one man to guard properly so large a territory is plain.

That the officers, as a rule, do not shirk their dangerous duty is shown by the fact that the average number of arrests to each officer is greater in Chicago than in most other cities. In the year 1900 the number of arrests for burglary, robbery, and larceny to each member of the police force was: New York, 1.63; Chicago, 2.33; Philadelphia, 1.23; St. Louis, 0.93; Boston, 2.65. The average territory and average number of arrests to each member of the force in 1902 was: New York, 27.04 acres and 19 arrests; Chicago, 43.6 acres and 25.1 arrests; Philadelphia, 27.5 acres and 21.2 arrests; St. Louis, 31.9 acres and 20.8 arrests; Boston, 22.2 acres and 28.4 arrests.

Even if it were true that Chicago has a larger number of burglaries and robberies than other large cities, this, considering all the circumstances, would not be surprising, but no amount of criticism or investigations will afford any relief in this regard. There can be only one remedy, and that is the increase of the police force. If the various committees and societies would direct their efforts towards helping the city to get sufficient means for

this, they would render a real public service, and prove beyond contradiction that they really have the welfare of Chicago at heart.

For years Chicago has been most seriously confronted by the problem how to dispose of its garbage. This has become so acute that it must be solved in the near future. How in the face of the city's poverty this will be possible is a question that is worrying the authorities. To-day Chicago is still following the barbarous custom of depositing this garbage in clay holes or on low-lying lands, utilizing for filling what ought to be absolutely destroyed, thus making it a source of discomfort and a menace to the health of the community. Many of these clay holes have been filled. Residences have been built in such close proximity to such holes that their further use as dumping grounds had to be discontinued. New dumps had to be found far away from human habitation. But the stupendous growth of Chicago has made this so difficult, that most of the grounds used for dumping purposes are located from two to nine miles from the districts where the garbage is collected, and an average haul of five miles is required for each load. In consequence of this the cost of hauling away the garbage has been increased, and although the garbage-collecting service has been greatly improved by the direct employment of labor, as shown above, this rather increases than decreases the difficulty of disposing of it.

Chicago removes daily about four thousand cubic yards of garbage, at a cost, in 1902, of forty cents per cubic yard, and it is clear that with such immense quantities every possible available place will soon be filled. If the city had sufficient funds, it would be an easy matter to solve this problem, as the various methods of disposing of garbage have for years been carefully studied. City officials and Council committees have thoroughly inspected reduction and incineration plants in other cities, plans have been prepared, and every step has been taken to be in readiness as soon as the money is there. In 1900 the Council made an appropriation of \$100,000 with which to make a start in the right direction, but the money was not available and the matter had to be dropped. Private corporations offered to build reduction plants and take care of the city's garbage under a five years' contract, but the law prohibits the Council from making any contract extending over the time of its own life,—one year,—and, of course, capital withdrew. The present financial situation of the city does not hold out any encouragement, and the

solution of the problem will probably be held in abeyance until the legislature comes to the aid of the city next year.

The approaching solution of the transportation question has aroused the people of Chicago. For many years the city has had the worst transportation service in the world. For years the people have suffered from accommodations which have violated every conceivable rule of health, of comfort, and of decency, until they have lost all patience, and have made up their minds that there shall be an immediate and lasting change. The people of Chicago have thoroughly studied the transportation question ever since 1897, when the street railway corporations, after inducing the State legislature to pass the notorious "Allen" law, tried to obtain a prolongation of their franchises for fifty years. They signally failed in this, and so strong an opposition developed against the fifty-year law that many legislators who had voted for it were defeated at the polls, and the legislature of 1899 was forced to repeal it, leaving the law in its former status, which gives to cities the power to grant street railway franchises for a period not exceeding twenty years.

Since that time the street railway corporations have planned and schemed to obtain a renewal of the franchises on their trunk lines, which expired on July 31, 1903. Had they gone before the Council with anything like a reasonable proposition, had they shown any willingness to comply with the demands of the people as voiced by Mayor Harrison in his message of 1899, it may be presumed that they would have received a renewal of their franchises for twenty years without any difficulty. But such was not their policy. In that memorable message Mayor Harrison pointed out that in an extension of the street railway franchises the following five points must be considered:

1. Compensation based upon a percentage of the gross receipts.
2. A reduction of fare during the crowded hours of the day.
3. An improvement of the accommodations for the public.
4. A provision for municipal ownership of the lines at the expiration of the grant.
5. A requirement that before any ordinance granting an extension of franchise shall become operative, it shall first be submitted to a direct vote of the people, and receive popular endorsement.

These demands were not to the liking of the railway corporations; they did not believe that the people really wanted these things;

and they set out to defeat the mayor, in which effort they utterly failed. "The streets belong to the people" became the slogan of the campaigns.

Then the companies tried a new plan. They proclaimed that they would not need a new franchise; that their present franchises were valid until 1957 under an act they had obtained in 1865 over the veto of the then governor of Illinois, Richard J. Oglesby, prolonging the life of the companies to ninety-nine years. The methods employed in the passage of this bill were so notoriously venal, vicious, and shameless, that the press of the day openly charged the use of corruption funds, and the act, asserted to have been "conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity," was denounced in unmeasured terms from one end of the State to the other. Twenty years ago, in 1883, the question of the legality or illegality of this act was laid over for future consideration and adjudication. In the years which have since passed, no steps were taken to settle the dispute. As soon as the companies had unmasked their designs, the mayor and the Council immediately embodied in their conditions, and the people practically unanimously demanded, as an absolute prerequisite to an extension of franchise grants, a final and unequivocal surrender of whatever rights the companies may have obtained by this piece of legislation. The adjudication of any rights the companies may possibly have under this act is now pending in the courts.

To-day the situation in the street railway question is as follows: One of the companies, the Union Traction Company, went into bankruptcy some months ago and is in the hands of a receiver appointed by a federal judge, who will pass on the validity of the ninety-nine year act within a few weeks. It may be stated here that even if the courts should decide in favor of the act, the city could by a new car license ordinance—the old one just having expired—obtain a fairly adequate compensation for the use of the city's streets, while most of the other public demands could be secured through mandatory ordinances passed under the city's police powers.

The other company, the City Railway Company, is negotiating with the local transportation committee of the Council for a new twenty-year franchise, and an ordinance is expected to be submitted to the Council at a very early date. The company was willing to accede to all demands of the Council, and the only point of differ-

ence was the question of compensation, the committee demanding ten per cent.—many of its members twenty per cent.—of the gross income, while the company is offering a compensation of five per cent., same to be in lieu of all taxes and license fees. But very recently another snag was encountered. Some members of the Council committee demanded that provision be made in the ordinance enabling the city to take over the system after ten years. The mayor has stated that the period after which the city should have the right to buy the company's property should be less than twenty years, while the company has declared that it would consider no proposition for a period of less than twenty years. But even if an agreement between the company and the committee, or even the council, should be reached, it is very doubtful whether the company will get a twenty-year franchise or any franchise at all. For the ordinance, before it becomes operative, must be submitted to the people for approval or rejection. The mayor and the aldermen are pledged to the referendum, and there can be no doubt that they will faithfully stand by their pledges. What the people will do in case of the passage of an ordinance acceptable to the Council, no one can foretell. They are as confident as ever that the mayor will protect the rights of the people; but while they were suffering from the iniquities of the service, they have sought to inform themselves on all phases of the question; and while five or six years ago a fair franchise would have willingly been given, to-day a mighty cry is raised for municipal ownership of the street railways.

This desire for municipal ownership has gone farther than a mere wish for decent and comfortable facilities. Chicagoans have been educated to the idea "that in public ownership lies the sole, fair, just, and reasonable method of handling all those utilities, for the operation of which the practically exclusive use of public property is required." A large percentage of the people fully believe in this policy, because they have not only studied conditions elsewhere, but for many years they have witnessed two splendid examples of municipal ownership at home.

The city owns its water-works, which were acquired as early as 1854. Its mains, having an aggregate length of nearly nineteen hundred miles, extend into the remotest part of the city's territory; the service is in every way satisfactory, except as to the purity of the water at certain times,—a fault now being remedied. The rates

are exceedingly low, the meter rate ranging from ten cents per one thousand gallons when one hundred and sixty-five thousand gallons are used per month, to four cents per one thousand gallons when more than ten million gallons per month are required. The frontage rates per annum are on the basis of four dollars and fifty cents for a one-story house, from fifteen to eighteen feet wide, including all so-called sanitary fixtures.

The Water-Works Department, like all other city departments, is under strict civil service rule, and so successfully are its affairs administered that the revenues exceed the cost of maintenance about two millions of dollars per annum. The surplus is used for extending and improving the system.

The municipal electric street-lighting plant furnished another lesson in municipal ownership. The city began to manufacture its own electric light for lighting streets as early as 1887. In that year a power-house was erected and one hundred and five arc lights placed in operation at a total expenditure of \$39,976.25. At the end of the first ten years the city operated one thousand two hundred and fifty-four arc lights, and had expended for construction and operation during these ten years a total of \$1,693,222.51. If the same number of lights had been rented, the city would have had to pay the sum of \$1,269,445, without owning anything. Beginning with 1897, the number of lights was greatly increased, and to-day there are operated nearly five thousand city arc lights, at an average cost per lamp per year of \$53.51 (1902), while the city still rents about six hundred lights at an average cost of \$103 per lamp. In other words, for practically the same amount it would have cost the city to light the streets by means of rented arc lights, not only has the city operated its own lights, but has acquired five modern lighting plants, representing an investment of more than \$1,300,000. The total cost of lighting the streets of Chicago, including gas, gasoline, and all electric lights, representing a total candle-power of 11,600,000, in the year 1902, was \$936,179.18, as against a cost of \$936,372.43 in 1893 for lights with a total candle-power of 3,330,000.

Surely, practical lessons like these two were not lost, and, based upon them, the idea of municipal ownership gained a firm hold on the people of Chicago. Its strength was tested in the fall election of 1902 when two propositions were submitted to the people for

an expression of opinion. On the first question: "Are you in favor of municipal ownership of street railways?" 142,826 men voted in the affirmative, and 27,998 in the negative. The vote on the second question: "Are you in favor of municipal ownership of gas and electric light plants?" was 139,999 yes; 21,364 no. The total vote cast in the election was 282,507. While the result had no legal effect, it certainly showed beyond doubt the sentiment of the people.

The way to municipal ownership has been paved by the so-called Mueller law, passed in April, 1903. This law enables cities to own and operate their street railways, and further contains a provision that no franchise grant to a private corporation shall go into effect unless approved by the people, provided that ten per cent. of the voters petition for submission of the ordinance within sixty days after its passage by the Council. Headed by Mayor Harrison, a strong committee of public-spirited citizens of both parties appeared before the legislature, and so firm was their attitude, so convincing were their arguments, that the law was passed. It does not go into effect for Chicago until approved by a majority of the voters in the city. An ordinance submitting it to the people in the coming spring election will undoubtedly be passed by the City Council within a few days. At the same election there will be submitted to the people, under the public policy law, the following two questions bearing on this subject and petitioned for as provided in that law by 25 per cent. of the voters of the city:

1. Shall the City Council, upon the adoption of the Mueller law, proceed without delay to acquire ownership of the street railways under the powers conferred by the Mueller law?

2. Shall the City Council, instead of granting any franchises, proceed at once, under the city's police powers and other existing laws, to license the street railway companies until municipal ownership can be secured, and compel them to give satisfactory service?

As soon as the Mueller law has been accepted by the city, the legal obstacles to municipal ownership will be out of the way.

HUGO S. GROSSER,

Municipal Statistician of Chicago.

RECENT PROGRESS IN TENEMENT-HOUSE REFORM

The chief mile-stones which mark the progress of tenement-house reform during the years 1902 and 1903 are the enactment of a tenement-house ordinance in Chicago, the enactment of a tenement-house law for cities of the second class in Pennsylvania, the appointment of tenement-house commissions in the State of New Jersey and in the city of Boston, the successful operation of the New York Tenement-House Law for cities of the first class in New York, and its enforcement in the largest city of that State by a special city department known as the Tenement-House Department, which came into existence on January 1, 1902.

In Philadelphia, a citizens' investigation of conditions has been established on a firm basis, and an important change in the law and its enforcement is sure to result. In Cleveland, a similar citizens' movement is well under way, and a new law, based on the New York act, is being framed. Similar movements are on foot in Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Kansas City, as well as in some of the smaller cities of the State of New York. All these movements testify to the public interest on this important subject, and to the extent to which that interest has been increasing.

It is suggestive also to note the different initiatives on which these movements have been started and the different needs to which they are directed, as illustrating their general character, and as also illustrating the practical American trait of adapting the means to the end. The Chicago movement, like that which culminated in the enactment of the New York law, was in its inception a philanthropic movement. It was started by the City Homes Association, and it resulted in the passage of a new city ordinance. The New Jersey movement, on the other hand, had its initiative with the governor of the State, the Honorable Franklin Murphy, of Newark, who, on his own motion, brought the subject before the legislature and secured the appointment of the present State commission. That commission has not yet made its report,¹ but it is expected to recommend a permanent State tenement commission to execute a State law. The Boston movement was initiated by social reformers, but took its present

¹Since this article was written the report has been made and its recommendations urged upon the legislature by a special message from the governor.—ED.

form at the instance of Boston's enlightened mayor, Mr. Patrick Collins, who has just been re-elected by an overwhelming majority for a second term, and while its report has not yet been made, it is generally understood that it will be directed towards amendment of State law, and will not recommend any permanent tenement department for city or State. The non-political character of this national movement for better housing conditions is further illustrated by the fact that the governor of New Jersey and the mayor of Boston belong to different political parties.

The housing evils, to remedy which the movement is directed, are, in New Jersey and in Boston, as in New York, chiefly the evils of the taller tenement,—lack of light and air. Those in Washington, Philadelphia, and measurably in Boston too, are quite as much slum conditions in the back alleys, a form of city development which does not exist in New York.

The most instructive advances of the past two years in the practical operation of tenement reform, however, relate to the workings of the New York law and to the experience of the New York Tenement-House Department, charged with the enforcement of that law in the great city of New York. It is with these subjects that I am most familiar, and it is of these subjects that I propose mainly to treat in this article.

More than two years have now elapsed since the New York law went into effect, and since that time its enforcement in the largest city of that State has, under Mayor Low's appointment, been in the hands of its framers. During that period there have been two sessions of the legislature, at each of which the provisions of this law have been an important issue. Numerous amendments have been proposed, all more or less hostile to the new law. The contest has been a bitter one from start to finish. When the new law was introduced in 1901 it aroused strong opposition in the building trades and among owners of unrefrmed tenement houses, and an effort was made at that time to defeat it. Failing in this, the attack was renewed in 1902 and again in 1903. The main sources of opposition in these two years were certain building interests in Brooklyn, and the owners of the old houses in Manhattan. A fierce and bitter campaign was waged during both sessions of the legislature, and had it not been for strong public opinion, voiced by the press and supported by Governor Odell and the city adminis-

tration, the cause of tenement-house reform might have been lost. No amendments, however, were adopted except those sanctioned by its friends and introduced at their instance.

The enactment of this new law making radical changes in the type of future tenements, involving so much structural alteration in old tenements, and concentrating the enforcement of the new law, in the city of New York, in a new and separate city department, was undoubtedly unexpected by tenement owners and tenement builders. Up to the time when the New York State Commission of 1900 presented its report to the legislature, they had seemed indifferent. They had practically ignored the opportunity urged upon them by the commission, and availed of by many other interests, of appearing at its public sessions and of stating their views and desires. They did not attend any legislative hearing in large numbers. It was not until the bill had passed both houses of the legislature that they made their attitude known. On the part of larger building and real estate interests, that attitude was one of silent doubt—silent because many of them earnestly desired to improve the housing conditions of the working classes, and hesitated to oppose the recommendations of the commission, which included many of their own number, and silent, too, because both the governor and legislature were known to be favorable to the law, and opposition, particularly from interested sources, was not likely to be effective. On the part of smaller property owners and speculative builders that attitude was one of loud-voiced protest, which vainly demanded a veto from the governor.

The new law, with its larger court areas, changed the type of tenement. It was experimental in this respect to an unusual degree. Moreover, in making the new tenement more light, more sanitary, and more fireproof, it made it more expensive. Would this required change in form suit the desires of tenants, who had been so long habituated to the darkness and closeness of the dumb-bell as to perhaps shun more light and ventilation? Would not its improved construction increase its cost so as to make the new tenement commercially unprofitable, and thus not only stop building, but depreciate the value of land which would remain unoccupied because building had ceased? Would not the compulsory alteration of old tenements involve large expense to their owners without any corresponding compensation in added income?

These were questions which from the point of view of land-owner and builder, judging the law in reference to its immediate effect on their own personal interests, and without regard either to the future value of their own property or to the present and future welfare of the tenement dwellers and the community at large, might have been answered in the affirmative. Even those who were quite ready to consider the welfare of the tenant class might hesitate on that account to risk the possibly higher rental for the certainty of better housing conditions.

These questions, so far as they relate to new-law tenements, have now been answered. All doubts have been removed. The new-law tenement stands successful, alike from the point of view of builder and tenant. The extent to which this practical solution has proceeded is best appreciated when it is borne in mind that during the year 1902 five hundred and forty-three new tenement houses were built, at an estimated cost of over \$20,000,000, and during the first half of 1903 plans were filed for a still larger number,—six hundred and ninety-nine,—at an estimated cost of \$20,837,270.

The new-law houses have been an unqualified success. Builders and owners who were at first bitterly opposed to the law are now outspoken in its approval, and many of them state that the new houses are more remunerative than the old ones. The demand for the new accommodations on the part of the tenants has been overwhelming. Not only have the apartments been rented in many cases before the buildings have been completed, but in some instances the apartments have been rented from the plans before the buildings were even started. Such a thing has never before been known to occur in the tenement districts.

On the lower East Side, where the new houses have been built in greatest number, it is a Sunday diversion of the people to take their families and friends to see them and to wonder at and admire the light rooms, the bath-tubs, and the other improvements. The rents in the new buildings are slightly higher than the rents in houses recently erected under the old law in similar neighborhoods, and rightly so because they give better accommodation. Moreover, there is a general rise in rents throughout the city, which has no relation to the new tenement law or to the new-law house; it is due to a variety of causes, among which may be noted the general

increase of prices and cost of living, and the displacement of large numbers of the population by the destruction of many houses for extensive public improvements. The approach for the Delancey Street bridge on the lower East Side alone displaced ten thousand people. It is, of course, obvious that until the supply of new-law houses in certain neighborhoods equals the demand, rents will tend to rise. It would be a sorrowful comment on the intelligence of the working people if they were not willing to pay a little more for vastly improved living accommodations.

A statement of the main features of the new-law tenements and the difference between them and the types of houses permitted to be erected prior to 1901 is not inappropriate here. In the new-law houses every room is light, whereas in the previous "dumb-bell" type ten rooms out of every fourteen were dark or gloomy. Every room is well ventilated; in the dumb-bell the only rooms that had adequate ventilation were those which opened on the street or yard, and ten out of fourteen rooms were inadequately ventilated. The great improvement in ventilation was vividly impressed upon a recent observer, who noticed with amazement all the window shades blowing out of the front windows of a row of new-law houses, so great was the circulation of air in the rooms. To any one familiar with the heavy fetid air which prevailed in the old houses the contrast is striking.

The public halls are no longer dark, narrow, unventilated corridors, sixty feet long, but are compact, wide halls, with ample light and ventilation, with a large window to the outer air at each story.

In the new houses but 70 per cent. of the lot is occupied, instead of 75 per cent. as in the past. The height of a new house is now proportionate to the width of the street on which it is located, and cannot be higher than one and a half times that width. In the past there was no such limitation, and a tenement house might be built even ten stories high on a street but thirty feet in width. In the new houses the size of the yard is proportionate to the height of the building; in the past the yard was the same size, no matter how high the building. Now the yards must be thirteen feet deep where in the past they were but ten, while on corner lots they must be ten feet where before they need be but five. In place of air-shafts but twenty-eight inches wide, inclosed on all four sides, and without any means

of ventilation at the bottom, there are large courts not less than twelve and one-half feet wide and twenty-five feet long, with a large tunnel at the bottom, securing adequate ventilation and constant renewal of the air. No window now opens within six and one-half feet of a window opposite, and generally they are twelve and one-half feet away, and often twenty-five feet, instead of being but twenty-eight inches distant as in the past.

No room is now less than seventy square feet in area, and every apartment must contain at least one room of one hundred and twenty square feet in size. In the past many rooms were but sixty square feet in area, and often the only means of reaching one of the bedrooms was by passing through another bedroom. This is no longer permissible. Instead of water-closets located in the public halls and used by two families, each family now has its private water-closet, entirely within the apartment and therefore within its own control.

Cellar walls and floors are now required to be protected against dampness. Non-fireproof tenement houses can now be erected to a height of only six stories, instead of eight as formerly; fire-escapes must now be really adequate; instead of vertical ladders there must be substantial stairs, and the balconies must be at least three feet wide instead of two and one-half feet. No fire-escape may now be located in a court, but must be on the front or rear of the building. Instead of public halls and stairs so narrow that two persons could not easily pass each other, no public hall or stairs may be less than three feet wide, and where there are an unusual number of families in the building the stairs and halls must be increased in width proportionately. There are other important changes effected in the new houses, of greater or less degree of importance.

The following summarized statement will, however, indicate the more important ones in a readily apprehended form:

A SUMMARY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CHANGES EFFECTED
IN NEW TENEMENT HOUSES BY THE TENEMENT
HOUSE ACT

The new tenement prior to 1901.

1. Dark rooms—10 out of 14.
2. Unventilated rooms—10 out of 14.
3. Public halls dark and narrow.

The new tenement after 1901.

1. All rooms light.
2. All rooms well ventilated.
3. Public halls light and ventilated.

The new tenement prior to 1901.

4. 75 per cent. of lot occupied.
5. No limit to height of buildings on narrow streets.
6. Yards of interior lots 10 feet deep.
7. Yards of corner lots 5 feet.
8. Air-shafts 28 inches wide.
9. Air-shafts with no means of ventilation at the bottom.
10. Air-shafts in the centre of building $2\frac{1}{3}$ feet wide.
11. Windows of rooms opening within 28 inches of windows in adjoining house.
12. Rooms with but 60 square feet of floor area.
13. No requirement for size of living rooms.
14. Access to other rooms and water-closets through bedrooms.
15. Water-closets used in common by two families located in public halls.
16. Cellar rooms permitted with ceilings only two feet above ground.
17. Cellar walls and floors not protected against dampness.
18. Non-fireproof tenements 8 stories high permitted.
19. Fire-escapes with vertical ladders permitted.
20. Fire-escape balconies 30 inches wide permitted.
21. Fire-escapes located in air-shafts.
22. Iron gratings in shafts permitted without ladders or stairs.
23. Public halls narrow.

The new tenement after 1901.

4. 70 per cent. of lot occupied.
5. Height limited to $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the width of street.
6. Yards of interior lots (6 story buildings) 13 feet, and 1 foot more for each additional story.
7. Yards of corner lots 10 feet.
8. Large courts 12 feet wide.
9. Courts with an intake or tunnel at the bottom renewing the air constantly.
10. Inner courts in the centre of building 24 feet wide.
11. No windows within $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet of another window and generally $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart and often 25 feet.
12. No room less than 70 square feet.
13. One room of 120 square feet in each apartment.
14. Sole access through bedrooms prohibited.
15. A private water-closet for each family entirely within its own apartment.
16. Ceilings of cellar living rooms to be $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet above ground.
17. Cellar walls and floors to be damp-proof.
18. Non-fireproof tenements limited to 6 stories.
19. Substantial stairs required for fire-escapes.
20. Fire-escape balconies required to be 3 feet wide.
21. Fire-escapes forbidden in shafts.
22. Iron gratings forbidden, and stairs required.
23. No public halls less than 3 feet wide, and to be increased with an increased number of families.

The new tenement prior to 1901.

- 24. Stairs narrow.
- 25. Stairs so steep as to injure the health of women.
- 26. Wooden stairs and non-fireproof halls in five story buildings.
- 27. Public halls not shut off from non-fireproof parts of the building.
- 28. Wooden tenement houses for six families permitted outside of fire limits.

The new tenement after 1901.

- 24. No stairs less than 3 feet and to be increased with an increased number of families.
- 25. No stairs with a rise of more than 8 inches.
- 26. Stairs and halls to be completely fireproof.
- 27. Public halls shut off from non-fireproof parts of building.
- 28. No wooden tenement house to be occupied by more than four families.

Of greater interest, however, though not of greater importance, in the development of the new type of tenement house, is the actual experience of the new Tenement-House Department in dealing with conditions as it found them and in the enforcement of the new law. Enforcement of the law, as respected new buildings, was a comparatively simple matter, involving mainly the application of fixed regulations to the new form which matter in the shape of iron, or bricks, or timber was to take in a new building. Its application, however, to existing conditions in old buildings, and to changing, in many respects, fixed habits on the part of both landlords and tenants involved the ever-varying human element, and presented difficulties and perplexities at every turn.

The first thing that the new department did was to make a careful examination of the old tenement houses in the city of New York. To state this fact involves but a sentence. To make this initial examination, however, occupied the force and energy of the department during many long months. It was the first time that any complete examination had ever been made. For the first time tenement conditions in New York City were known. New York has over eighty-three thousand tenement houses, which are occupied by nearly three million people, representing every nationality and every degree of social scale. These conditions, in many instances, have been found to be so bad as to be indescribable in print; vile privies and privy sinks; foul cellars full of rubbish, in many cases of garbage and decomposing fecal matter; dilapidated and dangerous stairs; plumbing pipes containing large holes emitting sewer

gas throughout the houses; rooms so dark that one cannot see the people in them; cellars occupied as sleeping-places; dangerous bakeries without proper protection in case of fire; pigs, goats, horses, and other animals kept in cellars; dangerous old fire-traps without fire-escapes; disease-breeding rags and junk stores in tenement houses; halls kept dark at night, endangering the lives and safety of the occupants; buildings without adequate water-supply,—the list might be added to almost indefinitely.

A new branch of the city government had to be organized, its machinery created, and a force of about four hundred employees trained, disciplined, and educated. The results of department action up to June 30, 1903, a period of eighteen months, are as follows:

Living accommodations for 16,768 families, or 83,840 persons, have been provided in sanitary, comfortable, and decent houses, each one of which has been built according to law; notorious evasion of and non-compliance with the laws has given place to their complete, uniform, and impartial enforcement; the evil of prostitution has been practically abolished in the tenement houses; 337,246 inspections have been made; 55,055 violations filed; 21,584 repairs made to plumbing; 13,617 water-closets cleaned; 11,611 accumulations of filth removed from cellars and other parts of such buildings; 13,732 ceilings cleaned; 15,364 walls cleaned; 10,060 unsafe wooden floors removed from fire-escapes and new iron floors substituted; 1701 fire-escapes erected on buildings that before were without this protection. The registration of 44,500 owners' names has been secured, thus fixing the responsibility for bad conditions in the tenements; contagious disease has been checked and prevented, and 32,825 citizens' complaints have been investigated and the conditions complained of remedied.

The existing tenement houses have been frequently and systematically inspected; foul cellars have had the accumulated filth of years removed; defective and unsanitary plumbing which had apparently existed for long periods has been remedied; houses unfit for human habitation have been vacated; hundreds of houses have been radically reconstructed and improved; light has been let into dark rooms; vile yard privies and privy sinks have been removed, and the whole sanitary condition of the city raised to a higher standard. The effect of this work is clearly reflected in the reduced death rate, which in 1902 was 18.70 in the thousand, as compared with 20 in

1901, and in 1903 has been reduced to 18.11. These percentages in themselves give no adequate conception of the change. It should be borne in mind that each change in the death-rate of one-thousandth in a population, say of three million five hundred thousand, means a difference of three thousand five hundred lives, and that each change in the decimal point of one-tenth of one-thousandth means a difference of three hundred and fifty lives. It must not be understood that the Tenement-House Department was the sole cause of this change. It was only one of the several contributing causes, but as it performs all the ordinary functions of a health department for the housing conditions of over two-thirds of New York's population, it is evident that its action was no inconsiderable factor in the entire result.

The attitude of tenement dwellers to the new department and, indeed, towards the city government is best illustrated by the character of the complaints received. During the first eleven months in which the department was dealing with citizens' complaints (I use these figures because I happen to have them accurately compiled and at hand) it received, in the borough of Manhattan alone, twenty-five thousand and eighteen citizens' complaints, and every one of these complaints was investigated.

That so large a number of complaints should be received in so short a period is a most encouraging indication of the fact that the great mass of the tenement-house dwellers desire better conditions, and that they only endure the conditions which they do endure because they are entirely helpless without the aid of the municipality.

The complaints represent almost every phase of tenement-house life; many are exceedingly amusing, others pathetic, and some are even tragic. The spelling of many of these letters is unique, as is the conception in many cases of the functions of the department. One apparently refined elderly woman called at the department upon one occasion, and, after having interviewed the complaint clerk, insisted upon seeing the Commissioner. She was highly indignant because she had reported that her apartment was overrun with fleas, and he had informed her that there was nothing that the department could do about it. It was impossible to make her understand that the removal of fleas from her particular apartment was not a proper municipal function. Other complaints asked the department to secure for them steam heat and similar conveniences. The range

of subjects covered by the complaints is practically unlimited. The department has been asked to prevent boys from throwing stones in the streets; its attention has been called to the presence of an insane woman in a building; it has been asked to stop the janitor from raising dust when he sweeps; to prevent tenants from shaking rugs out of windows; to stop noise in the neighborhood. It has been advised that some of the tenants in the tenement house are unclean and disorderly, and several complaints have alleged that the clothes-line on which the women hang their clothes are always full and there is no space.

It is very difficult to describe the conditions actually found by tenement inspectors in any general language. However full and complete such a description might be, couched in general terms it would convey no adequate impression. My own most vivid impressions have been obtained by a personal view. Next to this personal view, an actual description by an inspector of the particular things he has seen at a particular place is most graphic. As the former method is impracticable to the readers of this paper, I employ the second by including a few typical reports of inspectors, in precisely the form in which they were received by the Tenement Department.

“In November, 1902, I visited a five-story brick building, situated on East One Hundred and Ninth Street, and inhabited exclusively by poor Italians. On entering the building I was met at the first story by a woman who said she was the janitress of the place, and who asked me in broken English whom I wished to see. I explained to her the purpose of my visit and told her also that I was an inspector from the Tenement-House Department.

“Before I finished my answer, I noticed a big crowd of men, women, and children assembled around me and with great anxiety trying to find out my position. But all my explanations and the large conspicuous print on the hat band were too hard a subject for them to understand; so I tried to explain to them as much as I could the purpose of my business in their own language and began to insist upon inspecting the premises.

“As usual, I went down to the cellar, and while jumping from the last step of the stairs on what I supposed to be the cellar floor, I found myself bathing in a cold stream. My feet began strongly

to protest against taking a bath in November, and I had to resort to my torch in order to find my way back. When I threw the light and noticed the baskets, wooden boxes, and other articles floating on the surface the scene appeared like the remains of a wrecked ship floating on the surface of the sea.

"Notwithstanding this experience, I decided to find out the cause of this flood. A few good Italians offered me their services. They immediately brought down chairs and stones, and began to lay planks direct to the house drain, and there I found a large hole 3 by 6 inches; so that all the waste from the building, instead of being conveyed to the street sewer, remained in the cellar.

"I proceeded further with my inspection, and found that the condition in the public halls and in the apartments were not much better than those in the cellar. Every water-closet in the building was either broken or obstructed; every flushing apparatus was out of order; some flush tanks had no water at all, and from some the water was overflowing. The wooden wash-trays and the woodwork around the sinks in the apartments were so foul, rotten, and saturated from long usage that it was absolutely impossible for me to remain more than three minutes, on account of the stench that emitted therefrom.

"I reported violations against this building, and orders were issued immediately to the owner to remove the evils. The owner, on getting the orders, began to realize that the time had come when he had to do something. When I came around in a few weeks, to make a reinspection, it took me nearly five minutes to convince myself that I was in the same building I had originally inspected, and I only arrived at this conclusion by recognizing my Italian friends who had helped me to lay the planks in the cellar.

"They greeted me with great joy when I began to inspect the premises. I found that a new cast-iron drain had been provided, new water-closets installed, new sinks and wash-tubs of non-absorbent material had been furnished, and the walls and ceilings of the halls and apartments newly painted. In one apartment on the top floor I found a company of Italians around a table celebrating some feast. When they noticed me every one jumped to his feet to express his thanks, and I was invited to have dinner with them. I thanked them cordially for their hospitality and left the premises."

"It was a 'bad house'—that was the general verdict of the neighbors of a certain tenement house on Eighth Street. 'Inspector, can't you do something to rid us of those disorderly persons?' That was the appeal made to the inspector by the respectable people of the vicinity. This, among other things, is what the inspector found: On the fourth story there were nine small rooms, occupied mainly by dissolute men and women. While obscene jests and curses filled the air, two small girls, three and four years old, played on the hall floor. What those innocent ears and inquiring eyes heard and saw is horrible to contemplate.

"On the Sunday previous to the day of inspection a woman had been stabbed by a drunken man, and about two weeks before another woman had been slashed by an infuriated rival. Brawls were frequent, and the place was a menace to the safety of the neighborhood. Three cases of smallpox had occurred in the house within a comparatively short time. The machinery of the Tenement-House Department was set in motion, and the result was a quiet, orderly, clean house, where formerly existed a den, where physical and moral disease existed, to the danger of respectable and law-abiding people."

"The direction of the Department was directed to that tenement house on Tenth Avenue, near Fifty-second Street, by the recent existence of contagious disease. This tenement was extremely unsanitary and all urgent matters received the attention of the Department; such as a wet and filthy cellar, a defective earthenware house drain, and foul water-closets. Special importance attaches to this inspection, as it revealed the ghastly fact that a butcher-shop, located on the first story, had its refrigerator waste-pipe directly connected with the house drain—not even a trap intervening to intercept the entrance of sewer air into the refrigerator, and thereby partially prevent the contamination of the meat kept therein. This condition existed during six years prior to this inspection.

"During six long years meat contaminated by sewer air was sold in the neighborhood. It is needless to say that the Department immediately ordered the landlord to provide a properly trapped and sewer-connected sink, into which the refrigerator waste pipe would thereafter discharge, and to promptly abate the nuisance."

Marked as has been the progress of housing reform during the past two years on the scientific lines of acquiring precise knowl-

edge and applying definite remedies, it has been most marked in the awakening and development of public interest in this subject. Every one can recognize by his own experience the effect of his home surroundings on his own individual and family life, not merely on the utilitarian side of mere health, but on the social side of comfort and enjoyment, if such a differentiation is possible. Every one who sees the disease-bearing and comfortless housing conditions under which so many of the poorer classes live in our cities is therefore in a position to measure the evils of these conditions, and to foresee the menace of these evils not only to those who are forced to bear them, but to their more fortunate but adjacent neighbors.

No one who knows the discomfort (to use the mildest term) of these conditions can have it in his heart entirely to condemn the men and women who seek refuge from them in the saloon or almost anywhere that promises some light and room and cheer. Most of all do those who know them honor and respect the great body of our working classes, who, under such conditions, preserve their sobriety and self-respect, and safeguard their family life.

It is out of such knowledge, beginning to be so general on the part of the "well to do," that comes the present widespread desire to better such housing conditions. It is one of the directions in which altruism is expressing itself most forcibly. But it is not necessary to appeal solely to altruistic motives for remedial action. Self-preservation is a motive quite as cogent. The line of future progress in housing reform is to direct this desire, so general, and often so pathetic in its aimless expression, towards practical ends.

ROBERT W. DE FOREST,

Tenement-House Commissioner, New York City, 1902-1904.

NEW YORK CITY'S SANITARY PROBLEMS, AND THEIR SOLUTION

With certain minor exceptions, due to racial or other characteristics, the unavoidable mortality of any particular city differs but little from that of any other city of approximately the same size. It is in the avoidable causes of death that they differ. At the time the Department of Health was established, in 1866, it was estimated that nearly one-third of the deaths in New York City for ten or fifteen years previous had been from avoidable causes. That was a fearful arraignment of the city authorities of that day, for there is no better test of sanitary control in cities than the death-rate. Vital statisticians agree that in communities where the death-rate is lowest its fluctuation is least, or, in other words, that the evil conditions which contribute to the increase of avoidable deaths from time to time are not there present. It has been computed that the ratio of inevitable mortality need not rise above 17 per thousand. In the forty years since the New York Department of Health has been in existence the rate has fallen, not uniformly, but steadily, so that in 1901 it was 20 per thousand, in 1902 only 18.75 per thousand, and in 1903 only 18.20 per thousand. This means that, whereas in 1864 there were 25,000 deaths in a population of 900,000, there are now only 70,000 deaths annually in a population exceeding 3,700,000. If New York to-day had the same death-rate that it had forty years ago, the annual deaths would now be, not 70,000, but more than 105,000. Sanitary progress in forty years has brought us to the point of saving 35,000 lives annually.

It was the realization of what an excessive death-rate implied that drove public-spirited physicians to demand from the legislature of 1866 what previous legislatures had denied them,—the establishment of a metropolitan board of health, with power to devise and enforce sanitary regulations. The Citizens' Association had blazed the way. It had found typhus and consumption in overcrowded tenements; infantile diarrhœas and malarial and typhoid maladies where streets were badly drained, neglected, and filthy with decaying organic matter; rheum, scrofula, and eruptive diseases where the people had to sleep in unventilated bedrooms or in damp cellars.

In the winter of 1865 smallpox had been epidemic in New York. Thousands of cases occurred. One inspector visited five houses in a single hour in which smallpox was prevailing within fifty feet of the largest dry-goods commission houses on the continent. Thirty-four houses within a district covered by six small blocks were foci of constant infection. Typhus, notoriously a filth disease, was endemic in tenements close to the fashionable residence section of the city; eighty cases of it came out of one house in a single year. Instances might be multiplied to show how the city was at the mercy of all sorts of pestilence. In 1866 came the cholera, with abundant opportunity to spread all over the city; but in the midst of the alarm at the fearful mortality which resulted came the establishment of that organization which was finally to bring New York under efficient sanitary control. Since that year the record of progress has been almost constant. The power of the central authority over matters of public hygiene has steadily increased. Moderation in the use of this power has been the chief cause of its growth. The public does not delegate authority unless it feels confidence in the wisdom of the body to which this authority is to be given. As the result of forty years of a generally prudent use of its functions, the New York Board of Health has now reached a point where public opinion sustains its action even when the underlying causes of this action are not fully understood.

Without attempting any detailed sketch of the progress of municipal sanitation in New York, either during the period when the Board of Health was still directly responsible to the legislature or, later, when it finally came to its present position as a part of the local government, it will be well to glance at some of the problems which have been solved in New York. These questions, with perhaps some local variations, are much the same the world over, so that briefly to review them may serve to aid other and newer municipalities to meet and solve their own problems better than if their own experiences were to be their only guide.

The great sanitary problems in any city are those which for the most part result from too great centralization of population without adequate provision for the protection of health. They may be broadly summarized as follows:

1. Faulty domestic sanitation.
2. Polluted water supplies.

3. Sale of impure milk and foods.
4. Overcrowding in tenements;
5. Transmission of infectious disease in tenements and in the public schools.
6. Encroachment of offensive trades upon residential centres.

1. It has become almost an axiom among those having sanitary supervision of New York City that the average tenement house is in better sanitary condition than the average private house. To people whose imagination has been stirred by reports of the revolting condition of some neglected tenements, this may seem surprising. The reasons for it, however, are plain. New York, in common with a hundred other cities, has gone through years of agitation for improved tenement conditions, and this agitation has produced marked results; but houses occupied by one and in a few instances by two families are less likely to be the subjects of complaint by the tenants, especially if, as is often the case, the tenant is the owner. The private house is not inspected by the sanitary authorities unless its condition is bad enough to arouse complaints from neighbors or the general public. Many of these houses, especially in the lower parts of the city, are from thirty to sixty or seventy years old, and the land on which they stand has become so valuable that they must soon be replaced by business buildings or tenements, in order to bring in a revenue commensurate with the land value. So they drag on from year to year with only the most superficial repairs at vital points, while their occupants suffer from complaints vaguely called "rheumatism" or "malaria," but really due in part or entirely to bad plumbing and inadequate drainage, which mean sewer-gas poisoning and the bacterial infections having their origin in damp cellars. New York is only just beginning to understand the danger of that faulty construction in dwellings which exposes the occupants to currents of cellar air. The recent epidemic of pneumonia is traced by competent medical authority to bacteria which thrive in cellars as much as to the ordinary well-understood foci of infection.

Among the sources of disease induced by faulty domestic sanitation must also be reckoned all places of public assemblage, such as theatres, halls, and churches. Sanitary inspection of theatres in New York, whenever it has been undertaken with honesty of pur-

pose, has disclosed serious defects in the condition of these buildings; so serious, in fact, as to justify a demand for immediate repair or immediate closure. Unhappily, the sanitary authorities have been only spasmodically vigorous in the pursuit of offenders. The churches, too, oddly enough, frequently need correctional orders to improve the sanitary condition of their premises. The very fact that most of them are used on only one day in the week has seemed to make those in charge of them especially lax with respect to sanitary precautions. Factory inspection, while usually under the immediate charge of State officers appointed for that purpose, demands the strictest attention from boards of health, because few if any of the factory inspectors have any adequate notion of the principles of hygiene.

2. Progress in bacteriological research in the last decade has impressed municipal sanitarians even more deeply with the necessity of safeguarding municipal water-supplies from pollution. While the use of cisterns and shallow wells within the built-up portions of cities was long ago condemned and has been prohibited wherever an adequate system of sanitary supervision is established, constant vigilance on the part of sanitary authorities is necessary to preserve city watersheds from contamination. New York has always been proud of its Croton water-supply, but sometimes, it must be confessed, without adequate reason. The Croton watershed has for years been occupied by a farming population, and a large number of towns and villages have grown up there. This has greatly increased the danger of pollution. For a long period of years condemnation of property has gone forward, with a view to enlarging the watershed and removing danger-spots, but independent means of sewage disposal must still be provided for thousands of these residents, and the condition of the main reservoirs with respect to decaying organic matter is still far from satisfactory. Among the most needed reforms, towards which progress is being made, are: Removal of sources of contamination, such as offensive and dangerous outhouses, diversion of the sewage from factories, creameries, etc., and a thorough medical supervision of the inhabitants of the whole section, particularly with reference to the prevalence of typhoid fever and other water-borne contagia. If precautions such as are now taken on New York's watershed had been used at Ithaca and

at Butler, Pa., the recent disastrous typhoid epidemics there might have been stayed, if not wholly averted.

3. Purity of milk and other food supplies is one of the most important factors in saving the lives and maintaining the health of people in large cities. Not least of the foes of child life is the ignorant or vicious producer of milk. To be reared in a crowded tenement, with air and light restricted, and no playground but the public street, is in itself a menace to a child's vitality. If to this handicap be added that of impure or adulterated food, the child's chances for life are small indeed. Forty years ago between 25 and 30 per cent. of the total annual deaths were of children under one year; now, in spite of the fact that a much larger portion of the population lives in tenements, the proportion which the deaths of children under one year bears to the total annual deaths has been much reduced. So far as this change in the mortality rates among children is to be ascribed to improvement in milk supplies, it must be remembered that the sources of that supply are now quite different from what they were when boards of health took them under observation. Formerly most of the milk used in New York City came from farms within or adjacent to the city limits. Cows were often kept in dark and unventilated stables and fed on swill from neighboring distilleries. Now most of the milk used in New York comes from points distant from twenty to three hundred miles from the city. The comparatively few cow-stables remaining within the city limits are, with a few exceptions, in a most unsatisfactory condition, while those in distant rural communities give evidence that their owners appreciate the importance of cleanliness in production. Opportunities for adulteration and pollution in handling are so great, however, that it has been found valuable in the interest of an improved supply to send trained sanitary inspectors to dairies along the lines of railway which bring milk to New York, in order to instruct the farmers regarding the importance of avoiding bacterial contamination of milk. Though these inspectors have had full authority to institute prosecutions, having been acting with the approval of the State Board of Health, their method has been rather to point out to the producer the advantage to be gained from the sale of pure milk, which commands a higher price in the New York market. Inspiration to the farmer is also found in a certificate granted to clean farms by the milk commission of the New York County Medical

Society, and in the example set by the owners of certain model plants, notably that of Walter W. Law, Esq., at Briarcliff Manor, Westchester County, where especial attention has been given not only to the production of clean milk, but to the rearing of a herd of cattle as robust and healthy as the most careful breeding and treatment can produce.

Much, also, may be done to impress upon the retailer the importance of purity in the milk supply. Strenuous prosecution of adulterators in recent years has driven many of the dishonest retailers out of business, while the merely ignorant have been taught that they must be careful to buy only from wholesalers of unblemished reputation. Milk stores in all large cities are much too numerous. Many of them in New York are merely one-room groceries; the proprietors sell milk less for the profit than to catch the trade of customers in other food products. This class of milk retailers has been much diminished in numbers in the last two years by rigid enforcement of a sanitary ordinance prohibiting the sale of milk in stores directly connected with living-rooms. Another ordinance, hitherto also a dead letter, but lately enforced, requires that milk offered for sale shall be kept at a temperature not exceeding 50° F., because in milk above this temperature the growth of bacteria is very rapid.

One of the most important fields of sanitary supervision over food products has to do with adulteration and substitution of goods. The deceptions practised by manufacturers are too numerous to mention. Attempts thus far made by boards of health to check this evil have been sporadic and unmethodical; but in almost any line to which the chemist chosés to turn he will find evidence of fraud upon the consumer. This shows the extent of the opportunity for corrective effort by sanitary authorities. Three flagrant instances of this adulteration or substitution occurring during the writer's incumbency as Commissioner of Health in New York City may be cited as samples of a hundred others. We had occasion to suspect the purity of a baking-powder manufactured in Tennessee, and sold in New York by a department store. We found that it contained about 25 per cent. of ground rock. That was why the retailer could quote an abnormally low price on it. All we could find for sale and in warehouse now reposes at the bottom of the Atlantic. In another instance we examined some three hundred

samples of what was purchased in local drug-stores as phenacetine. We found that a large part of this was acetanilid, a dangerous heart depressant. At another time we tested an article sold by a supposedly reputable department store as "powdered mixed borax, for household use." It contained not a trace of borax, but only a cheap and inefficient substitute. When we notified the vendors that they were liable to prosecution for fraud they replied that they had withdrawn the article from sale, but naïvely added a request to be informed how much borax they would be required to put in each package to come within the letter of the law!

4. Ever since the Metropolitan Board of Health was organized, those in charge of it have looked with increasing dread upon the rapid rise in density of population. The shape of Manhattan Island, long and narrow, and the failure of local transportation managers to provide adequate means whereby the working class could reach their places of occupation from residences situated on cheaper land to the northward, in Brooklyn, and in nearby New Jersey villages, have forced a large part of the population to seek homes in the lower part of the city. Add to this a constant influx of foreigners, of which the least progressive part has remained to eke out a miserable existence in the city, and the result has been a concentration of population in New York far greater than in any other of the world's great cities. To supply this unparalleled housing demand, owners of property have been for two generations building tenements designed to contain as many persons as possible and to "waste" as little space in providing for light and ventilation as a feebly administered law would allow. Lots were often almost entirely covered with buildings. Space behind, which should have been left open, was covered with the so-called rear tenements, even less lighted and ventilated than the ordinary ones. Thus, for years on years, the greed of capital and the need of the poor have combined to suck the life-blood of the city's population; thousands on thousands of tenants in these miserable habitations have died prematurely and wretchedly because the law-making power was not aroused to a sense of its duty towards the majority of the city's body politic. True, some improvement had been made as a result of the cholera epidemic of 1866, but after that year the growth of population constantly vitiated reformatory measures, and it was not until 1894 that any real remedial work was accomplished. Some

of the worst rear tenements were then condemned and destroyed, in spite of the vigorous opposition of their owners, and a new law was framed which prevented any return to the old vicious conditions. This law was further improved in 1901, and a Tenement-House Department established. It has power to require owners so to reconstruct their buildings as to let in more light and ventilation, and to prevent the construction of tenements upon more than 70 per cent. of any lot. Stringent rules also prohibit the use of any but approved forms of plumbing, the operation of the "school sink" privies, and the construction of stairways with non-fireproof material. The law is a model of its kind, and it has successfully withstood the assaults of greedy landlords both in the courts and in the legislature. The old style of "death-dealing" tenement yielded 25 per cent. in revenue. Model tenements of later construction yield less, but are saving thousands of valuable lives.

Much has been done in New York in the last ten years to increase the number of small parks and playgrounds in crowded tenement sections. "Mulberry Bend" was the first to go, and the demolition of its rickety houses let in light and air upon one of the deadliest parts of the city. Several other parks and breathing places have been similarly formed, and in every case the death-rate of the regions thus benefited has shown a gratifying decrease. After all, however, the real solution of New York's tenement problem is to come in the extension of rapid transit facilities. The subways building and projected will be the greatest factor in reducing New York's death-rate in the next ten years and in increasing the comfort of its inhabitants.

5. Inevitably accompanying the overcrowding of tenement population has been a rapid transmission of infectious disease. Forty years ago only epidemics, like cholera or smallpox, caused great alarm; the spread of the more common contagia seemed to the inhabitants a matter of course. It might readily be shown, however, that far more lives have been wasted in any large city by reason of the laxity of sanitary authorities in the presence of the ordinary infections. Tuberculosis, finding most of its prey in systems reduced in vitality by tenement life, has for years been chargeable with 10 to 15 per cent. of the annual deaths, scarlet fever and diphtheria have annually slain their thousands of children, and

yet municipal sanitarians have only just begun to realize that a large proportion of these deaths were preventable.

New York has led other American and many European cities in its war against tuberculosis. By successive steps its Department of Health has gradually assumed an increasing measure of control over tuberculous persons. Physicians are now required to report all such cases occurring in their private practice, and the department will, on request, assume direction of the patient's conduct, watch the progress of the disease, and endeavor to prevent its communication to others. Specimens of sputum are examined free in its laboratories, and patients unable to care for themselves are placed in institutions where curative measures are possible. Existing public or semipublic sanatoria are still inadequate to receive any great proportion of such cases, but the groundwork for a municipal sanatorium in the country is practically complete, awaiting only an adequate appropriation by the new city administration.

Prevention of the contagious diseases common to children is best secured by rigid medical inspection in the public and parochial schools. Upon assuming office under Mayor Low, the writer found the medical inspection of schools so inefficiently performed as to be almost useless. Begun in 1895 under good auspices, the system had deteriorated until the political ward leaders had the power to appoint or depose the medical inspector, regardless of efficiency and solely for political reasons. Teachers were the only diagnosticians, for, unless they "thought a child looked sick," the inspector never saw him. Such a service demanded either abolition or complete reorganization. The latter alternative was chosen. Medical inspectors were selected from the Civil Service Commission's list solely on the ground of efficiency, and have been required to make thorough examinations at frequent intervals of all New York's school population, in addition to daily examinations of cases of suspected infectious disease. The result has been a reduction of about 50 per cent. in the number of infectious cases among school children. The system outlined above has been investigated by sanitarians in other cities, and adopted by a number of them, notably by Philadelphia.

There is no adequate excuse for the prevalence of smallpox anywhere in the United States. Epidemics of this disease are proof positive of inefficiency on the part of the sanitary authori-

ties of cities. Yet in the winter of 1901-02 smallpox was to be found in many of the cities of the Central and Eastern States, and in some of them it still persists. Our plan in New York was to insist on general vaccination, public and private. We circularized all manufacturing and business establishments, offering free vaccination to their employees, and opened vaccination bureaus in various parts of the city, meanwhile keeping the public press excited upon the necessity of preventive measures. Nearly nine hundred thousand persons received public vaccination in 1902, three times as many as had been performed in any previous year, and the number of private vaccinations must have been very large. Deaths from smallpox in New York in 1902 numbered 309; in 1903 they numbered 4.

6. Between tenements and trade in large cities there is always an irrepressible conflict. Property in neighborhoods no longer desirable for private residence, and so destined for the homes of the poor, is generally susceptible after a while to alteration for business purposes. So it happens that the needs of manufacturing interests are always crowding factories into the tenement sections. Not infrequently some of these manufacturing plants are within the classification of offensive trades; often, too, the pressure for cheap manufacture has turned part of a tenement into a sweat-shop, where the workers sleep after their day's toil is done. With surroundings so little uplifting, it is no wonder that the tenement population becomes hardened to manufacturing nuisances, which a more independent and discriminating class of people would not bear for a moment. It has often been the experience of the New York Board of Health that its efforts to suppress nuisances caused by offensive trades in a thickly populated neighborhood would lack support from the people chiefly to be benefited. They had grown up in these evil surroundings and did not appreciate how much happier their lives would be if the surroundings were improved.

Forty years ago slaughter-houses, fat-melting establishments, and kindred nuisances flourished throughout the crowded wards of the city, without the slightest attempt to render their operation inoffensive. It took whole decades of steady effort to secure their removal to sites along the North and East Rivers. To-day the city charter prohibits the establishment of any such industry except on a site adjoining the water-front, and the abattoir people are required to use the latest appliances for suppressing offensive odors and

conducting their business in a sanitary way. They need constant watching, however; improved machinery for their plants costs money, and they will avoid using it even after its installation unless the sanitary inspectors are unceasingly vigilant and absolutely incorruptible.

The presence of a large Jewish population, with its demand for Kosher-killed meat and chickens, necessitates the presence of abattoirs and chicken slaughter-houses in or near the city. The latter trade is the filthiest, and the men engaged in it need more watching than any other. Slaughtering privileges are very valuable, and the owners of them, nearly all Hebrews, are in a trust which keeps up the price of chickens and robs co-religionists for its own profit. In time all these places, as well as the abattoirs and stock-yards, will have to be removed, at least from the built-up portion of the city, if not beyond the limits of it. Unhappily, such sweeping reforms are slow, especially when the vested interests attacked are so ready to pay for "protection."

The power of the Board of Health to suppress smoke nuisances has been very fully tested in the last two years, and the result has been to confirm the constitutionality of the sanitary ordinance. Public opinion is unquestionably behind it. New York is proud of the cleanliness of its atmosphere, and citizens will support the sanitary authorities in every effort to maintain it. There are fewer violations of this ordinance now than ever before, and every one of them, so far as known, is under surveillance of the Department of Health. Evidence of widespread interest in New York's successful fight against smoke is found in queries from all over the country as to the wording of the ordinance and the steps taken to enforce it. To these the reply must always be that the detailed language of the law is immaterial; all that is needed is an honestly worded ordinance and determined effort behind it.

ERNST J. LEDERLE,

Commissioner of Health, New York City, 1902-1904.

POLITICAL AND MUNICIPAL LEGISLATION IN 1903¹

Following the general plan and order of previous reviews in this series, the more important political and municipal legislation of the year may be classified under the following heads: Constitutions, Constitutional Amendments, State Boards and Commissions, Governor, Veto Power, Direct Legislation, Over-Legislation and Special Laws, Legislative Apportionment, Sessions, Legislative Procedure, Direct Election of United States Senators, Suffrage Qualifications, Woman Suffrage, Party Organization, Enrolment, Party Test, Primaries, Direct Nominations, Registration, Voting Machines, Municipal Codes, State Control of Cities and Home Rule, State Supervision of Accounts, Municipal Utilities.

Constitutions.—Connecticut is to make another attempt to revise its constitution which was adopted in 1818. Revision through a constitutional contention having failed, the legislature has proposed a revision in the form of an amendment.

Though the constitution of New Hampshire provides for the submission of the question of calling a convention every seven years, the State is still acting under the constitution adopted in 1792. This constitution has been amended but three times. Constitutional conventions have adopted the plan of submitting to the voters certain specific amendments rather than an entire revision of the constitution. This was the plan followed by the convention which met in December, 1902. The convention proposed ten amendments, of which four were adopted and six rejected at an election held in March, 1903. The amendments adopted related to educational qualifications for voting, qualifications of militia officers, taxation, and combinations in restraint of trade. The example of New Hampshire in resisting the general trend towards voluminous and frequently revised constitutions is noteworthy. Although since the original constitution of 1792 four constitutional conventions have been held, they have restricted their labor to the proposal of a few changes and additions to the original constitution.

¹ This is the Ninth Annual Review of Political and Municipal Legislation published in THE ANNALS. The Review for 1902 appeared in Vol. XXI.; for 1901 in Vol. XX.; for 1900 in Vol. XVII.; for 1899 in Vol. XV.; for 1898 in Vol. XIII.; for 1897 in Vol. XI.; for 1896 in Vol. IX.; and for 1895 in Vol. VII. The first four reviews were prepared by Dr. E. D. Durand; the others by Dr. Whitten.—ED.

The governors of Rhode Island, Georgia, Michigan, Nebraska, and West Virginia recommend the holding of a constitutional convention, and the legislatures of Idaho ('03, p. 456), Michigan ('03, ch. 32), and Nebraska ('03, ch. 165) have submitted this question to vote in November, 1904.

Constitutional Amendments.—Of the twenty-six amendments submitted to the people in 1903, twelve were adopted. Eleven amendments referred to legislatures of 1903 by preceding legislatures were not repassed. Thirteen amendments were referred by the legislatures of 1903 to succeeding legislatures and fifty-seven amendments were submitted to the people to be voted on in 1904.

State Boards and Commissions.—Last year a slight tendency to check the rapid increase in the number of State boards and offices was noted, New York having consolidated a number of boards in 1901 and Massachusetts even more in 1902. In 1903, however, the trend towards multiplication has gone on with scarcely any check. About one hundred new boards and offices were created in the various States. The governors of many States deprecate this trend in their messages. Governor Geer, of Oregon, congratulates the State upon its freedom from a multiplicity of boards and offices. He says, "Oregon has fewer offices than any other State. . . . The four principal State officers control and direct all our public institutions, as well as the vast business connected with our State lands and irreducible school fund, our enormous fishing industry, and other interests." The Oregon legislature of 1903, however, failed to realize the desirability of this condition, and led the other States in the number of new boards created. It created a Board of Inspectors of Child Labor ('03, p. 79), Board of Health ('03, p. 82), Board of Portage Commissioners ('03, p. 108), Veterinary Medical Board ('03, p. 154), Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspector of Workshops and Factories ('03, p. 205), and Board of Commissioners for licensing sailors' boarding-houses and hotels ('03, p. 238).

Governor.—Tennessee will vote in November, 1904, on an amendment to the constitution increasing the term of the governor from two to four years ('03, p. 532). In Indiana the salary of the governor has been increased from \$5000 to \$8000 ('03, p. 77), and in Kansas from \$3000 to \$5000 ('03, p. 240).

Veto Power.—Ohio, one of the three States (Rhode Island, Ohio, and North Carolina) in which the governor has heretofore

had no veto, has adopted a constitutional amendment permitting the governor to veto any bill, *any section of a bill*, or any item of an appropriation bill ('02, p. 962). In Kansas an amendment will be submitted to vote in November, 1904, authorizing the governor to veto items of appropriation bills ('03, ch. 545). Governor Garvin, of Rhode Island, following the lead of his predecessor, Governor Kimball, recommends the granting of the veto to the governor, but the legislature took no action.

Governor Gage, of California, calls attention to the constitutional provision which restricts the time to ten days after the adjournment of the legislature for the approval or disapproval of the numerous bills passed during the closing hours of the legislature. Many States give the governor thirty days in which to act on such measures. In the absence of constitutional amendment remedying the matter, the governor suggests that the legislature pass no bills during the eight or nine days before final adjournment, and holds that these last days could be profitably used in considering resolutions and constitutional amendments, pursuing investigations, and individually advising the governor regarding bills under consideration by him.

Direct Legislation.—Oregon has adopted an act carrying out the provisions of the constitutional amendment adopted in 1902 providing for the initiative and referendum ('03, p. 244). The form of petition and the method of verification of signatures is prescribed. The county clerk is to compare the signatures of the petitioners with their signatures on the registration books and certify the result to the Secretary of State. Signatures not certified as genuine by the county clerk may be accepted on proof as to their genuineness. Any person, committee, or organization filing a petition or opposing the same may furnish the Secretary of State with pamphlets explaining or giving arguments for or against the proposition. All such pamphlets are to be bound with a copy of the proposed measure and sent by the Secretary of State to local officers for distribution at the time of registration to all voters registering.

The initiative may be used to propose and pass constitutional amendments as well as statutes. Under this system a constitutional amendment may be adopted much more speedily than under the other method provided in the constitution. A legislative resolution for a constitutional amendment must be passed by two legislatures

and voted on by the people. This procedure with the system of biennial sessions requires at least five years to secure an amendment. Under the system of the initiative, a petition signed by 8 per cent. of the voters may be presented four months previous to any regular election, and its adoption at that election is final. It therefore takes less than one-fifth as long to secure an amendment under the new system. Massachusetts has referred to the next legislature an amendment applying the initiative to constitutional amendments ('03, p. 583). It is much more cautious, however, in trusting to the new device. The amendment must be proposed by fifty thousand voters, approved by fifteen senators and a majority of the representatives, and adopted by a majority vote of the people at one election and by a two-thirds' vote at a succeeding election. Rejected amendments may not be proposed again for three years, and the amendment as proposed in the petition may be revised by the legislature before being submitted.

Missouri has submitted to vote in November, 1904, a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum ('03, p. 280), and Nevada has referred to the next legislature a similar proposal ('03, p. 231). The Nevada legislature this year substituted for its peculiar proposal described in last year's review one providing for the initiative and referendum similar in content to those adopted in other States.

Over-Legislation and Special Laws.—The governors of Michigan, California, Colorado, Massachusetts, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Utah dwell on the evils of over-legislation. During the year October 1, 1902, to October 1, 1903, fourteen thousand three hundred and ninety-four laws and resolutions were passed, and of these but five thousand four hundred and six were general and permanent in character or of sufficient importance as special or temporary enactments to be included in the Summary and Index of Legislation. In comparing statistics of legislation, odd years must be compared with odd and even with even years, as some States have their biennial sessions in odd and some in even years, there being almost three times as much legislation in odd as in even years. During the biennial period 1902-03 nineteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-four laws were passed, and this has been about the average for recent biennial periods.

North Carolina leads in the number of laws passed during

1903 with twelve hundred and sixty-three enactments. The legislature was in session sixty-three days, turning out an average of twenty laws a day. Illinois, on the other hand, was in session one hundred and twenty-one days and passed two hundred and twenty-six laws, or an average of less than two per day. The difference is caused by restrictions upon special legislation contained in the Illinois constitution. The result certainly shows a great gain for the more adequate consideration of general laws. Legislators in States in which there is much special legislation complain that their time is so taken up with the consideration of the numerous special acts required by their constituents that they are utterly unable to give attention to important general measures.

Florida will vote in November, 1904, on a constitutional amendment restricting special legislation ('03, p. 643), and Tennessee on an amendment permitting the legislature to enact local road, fence, and stock laws ('03, p. 532). Governor Gage, of California, thinks that restrictions on special legislation have developed an evil more serious than that of special laws; "while the evil that was intended to be remedied . . . was a very serious one; still the new evil of the enacting of general laws to fit special cases is more serious, and it would be well for this constitutional section to be so amended as to permit necessary exceptions, thereby doing away with this injurious method of legislative evasion." There is doubtless great justice in this criticism. The codes and general laws of many States in which special legislation is prohibited are continually amended to provide for some particular case that should be provided for, if at all, by special enactments. Constitutional restriction is certainly a poor substitute for the greater self-control in these matters exercised generally by British legislatures. Governor Odell, of New York, while deprecating the number of special acts, points out ways in which the legislature may itself apply the remedy. He suggests that the numerous local amendments to the game law can be obviated by a general statute according to boards of supervisors, under the control of the State Forest, Fish, and Game Commission, the right to adopt regulations in conformity with the general statute for their own particular localities. He also sent in a special message calling attention to the numerous special bills passed each year for validating the issue of bonds by localities and recommending that some local

body be vested with power to legalize such bonds without burdening the legislature with their consideration.

Legislative Apportionment.—Since the Federal census of 1900 twenty States have reapportioned representation in both houses of the legislature and fifteen States in either the upper or lower branch. Inequality of representation is still an unsettled problem in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Governor Garvin, of Rhode Island, states that one-twelfth of the inhabitants of the State dwelling in small towns possess more power in legislation than the remaining eleven-twelfths. Governor Chamberlain, of Connecticut, while maintaining that each town should forever have one representative, holds that the larger towns and cities should have representation in some degree proportionate to population. Under the existing provision, each town or city has not more than two nor less than one representative.

Sessions.—Governor Hayward, of South Carolina, advocates a change from annual to biennial sessions. On the other hand, Governor Terrell, of Georgia, testifies to the superiority of the annual session. "Annual sessions of the legislature have made it easy to enact new statutes as well as to amend or repeal old ones, so as to supply omissions or correct defects disclosed by experience, and in consequence we have a system just, simple, and in every way suited to the genius and spirit of our people."

Georgia has changed the date of the opening of its annual session from October to June ('02, p. 66), and California has submitted to vote in November, 1904, an amendment changing the opening of the session from January to February ('03, p. 736).

Legislative Procedure.—In accordance with the suggestion of Governor Bliss, Michigan has submitted to vote in November, 1904, an amendment repealing the limitation on the introduction of new bills to the first fifty days of the session. Governor Bliss states that the only effect of the existing provision has been "to keep the legislature practically idle for fifty days while bills are pouring into the legislative hopper. The House and Senate journals are burdened with hundreds of titles whose only purpose is to nullify the time limit." Following Governor Durbin's suggestion, Indiana has passed an act providing that bills shall be engrossed and enrolled from specially designed type selected by the State Board of Public Printing and copyrighted for the exclusive use of the State ('03, ch. 125).

Direct Election of United States Senators.—During 1903 fourteen States have applied to Congress to call a constitutional convention to consider the election of United States senators by direct vote. Seven of these States had already made the same application in 1901. Up to the present time twenty States have made application to Congress for a constitutional convention; twelve in 1901, one in 1902, and seven new States in 1903. The constitution of the United States provides that on the application of two-thirds of the several States, Congress shall call a convention for proposing amendments. Under this provision the application of ten more States is necessary to secure action by Congress.

An interesting legal point is raised by the fact that Florida adopted a resolution applying to Congress for a convention, but later at the same session rescinded its application. The question is whether a State after once making application can afterwards rescind its action. It will be recalled that New Jersey and Ohio revoked their ratification of the fourteenth amendment and New York of the fifteenth amendment. The legality of this action was not decided, as ratification by these States was not needed to make the necessary three-fourths. Of course, in the case of an application to Congress, Congress would necessarily be the judge as to whether the application were in proper form, and only in case Congress accepted the application could its legality be tested in the courts.

It seems certain that the effect of the proposed change in the mode of selection would have marked effect upon the composition of the Senate. One result would doubtless be to diminish the number of State party leaders and representatives of capital in that body.

Suffrage Qualifications.—New Hampshire adopted, by a vote of twenty-eight thousand six hundred and one to eight thousand two hundred and five, a constitutional amendment providing an educational qualification for voting consisting of ability to read the constitution in the English language and to write. This qualification, however, does not apply to persons sixty years of age on January 1, 1904, nor to any person who now has the right to vote.

Governor Hun, of Delaware, recommends the abolition of the registration fee as a qualification for voting, saying that it has not diminished but rather increased existing evils. In Texas, on the other hand, where the poll tax must be paid many months previous to the election, the results seem to have been in the main satisfactory,

and Governor Sayers recommends legislation to make the amendment more effective.

Woman Suffrage.—The New Hampshire constitutional amendment providing for woman suffrage was defeated by a vote of thirteen thousand and eighty-nine to twenty-one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight. Governor Toole, of Montana, recommends the submission of the question in that State, and the legislature of Utah adopted a resolution declaring the success of woman suffrage in Utah and urging its adoption in other States ('03, p. 206). The resolution recites that "equal suffrage has been in operation since the advent of Statehood, during which time women have exercised the privilege of voting generally and intelligently, with the result that a higher standard of candidates has been elected for office, elections have been made peaceful, orderly, and dignified, the general character of legislation improved, intelligence in political and civil and social matters much increased, and . . . the women of Utah have not in any sense been deprived of any of their womanly qualities."

Party Organization.—The direct primary law to be submitted to the voters of Wisconsin in November, 1904, contains some novel and interesting changes in party organization. The State Central Committee is to be elected by the candidates for the various State offices and for the legislature nominated at the direct primary. It is to consist of two members from each congressional district and a chairman. The candidates above mentioned are also to meet at the Capitol and formulate the State platform of the party.

The party precinct committee is to be elected at the primary held for the nomination of candidates. This committee consists of three members, and the one receiving the largest number of votes is chairman. The party precinct chairmen of a city, county, or assembly district make up the party committee of division; the chairmen of the assembly district committees form the State senatorial committee; the chairmen of the senatorial district committees form the congressional district committee. At meetings of the city, county, and assembly district committees each precinct chairman has one vote for every fifty votes or major fraction thereof cast by his party.

The new act regulating caucuses in Providence, Newport, and Pawtucket, R. I. ('02, ch. 1078), provides for the annual election

of ward committees. The members of the several ward committees constitute the City Committee. The general management of the affairs of the party is vested in its City Committee subject to the rules and regulations of the State Committee.

One of the great evils in party organization is its complexity. None but the professional politician can keep track of the multiplicity of primaries and conventions required for the nomination of national, State, and local officers. The game of politics consists largely in taking advantage of this complexity. Deals are made and the times of primaries and conventions fixed to defeat the plans of rival factions and the wishes of the great majority of the members of the party. Progress has been made in some States towards fixing a primary day for all parties. A number of States having official primaries hold the primaries of all parties at the same time and place. As yet, however, there has been no legislative attempt towards a uniform day for the meeting of the numerous kinds of conventions—ward, city, township, county, legislative, judicial, congressional, and State. Governor Yates, of Illinois, advocates this much-needed reform. He asks why the ward and township primaries of all parties should not be on a given Monday, the county conventions on the next day, Tuesday, and the State conventions on the next day, Wednesday. He says, "It would keep every politician at home and the colonizer and walking delegate would be out of a job. It would leave every township and county and ward to settle its own affairs, and so give home rule. It would remove from every contest the hampering question of its effect on other contests at other times, and it would compel every county to give up the unprincipled idea of joining the winner at the last moment."

Enrolment.—The Massachusetts law of 1903 (ch. 454), providing for joint caucuses in Boston and in other cities and towns adopting the act, provides an enrolment of party members. At the first primary election held each elector is enrolled with the party whose ticket he receives. An elector may afterwards change his enrolment by making personal application, but such change shall not take effect until after the expiration of ninety days. The political party enrolment of a voter does not preclude him from voting the ticket of any municipal party at a primary.

Maine provides for enrolment in cities and towns of two thousand to thirty-five thousand. An elector may enroll in any party by

filing an application with the clerk of the town. The elector may change his enrolment at any time, but may not vote in any political caucus within six months thereafter. Any elector not previously enrolled may enroll up to the day of the caucus and during the caucus by subscribing to an oath that he is a member of the political party, intends to vote for its candidates in the ensuing election, and has not taken part in the caucus of any other party within six months. Any elector whose right to vote is challenged may be allowed to vote on taking a similar oath.

Nebraska has revised its law relating to party enrolment ('03, ch. 40). In all cities and towns in which there is registration for regular State elections provision is made at the same time for party enrolment. Each elector is asked with which political party he desires to affiliate. A special enrolment is provided for persons who are absent from the city or town at the time of registration or who are prevented from appearing by reason of sickness. Such person must make affidavit of the reasons for failure to register and procure affidavits, sworn to before the city clerk, of two freeholders of the precinct or ward setting forth the facts contained in his affidavit; and in all cases where illness is given as the cause for failure to register the affidavit of some reputable physician is also required.

New York adopted an amendment, applicable to New York City only, prohibiting the transfer of electors from one locality to another by certificates prior to primaries. Governor Odell states that "This power of transferring has been abused in the city of New York by alliances entered into by political leaders of opposite political faith by having a sufficient number of their followers register themselves as being affiliated with the opposite political party for the purpose of influencing contests for party control or for the nomination of candidates at primaries. Of course, this is only done when the leader who desires to aid one of opposite political faith knows that he will have no contest for control in his own district. If the period between the date of registering party affiliation were six or eight months prior to the primaries it would be a preventive in part against the misuse of such powers which can only be used with impunity by a district leader when he is certain that there is to be no contest within his own political party."

Party Test.—Legislatures have been very cautious in prescribing

a definite test of party membership. It is recognized, however, that primary control cannot be made effective unless some definite test is provided. The New Jersey primary law ('03, ch. 248, § 13) requires the challenged elector to swear that he is a member of the party, voted for a majority of its candidates at the last election, and intends to support its candidates at the ensuing election. The primary law for Providence, Newport, and Pawtucket (R. I. '02, ch. 1078), while providing that the party committees may make additional regulations, prescribes that no person shall take part in the caucus of a political party who has taken part in the caucus of any other party within fourteen months, has signed nomination papers for any elective official, or has voted in any election for the candidates of any other party or for candidates placed in nomination by nomination papers. No person who has voted in the caucus of a political party may sign a nomination paper within fourteen months thereafter. These regulations and the unlimited power of the party committees to make additional regulations seem to be devised in the interest of bossism rather than of the best party organization.

The primary law of Idaho ('03, p. 360) makes it unlawful for any person to vote at a party primary who was not affiliated with the party at the last general election. Nebraska provides that no person shall vote at a primary election unless he "shall have in the immediate past affiliated with the political party holding such primary election and generally supported the candidates of such party at the last election" ('03, ch. 40, § 1).

Primaries.—The governors of Arizona, Michigan, Vermont, and New Jersey advocate greater control over party primaries. The governors of Vermont and Arizona recommend that the primaries of all parties be held at the same place and on the same day. In New Jersey a special commission on primary elections was appointed in 1902. The legislature of 1903 enacted a general primary law applying to all primaries for the nomination of candidates at the general election for members of the General Assembly ('03, ch. 248). The primaries of all parties are held on the same day and at the same place and are conducted by the boards of registry and election, the primaries being held on the first registry day. Separate official ballots are prepared for each party. Each elector must ask for the party ticket he desires to vote. Massachusetts also has

provided for joint caucuses or primaries for all municipal or political parties ('03, ch. 454). The act is mandatory in Boston, and the question of its acceptance is to be submitted in the other cities and towns using official ballots.

Direct Nominations.—Progress towards the adoption of the direct nomination system was made in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Wisconsin. Massachusetts cautiously extends its system of direct nominations to the nominations of representatives in Congress in the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Districts ('03, ch. 450). New Jersey applies the new system to the selection of all candidates to be voted on at the general election for members of assembly by the voters of a single ward or township ('03, ch. 248).

The Wisconsin act is to be submitted to the voters in November, 1904 ('03, ch. 451). Its provisions are more thoroughgoing than those of any similar law previously enacted. It applies to candidates for all elective offices except the office of State superintendent, to town, village, and school district offices, and to judicial offices other than police justice and justices of the peace in cities. Party candidates for United States senator are also nominated by direct vote. Primaries of all parties are held on the same day at the same place and in charge of the regular election officers. Official tickets are provided, there being a separate ticket for each party and also a non-partisan ticket upon which are printed the names of persons for whom nomination papers have been filed and who are not designated as candidates of any political party. These several tickets are fastened together and handed to each elector. The elector marks the ticket of his choice, detaches the same from the remaining tickets, folds and votes it, and deposits the remaining tickets in a separate ballot box.

The governors of Colorado, Illinois, Maine, Montana, and Oregon recommend the adoption of direct nominations. Governor Van Sant states that after a trial of the direct primary election law in Minnesota, "the consensus of opinion seems to be that the law will be a permanent method of nominating candidates for office." He suggests, however, that it would be well to consider whether it will not be wise to amend the law so that the different tickets will appear on one ballot, and the voter will not be required to ask for the ticket of the party with which he desires to vote.

Registration.—The new law regulating elections in St. Louis

has some interesting provisions relating to registration ('03, p. 170). Each applicant for registration is required to sign his name on the registration book or, if unable to do so, to make his mark. This signature may be used as a means of identification when the voter casts his ballot. No person may vote who is not registered, and registration days are seven weeks prior to the election. Any person, however, who is absent from the city at a distance of more than fifty miles or confined to his home by illness or other disability during the days fixed for registration may make personal application and be added to the list on the Wednesday of the first week prior to the election. The governor of New York recommends the adoption of a provision requiring the voter to sign his name on the day of registration as a means of identification on the day of election. The governor of Colorado states that "In cities of the first class there seems to be no limit to false registration and illegal and fraudulent voting," and urges the adoption of a remedy.

Voting Machines.—Governor Murphy, of New Jersey, urges the State to purchase voting machines for the counties. He estimates that this will cost half a million dollars, but asks, "How can the money of the State be so well used as in providing a means by which the corruption of the ballot is made impossible." The legislature made a beginning by authorizing the State Board of Voting-Machine Commissioners to purchase machines with the consent of the governor, to define their location and use ('03, ch. 171), and appropriating \$50,000 for this purpose. The governors of Indiana and California recommend the use of the voting machine in order to correct the evil of defective ballots and the resulting disfranchisement of a large number of voters. The legislature of Indiana passed an act making obligatory the use of voting machines in counties containing a city of thirty-six thousand ('03, ch. 154). California and Illinois adopted acts ('03, ch. 226) regulating the use of voting machines and creating a voting-machine commission (Cal. '03, ch. 226; Ill. '03, p. 178). Massachusetts revised its law relating to voting machines and created a Board of Voting-Machine Examiners.

Municipal Codes.—Kansas adopted a general law for the government of cities of the first class ('03, ch. 122). All cities of over fifteen thousand are cities of the first class. Women are permitted to vote at all municipal elections. Elections are held in odd years,

and in cities of less than fifty thousand a mayor, city attorney, city clerk, city treasurer, police judge, and one councilman from each ward is elected for two years. In cities of over fifty thousand the mayor appoints a city counsellor and a police judge, the other officers being elected. The mayor also appoints such other officers as may be created by ordinance, and may remove the same at pleasure. The mayor may veto any ordinance or any item of an appropriation ordinance, and a three-fourths vote is required to pass an ordinance over his veto. The mayor may, with the consent of the council, appoint a city engineer, street commissioner, city assessor, fire marshall, chief of police, policemen, and such other officers as the mayor and council may deem necessary.

New Jersey adopted a general law for the government of cities, which is to be in force, however, only in such cities as adopt it by vote of the electors ('03, ch. 168). At the first general election for the election of municipal officers there shall be elected for two years a mayor, recorder, city treasurer, collector of taxes, overseer of the poor, and one member of the city council from each ward, and also three councilmen-at-large. The mayor's veto may be overridden by a two-thirds vote. The mayor is the head of the police department, and has exclusive power to appoint and remove all policemen, including the chief of police and subordinate officers. The council may establish, regulate, and control the fire department and regulate the appointment and removal of its officers and members.

Virginia adopted a law to harmonize existing statutes with the provisions of the constitution of 1902, which prescribed in considerable detail the organization of cities and towns ('03, ch. 269).

State Control of Cities and Home Rule.—Florida will vote in November, 1904, on a constitutional amendment permitting the legislature to divide municipalities into four classes and provide a uniform government for each class ('03, p. 643).

Ohio rejected in November, 1903, an amendment dividing cities into three classes ('02, p. 117). It will be recalled that the municipal code adopted at the special session in Ohio in October, 1902, provided a uniform government for all cities, municipalities being divided into two classes, all under five thousand being villages, all over five thousand cities.

An amendment is to be voted on in November, 1904, in Illinois, permitting the legislature to pass special laws for the reorganization

of the municipal government of Chicago, such laws to be subject to approval by the electors of the city ('03, p. 358). The present constitution of Illinois practically forbids all special city legislation.

The Oregon legislature repassed a constitutional amendment proposed by the legislature of 1901 providing for general laws for the incorporation of cities and permitting cities to frame their own charters in conformity with general laws without submission to the legislature ('03, p. 346), but no provision has yet been made for the submission of this amendment to the people.

Minnesota has revised its law regulating the framing, adoption, and amendment of charters under the supervision of a board of freeholders ('03, ch. 238). The district court may appoint a charter commission of fifteen freeholders on its own motion or on petition of 10 per cent. of the electors. The charter commission is a permanent board, the members holding office for terms of four years. The board must submit a draft of a charter within six months. A four-sevenths vote of the electors is required for the adoption of the charter, except in certain cities where a three-fourths vote is necessary. The charter thus adopted may be amended by a proposal made by the charter board and accepted by the electors or on petition of 5 per cent. of the electors filed with the charter board, the board shall submit amendments to a vote of the people. A three-fifths vote is required for adoption of amendments. The charter adopted must be in harmony and subject to the laws of the State and must provide for a mayor or chief magistrate and for a legislative body consisting of either one or two houses. Subject to these limitations and to certain limitations as to public utilities and indebtedness, the charter and its amendments "may provide for any form and scheme of municipal government and may embrace provisions for the regulation, management, administration, and control of all departments of the city government and of all municipal governmental functions."

Washington has provided for direct amendments to self-framed charters ('03, ch. 186). On petition of 15 per cent. of the electors a specified charter amendment shall be submitted to the people, and, if approved by a majority vote, the amendment becomes a part of the charter. This act does not deprive city councils of the right heretofore granted of submitting proposed charter amendments.

Governor Gage, of California, thinks that constitutional guarantees of municipal home rule have gone too far in that State. Constitutional amendments have been adopted which permit municipalities to adopt charters that are submitted to the legislature for approval or rejection as a whole, and are not subject to future amendment by it. The governor says, "While moderate decentralization is essential to municipal liberty, immoderate decentralization leads to disintegration. . . . I regard this excessive growth of municipal power as a peaceful mode of secession from the State and an unconscious blow against the State's integrity and indirectly an unpatriotic assault on national existence."

State Supervision of Accounts.—Florida authorizes the governor to appoint a state auditor, whose duty it shall be to examine the accounts of the State and county officers ('03, ch. 14). He is required to make such examinations at least once a year and to make a report to the governor and to file a copy of the same so far as it relates to county officers with the boards of county commissioners. The State auditor receives two thousand dollars and traveling expenses, and may employ an accountant at a salary of one thousand dollars. It is made the duty of county treasurers, sheriffs, and clerks to keep accounts according to forms prescribed by the State auditor ('03, ch. 71).

Nevada requires counties, cities, and towns to make annual reports to the State Comptroller according to forms prescribed by the State Board of Revenue ('03, ch. 78; '03, ch. 123). The State Board of Revenue may employ an examiner to inspect the accounts of county, city, and town officers.

New York requires mayors and the chief fiscal officers of cities of the second and third classes to make annual financial reports to the Secretary of State according to forms prescribed by him ('03, ch. 347). This act is as yet inoperative, as no appropriation has been made to carry it into effect.

Governor Bates, of Massachusetts, says that good results have been derived from the existing system of State supervision of county accounts, and recommends that a system of uniform municipal accounting be provided for. Governor Bliss, of Michigan, recommends that he be empowered to appoint one of his office force a State examiner of accounts to make an examination of county accounts whenever conditions may require. Governor Richards, of

Wyoming, strongly commends the system of State supervision of county and municipal accounts in that State.

Municipal Utilities.—In Kansas cities of the second and third class are granted power to construct and operate light and gas plants, electric-light plants, electric-power or heating plants, waterworks, natural gas wells and petroleum wells ('03, ch. 136). Franchises are limited to twenty years. In Kansas, also, the general law relating to cities of the first class ('03, ch. 122) regulates in detail the granting of franchises, and the purchase, construction, and operation of municipal utilities. Franchises are limited to thirty years, and the mayor and council may at all times during the existence of the franchise fix reasonable rates of public service.

A California law ('03, ch. 86) permits cities under three thousand to acquire, own, and operate "street railways, telephone and telegraph lines, gas and other works for light and heat, public libraries, museums, gymnasiums, parks, and baths."

The new Virginia constitution regulates the granting of franchises, providing, among other things, for the sale of franchises at public auction for a term of not more than thirty years. The legislature has enacted laws carrying out these provisions ('03, ch. 138; '03, ch. 269).

Governor Garvin, of Connecticut, recommends that all grants of franchises be approved by a vote of the people. Arizona and Montana passed laws requiring this. Wisconsin provides that franchises shall not be operative until sixty days from date of passage of ordinance, and if during such period 20 per cent. of the electors petition for a referendum on the ordinance, the ordinance is not operative until submitted and approved by a majority vote ('03, ch. 387). This seems a much more sensible provision than those of the States above mentioned, which made the submission of the franchise to popular vote mandatory. Unless there is a popular demand for the submission of a franchise, the vote of the council should be final.

Maine authorizes cities and towns to establish permanent fuel yards and to sell fuel at cost to inhabitants ('03, ch. 122). Missouri authorizes cities under thirty thousand to erect or acquire plants for furnishing public utilities of any kind ('03, p. 95).

Governor Bates, of Massachusetts, opposes the theory that it is better to exact no payment for municipal franchises, but to re-

quire in place thereof that the money thus saved the corporation be used in furnishing better facilities to the public. He contends that the result of the application of this theory has been to "cause, either directly or indirectly, the capitalization of the value of the franchise in the interests of the stockholder and to the loss of the public." Governor Savage, of Nebraska, takes the ground that exclusive franchises should never be granted, and that public service corporations should not be required to obtain a franchise in order to use public streets for a public purpose. He maintains that there should be free competition in the supply of public utilities and that the consolidation of competing interests should be prohibited.

ROBERT H. WHITTEN.

New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE LEAGUE OF WISCONSIN MUNICIPALITIES

In 1898 the State of Wisconsin celebrated the semi-centennial anniversary of its admission to the Union. One of the features of this celebration was the meeting of various associations, and of public officials at the State Capitol. One of these was a conference of city officers. The large representation at this meeting, and the interest aroused in the discussion suggested the value and benefit to be derived from the organization of a State League of City Officers. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution, and to take the proper steps for the perfection of the organization.

The objects set forth in the prospectus were to promote the coöperation of the officials of the cities and villages of the State in all matters pertaining to municipal administration. In order to attain this purpose annual conferences were to be held, and a Central Bureau of Information was to be organized and a systematic study of legislation, which would be beneficial to the cities of the State, was to be made. The objects of the League are, thus, in brief, to promote the interests of the cities in all matters pertaining to legislation, and to the solution of specific problems of administration.

The efforts of the Association have been largely devoted to strengthening the organization along various lines in order that its influences might be felt. The first step was to secure such legislation as would enable the cities of the State to possess a uniform organization. In Wisconsin special legislation has gained such a foothold, and cities have become so individualized in organization, that it will require extraordinary efforts to get them upon a uniform basis. While upon the Statutes there exists a uniform Charter Law, its adoption is not compulsory, the necessity for adopting it is removed by the presence of a clause which permits the cities to adopt any portion of it pertaining to a given subject. This has been so generally done that the opinion seems to prevail that the general charter should be so amended as to make it a desirable instrument for all the cities instead of attempting to replace it by enacting a new charter.

The first specific step in amending the charter was to secure a uniform law making the terms of the mayors two years. At present the efforts of the League are directed towards securing legislation for a system of uniform accounting and auditing. This has already been strongly recommended by the State Tax Commission, and has found favor among men of influence. The desire for information, on the part of city officials, led to the establishment of two media for the dissemination of such information as might be desired by city officials. The first was the establishment of an organ,—*The Municipality*,—published monthly and devoted, in the main, to the discussion of current municipal problems. This publication is now in its fifth year, and has gained a place in the local field.

The second medium was the establishment of travelling Municipal Libraries. Upon the suggestion of the League this was done by the Wisconsin Free Library Commission, on lines similar to the travelling libraries so generally maintained throughout the State. It was found that the Public Library could not purchase the books that were useful for the consideration of specific municipal questions. For instance, an agitation in a given city for the ownership of some public utility demanded a literature more comprehensive than is generally found in the local library. The League has four (4) travelling libraries, passing from city to city. The libraries are composed of about fifty (50) volumes, covering those questions which are likely to arise in the smaller cities. The call for these libraries has been more gratifying than its promoters had reason to hope for. The library is left in a city about two weeks unless there are special conditions which would make it desirable for it to be assigned for a longer period.

In regard to the Annual Conferences, it has been the policy of the League to bring before the city officers men whose training entitled them to speak with authority upon those questions of general and technical interest. The result has been to stimulate the city officers to inquire more carefully into such questions and to rely more upon the advice of men of special training. Probably the greatest benefit which can be directly traced to the work of the League is the development of an active interest on the part of the city officials in the work for which they have been selected. The Conferences draw together the more progressive city officials who are desirous of familiarizing themselves with their work. The League has been in existence only a few years, but during this time has developed such strength as to make it a positive factor in legislation, and in civic improvement in general. It is making reformers of city officials without so classifying them.

SAMUEL E. SPARLING.

University of Wisconsin.

MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS IN MICHIGAN

Though the League of Michigan Municipalities was organized nearly five years ago, and has held five meetings in as many cities, its work thus far has attracted comparatively little attention in the State. But this year the League has departed from precedents and allied itself with the Michigan Political Science Association in the hope of getting the municipal problems of Michigan cities fairly before the public. Dr. John A. Fairlie, of the University of Michigan, is secretary of both organizations. He arranged for a joint conference, which was held at Ann Arbor in February, and which marks a new era in organized effort in Michigan to improve municipal conditions.

Michigan is, in many respects, a peculiar State. At the last census it had twenty-six cities with a population of more than 8,000 each, together comprising a little over 30 per cent. of the population of the State. Michigan is far enough west to indulge in the luxury of small cities. The total number of those incorporated within this State is 80, ranging in population from 513 to 285,708. Of these, 37 are incorporated under general laws governing

cities of the fourth class. All the rest have special charters. The legislature of Michigan, evidently thinking it would be easier to begin with smaller cities in an attempt to enact general legislation, established the fourth class without having any first, second, or third.

The constitution of Michigan was adopted in 1850 when Detroit had only 21,000 population. There has never been any prohibition of special legislation for cities in Michigan. The power of the legislature over the municipality has been practically unlimited, except by certain rights of local self-government which the State courts have made clear. In fact, the legal doctrine of local self-government has been carried farther in Michigan than in most other States. Judge Cooley as a member of the Supreme Court held, in a series of famous cases, that the right of local self-government existed prior to the constitution of 1850 and lay back of it as one of the conditions by which that document was to be interpreted. Practically, this secured to every city the right to choose its own local officers and levy its own taxes for local purposes. This did not, however, preclude the legislature from imposing burdens upon the cities for such semi-State functions as education, police, and health, so that after all the legislature has not been tied down very closely in dealing with the municipalities.

Michigan is a rather conservative State. The farmers are strong in the legislature, and while they are disposed to pass any special acts which a city's representatives agree upon, they are not disposed to grant such a measure of home rule as to deprive themselves of the ultimate control of the cities. Another element in the legislature opposed to municipal autonomy is the representatives from the Upper Peninsula, where the control of the railroads and the mining corporations is particularly strong. These are the gentlemen "with only one constituent." They are naturally opposed to giving cities full power to control public utilities.

Under these conditions municipal affairs in Michigan have drifted along in a conservative way with only occasional interruptions such as Mr. Pingree's upheaving influence in Detroit. We have an antiquated constitution, an endless mess of local charter legislation, and no modern charters at all. Municipal and county accounts are kept in an indifferent manner, with no uniformity and little real publicity. Grand Rapids, the second city of the State, has a water problem that is a standing invitation to promoters and boodlers. This and the Detroit street railway problem are about the only municipal matters that have become of interest to the State at large.

It is hoped that the conference at Ann Arbor will open the way for a united effort on the part of the cities of Michigan and the students of municipal problems to carry through some programme of legislation calculated to bring order out of chaos, and better protect the interests of the citizens of Michigan cities than they can be protected under the old-fashioned patchwork legislation. It is impossible to outline a programme at this time, for none has been agreed upon. Yet it is safe to say that the most important propositions to be discussed will be municipal home rule, uniform accounting, and the merit system.

As "home rule" is a rather indefinite term, it may be well to analyze it

with reference to the Michigan situation. There are four principal phases of complete local self-government. They are:

First, the local choice of local officers, which is already pretty well guaranteed in Michigan;

Second, the right of cities to frame their own charters, which is unknown in Michigan;

Third, the right of cities to determine the scope of their municipal functions, which is seriously limited by the constitution of the State, and, aside from that, wholly within the jurisdiction of the legislature; and

Fourth, the right of cities to raise revenue and borrow money for the purpose of carrying out their municipal projects, which also is entirely within legislative control subject to the constitutional requirement that *ad valorem* taxes shall be levied according to a uniform rule.

Of course, the League of Michigan Municipalities does not confine itself to legislative problems. It is designed to be for its members a clearing-house of information and an organized centre of municipal fellowship.

DELOS F. WILCOX,

Secretary of the Civic Club of Grand Rapids, Michigan.

PERSONAL NOTES

Charity Organization Society of New York City.—Dr. Christian Carl Carstens has been appointed assistant secretary to the Charity Organization Society of New York City.

Dr. Carstens was born in Bredstedt, Schleswig, Germany, April 2, 1865, educated in the public schools of that city and Milwaukee, Wis., and Davenport, Iowa. His college education was received at Iowa College, with the degree of A.B. in 1891. Subsequent university work followed at the University of Pennsylvania, with the degree of A.M. in 1900 and Ph.D. in 1903.

Dr. Carstens was superintendent of schools, at Ames, Iowa, 1891-95, principal of High School, Creston, Iowa, 1895-96, principal of High School, Marshalltown, Iowa, 1896-99, and 1900-03 was assistant secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, where he worked out and operated an accurate method for keeping personal records of those members of the delinquent classes with which the Charity Organization Society came in contact.

Dr. Carstens is a member of the American Historical Association.

FOREIGN.

Trinity University, Ontario.—James McGregor Young, M.A., has been appointed special lecturer in Constitutional History in Trinity University, Toronto. Mr. Young was born June 6, 1864, at Hilbir, Ontario, educated at Picton High School and under private tutors, received the B.A. from the University of Toronto, as a result of four years' work, in 1884; the M.A. followed in 1903. He entered the Law Society of Upper Canada in 1884, was called to the bar in August, 1887, and has since practised continuously in Toronto. He was appointed lecturer in commercial law and common law to the Law Society in the Law School of Ontario in 1893. Upon the promotion of Hon. David Mills to the Canadian ministry, he was appointed professor of constitutional law and international law in September, 1900, and in September, 1902, he became lecturer in constitutional history.

Professor Young's publications have been limited to short articles on general and international law in local periodicals.

University of Toronto.—Mr. Augustus Henry Frazer Lefroy, who was appointed professor of Roman law, jurisprudence, and the history of the English law in the University of Toronto in 1901, was born in Toronto, Ontario, June 21, 1852. He spent four and a half years at Rugby (Warwickshire), entered New College, Oxford University, receiving the B.A. in 1875 and the M.A. in 1880.

In 1877 Mr. Lefroy was called to the bar of the Inner Temple of London, in 1878 to the bar of Upper Canada at Toronto and subsequently admitted as solicitor, and since that time has practised at Toronto and has been one of the staff of the law reporters for the High Court of Justice for Ontario.

Mr. Lefroy's published works are as follows:

"Law of Legislative Power in Canada." Pp. 825. Toronto, 1897-98.

Article on "Dominion of Canada." "American and English Encyclopedia of Law," 2d ed., vol. x.

Articles on the "Australian Commonwealth Bill." *Law Quarterly Review*, vol. xv., 1899.

Practical Sociology in England.—Mr. Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree, of York, England, has recently made an exhaustive study of poverty, for which his position as a large employer of labor gives him exceptional opportunity.

Mr. Rowntree was born in York in 1871, educated in the local Friends' School, attended Owens College (Victoria University, Manchester), where he studied chemistry, history, and social science, but took no degree, entering directly into the great firm of Rowntree, one of the leading cocoa manufacturers of the world.

With the concern that the pinching poverty of the British workingman might be better understood and dealt with, Mr. Rowntree made a thorough-going inquiry into the conditions of life among the laboring classes of his native city. The result of these studies was published in "Poverty: A Study of Town Life,"¹ pp. 437, Macmillan, 1901. Considering that York is a typical "provincial city" of England, with a population of less than 100,000, Mr. Rowntree found the rather startling result, that 30 per cent. of the people were actually underfed. The book brought forth considerable discussion, necessitating a reply, "The Poverty Line," pp. 30, published by Henry Good & Sons, London, 1902, and "The People on the Margin," an essay contributed to *Labor and Protection*, published by T. Fisher Unwin, of London.

Mr. Rowntree is a member of the Royal Statistical Society of England, the Royal Economic Society of England, the Sociological Society, and the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

University of Toronto.—Dr. Samuel Morley Wickett, lecturer in statistics and economics, has prepared for the Canadian Government a "Physical and Industrial Geography of Canada," to appear shortly.

Dr. Wickett was born in Brooklin, near Toronto, Ontario, October 17, 1872. He received his early education in the local schools and in the Toronto Grammar School, and his college education at the University of Toronto, receiving the degree of B.A. in 1894. This was followed by post-graduate work in Vienna, 1894-95, in Leipzig, 1895-97, receiving the degree of Ph.D. from the last named institution in 1897. In 1897-98 he was Mackenzie Fellow in Political Science in the University of Toronto, became instructor in economics there in 1898, and was advanced to lecturer in statistics and economics in 1901.

Dr. Wickett's publications have been as follows:

"Das Oesterreiche Tabakmonopol." Stuttgart, 1897. Reprinted in Schanz' Archiv, 1898.

¹ See *THE ANNALS*, vol. xix. p. 471, May, 1902.

"Statistical Organization in Canada." Appendix to Bureau of Industries Report, Toronto, 1899.

"Industrial Evolution." Translation of Bücher's "Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft," 3d ed. Henry Holt & Co., 1902.

Editor University of Toronto Municipal Series, contributing "City Government in Canada," "The Municipal Government of Toronto," "Bibliography of Canadian Municipal Government."

Report to Canadian Manufacturers' Association on "Trade Conditions and Prospects of the Yukon Territory." Industrial Canada, October, 1902.

Report to Canadian Government on "Population and Trade in the Disputed Alaskan Territory." Canadian Case to Alaskan Tribunal, London, 1903.

"The University and the Business World." University of Toronto Memorial Volume. (In press.)

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES

DR. BALDWIN'S BIOGRAPHY OF JOSEPH GALLOWAY, THE LOYALIST POLITICIAN,¹ is another proof that the Tories are beginning to receive fair treatment from American writers. The value of this biography lies not merely in the judicial attitude which the writer maintains towards his subject. The history of pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania is perhaps more complex than that of any other colony. Struggles between the Proprietor and the Assembly, between the advocates of proprietary and royal government, and between the Susquehanna and the Delaware counties over the question of representation and suffrage follow each other in rapid succession. The author presents these issues in bold relief, for Galloway came into close contact with all of them as one of the most prominent lawyers and writers, and as a member and Speaker of the Assembly.

The evolution of Galloway's conservatism and loyalism is perhaps the most interesting part of the biography. Both interest and sentiment caused him to shun the growth of republican ideas and mob rule incident to the Revolution, and to search after methods, such as federation with England, to obviate the struggle which took the control of affairs from the men of property and influence.

In presenting these issues, the author has succeeded well in subordinating the discussion of the times to the biography of the Loyalist Politician. The style is far above the average dissertation and the pamphlet is interesting from the beginning to the end. Naturally some errors have crept in. It is obviously incorrect to state that a letter written by Galloway to McKean, in 1793, was written to Governor McKean (p. 91, foot-note, and p. 97), for McKean did not become Governor of Pennsylvania until 1799.²

MR. BALFOUR'S pamphlet, "Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade,"³ is a brief and well-written criticism on the present commercial policy of the United Kingdom. The purpose of the paper is to show (1) that foreign protective tariffs have inflicted an almost irreparable injury upon Great Britain, and (2) that the only policy which can prove effective against the evil operation of such tariffs in the future is a policy of retaliation. Protec-

¹ Joseph Galloway, *The Loyalist Politician*. By Ernest H. Baldwin, Ph.D. Reprinted from the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography." Pp. 113. Price, \$1.00. New Haven, Conn.: E. P. Judd & Co.

² Contributed by George D. Luetscher.

³ By Arthur James Balfour, M.P. Pp. 32. Price, 30 cents. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

tion, according to Mr. Balfour, injures free-trade countries, (1) by restricting the foreign market; (2) by causing the "loss of some of the capital and skill by which these markets were formerly supplied;" (3) by "diverting industry into presumably less profitable channels," the free-trade country being forced to so "modify its industries as to pierce the barriers of foreign tariffs;" and (4) by giving the protected manufacturer a command over his home market, thereby enabling him to run his works more evenly and with the greatest possible economy, and to sell his goods in foreign markets at prices often considerably lower than the domestic price. Excluding the exports of coal and machinery, which Mr. Balfour classes by themselves as especially fostering the competition of foreign manufactures, he finds that Great Britain's export trade has not progressed as rapidly as that of her competitors,—in fact, has shown an absolute decline as compared with the increase in population. This decline is not explained by the progress which foreign countries have made in technical skill, etc., but is attributed solely to the "operation of hostile tariffs." Nor does Mr. Balfour see a ray of hope for the future. England is a "free-trade nation in a world of protectionists," which has already suffered great injury, and which may expect an augmentation of existing tariffs in the future as well as a contraction of the existing neutral markets.

Mr. Cox, in his "Reply to Mr. Balfour's Pamphlet," admits that Great Britain has suffered great injury through the operation of foreign protective tariffs, but contends that Mr. Balfour's policy of retaliation, while it is certain to involve the country in grave losses, can only offer benefits which are at best problematical. Briefly stated, the losses which Mr. Cox asserts would result from a policy of retaliation are as follows: (1) Every tax imposed upon imported goods means an injury to the consumers of those goods; (2) a retaliatory tariff, if it falls upon raw material required by any British industry, will diminish that industry's power to compete in foreign markets; (3) such a tariff would result in the creation of vested interests,—privileges to extract higher prices from the consuming public,—which, when once established, will prove difficult to remove; and (4) that the adoption of such privileges will "mean the death-knell of the purity of Parliament."

A POPULAR ACCOUNT of the state of the development of transportation by electricity in the United Kingdom⁴ has been written by Arthur H. Beavan. The volume contains a fair amount of information regarding London's present and prospective system of transportation. There is one chapter on "Provincial Tramways," three chapters on horseless vehicles, and one on the possibilities of applying electricity to navigation. These and all other parts of the book have been well-nigh spoiled by the author's attempt to make his pages interesting. If the irrelevant matter had been omitted and the facts

⁴ Tube, Train, Tram, and Car, or Up-to-Date Locomotion. By Arthur H. Beavan. With many illustrations and an Introduction by Llewellyn Preece, M.I.E.E. Pp. xviii, 291. Price, \$2.50 net. George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London; E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1903.

had been presented in a straightforward, concise manner the volume would have been much more readable.

THE SO-CALLED "SECOND EDITION" of Böhm-Bawerk's "Positive Theory of Capital,"⁵ is merely a reprint of the first edition, published in 1888. As the author explains in his brief preface to this reprint, his appointment in 1900 to the office of Austrian minister of finance prevented his accomplishing any more literary work than the revision of the first volume of his book on "Capital and Interest." This first volume, of which the second edition was reviewed in *THE ANNALS* some months ago, contained the author's presentation and critique of the various theories of capital and interest, while the second volume is devoted to a systematic exposition of his own views. Both volumes have taken unquestioned rank as remarkable contributions to the literature of economics; and as the first edition has long ago been exhausted there was every reason for issuing more copies of the book, even though only the first volume had meanwhile been revised. The author's own theory, however, has constituted the centre-point of so much controversy that it is to be hoped that he may soon be able to issue a new edition in which he will take up, in particular, those features of his own theory which have provoked most discussion.

"AFTER PRISON—WHAT?"⁶ details the experiences of Mrs. Maud Balington Booth in her work among prisoners, whom she calls "my boys." Mrs. Booth tells her story in an attractive way. She is interested in reforming the prisoner, not the prison, yet is by no means ignorant of the necessity for prison reform, as her chapter on that topic shows. Mrs. Booth seems a little too anxious to disclaim scientific knowledge of criminology. A little more of this knowledge would have probably kept out the sentence, "We are constantly impressed with one fact which cannot be denied, that the cause of drunkenness has proved directly or indirectly the ruin of between 80 and 90 per cent. of all those in prison." The author seems also very anxious to show that she has passed beyond the Salvation Army stage of social activity, but the accounts of relief work done by her raise the question whether in that particular she has yet reached the standard set by the charity organization societies. The real worth of the book lies in the illustration it gives of the value of personal service, and in the ringing indictment of society for its attitude towards the ex-convict. For these things the book ought to be widely read, and no one can read it unmoved. In Mrs. Booth the cause of the prisoners has a strong advocate, and her plea for justice is convincing even if we doubt whether or not an answer has been found to the question raised by the title.

⁵ Capital und Capitalzins. Zweite Auflage, Zweite Abtheilung: Positive Theorie des Capital. Pp. xxii, 468. Price, 12m. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung.

⁶ Pp. 290. Price, \$1.25. New York: F. H. Revell Co.

DURING THE PAST YEAR THE ANNALS has received six volumes of what promises to be an interesting and carefully written series of small French books on Social Economics. The volumes thus far issued,⁷ which are to be followed by at least a score of others, bear the following titles: "Contemporary Small-Scale Industry," "Population," "Beggars and Vagabonds," "Strikes," "Pools and Trusts," "Coöperation." The majority, if not all, of the writers of the series appear to belong to what in France is known as the school of Catholic social reformers. They are opposed to revolutionary socialism, with its atheistic tendencies. They are also opposed to the more or less materialistic philosophy of so-called scientific socialism, inasmuch as they emphasize the power and importance of moral and religious forces making for the betterment of social conditions. They are, on the other hand, radically opposed to hyper-optimistic "liberalism" and the policy of *laissez faire*, inasmuch as they favor governmental intervention wherever and whenever the moral and material progress of the nation seems to require it.

The problem of economic evolution and the truth of the socialistic theory of the disappearance of the middle classes depends in the last analysis on the question of small-scale industries. Can the small-scale producer compete with large-scale concerns? Is the small producer being driven out or absorbed by the large producer—the joint-stock company, corporation, or trust? These are some of the questions which Professor Brants endeavors to answer in his volume on Contemporary Small-Scale Industry. He is equally interested, however, in the practical problem: How can we encourage and maintain small-scale industries? In other words, what line of conduct should be adopted by those who, in France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, and Switzerland, have made the defence and development of the class of small artisans an essential part of their social reform programme?

Professor Brants first examines, in the light of statistics, the theory that small-scale production is inevitably making way for large-scale methods typified by trusts and industrial combinations. Particularly the German statistics on this point are carefully analyzed and found to indicate that while the scope and importance of large industrial plants is increasing, this increase is not at the cost of small plants, but due to increased production. Small plants in some branches are disappearing; but in other branches they are increasing. Only very small plants, consisting of one or two producers, are doomed to extinction. The grave problem concerning the method by which the small producer can obtain the requisite capital, machinery and motive power, at a cost permitting successful competition with large concerns, is discussed with a soundness of judgment and a wealth of statistical detail which should commend these parts of the book.

The second volume of the series, on "Population," is of little scientific

⁷ *La petite Industrie contemporaine*, by Victor Brants; 2e édition: Paris (Victor Lecoffre). Pp. viii, 230. *La Population*, by Alfred des Cilleuls. Pp. vii, 207. *Mendiants et Vagabonds*, by Louis Rivière. Pp. xx, 239. *Les Grèves*, by Léon de Scilhac. Pp. vii, 258. *Cartells et Trusts*, by Et. Martin St. Léon. Pp. viii, 248. *La Coöperation*, by P. Hubert-Valleroux. Pp. 228 (Dated 1904.) Price, 2 francs per volume.

value; the author adopts a controversial attitude which is perhaps justified by the acuteness of the population problem in France, where family life is rapidly being disorganized and where regular permanent concubinage enjoys undisguised social sanction.

M. Rivière's "Beggars and Vagabonds" contains an interesting sketch of the history of mendicancy and vagabondage, a survey of the present French, English, Dutch, German, and Belgian laws concerning these classes of dependents, and a discussion of preventive and repressive measures against them.

In his volume on "Strikes," M. de Seilhac has succeeded in condensing a large amount of suggestive material, from French sources, on this subject. He has given, in addition to a brief history of strikes, including a discussion of their cost, causes, and results and of the laws concerning them, a description of several typical French strikes. Particularly interesting to American readers is the chapter on the attitude of French socialists.

In his book on "Pools and Trusts," M. Saint-Léon presents a "synthetic study of industrial combinations, a general description of these combinations, and an inventory of theories and data due not only to the personal observation of the author, but to investigations carried on by others in other countries, according to different methods."

He deduces the following conclusions:

"It is impossible to pass a uniform judgment on pools and trusts. Two propositions, however, sum up the lessons of experience regarding these industrial combinations."

"(1) Industrial concentration *in itself* undoubtedly permits the scientific and rational organization of production. It diminishes the cost of production of merchandise and manufactured goods, secures a better adjustment of supply to demand, and reduces to a minimum the waste of time, money, and energy."

"(2) When, on the other hand, industrial concentration leads practically to monopolistic production, it is contrary to the interests of society. The monopolists, having no competition to withstand, but obliged to pay profits on excessive capitalization, are inevitably led to abuse their power and to plunder consumers by increasing the selling price of goods. However large it may be, an industrial concern cannot be called a trust if it voluntarily submits to competition and does not adopt the policy of combination in order to secure monopolistic privileges."

"Trusts, in brief, tend to create a régime of industrial tyranny which, while it enriches the few beyond all reasonable limits, is harmful to the interests of the community at large. The province of government is to watch carefully the methods employed by these great concerns, to subject them to a system of publicity which shall inform the public of their real economic status, and to put an end to the scandalous custom of watering stock. The government should, moreover, whenever the necessity arises, curtail their power to fix prices at an abnormally high level, by reducing the tariff on trust-made goods. These measures would, in our opinion, be preferable to laws prohibiting trusts; for such laws would (as has thus far been the

case) either fail to accomplish their purpose, or would overshoot the mark by attacking independent large concerns which are in no wise responsible for the misdeeds of the trusts."

M. Hubert-Valleroux's "Coöperation" contains a brief historical sketch of the early French and English coöperative movement and an account of the present status of productive, distributive, and agricultural coöperative associations,—especially in England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium. His attitude is on the whole very sympathetic, although he presents a characteristic and probably justifiable arraignment of the French socialistic coöperative societies for production. Although the book pretends to be a complete survey of contemporary coöperation there is no discussion of American coöperation, which recently has grown into a powerful movement embracing several thousand genuine coöperative concerns.⁸

"THE NEW ERA IN THE PHILIPPINES," by Arthur J. Brown, D.D.,⁹ is a pleasantly written account of the author's impressions concerning the Philippine Islands, presenting, as it does, an optimistic view of the present situation and of the future development of our Asiatic possessions. The author evidently believes that the American enterprise in the Philippines will result in national glory, commercial gain, and the welfare of the natives. He recognizes, however, that the commercial returns will not be as large nor as quick as is expected by many, especially as he considers a heavy military expenditure necessary. The author appreciates the difficulties which confront the insular government, not only on account of the backwardness of the country and the aloofness of the people, but also on account of the very inferior character of many of the Americans who have gone to the islands, and who are "plainly and shamelessly dissolute, the scum which is ever cast up by the advancing waves of civilization." The author considers the labor question the fundamental problem of the Philippine Islands; the natives he describes as "not inherently degraded or vicious, but naturally intelligent and kindly, yet lacking in energy;" he therefore favors the introduction of Chinese, not only for the purpose of supplying the much-needed labor, but also for "toning up the racial fibre" of the Filipinos. Over one-half of the book is given up to the discussion of the Roman Catholic Church and of Protestant missionary activities in the Philippines. According to the author, the Protestant missions are very successful in gaining the attention and adherence of Filipinos of all classes.¹⁰

"THE COÖPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETIES, LIMITED, ANNUAL FOR 1903,"¹¹ is a book which reveals how rapid and continuous has been the

⁸ Contributed by Professor C. W. A. Veditz, Bates College.

⁹ Pp. 314. Price, \$1.25. New York: The F. H. Revell Co., 1903.

¹⁰ Contributed by Professor Paul S. Reinsch, University of Wisconsin.

¹¹ Pp. vii, 480. Manchester and Glasgow, 1903.

progress of the coöperative societies of the United Kingdom during the last four decades. During this period they increased constantly in membership, capital, and volume of business, the sales amounting to almost \$400,000,000 in 1900 and aggregating over five and a half billions of dollars between 1862 and 1900. The membership of the societies reached a total of 1,886,252 in the latter year.

The Annual for 1903 will be of value to all interested in the coöperative movement. The volume contains, besides almost 500 pages of text, numerous diagrams and about a hundred photographs of stores, warehouses, depots, factories, steamships, plantations, etc., belonging to and operated by the coöperative societies. Several articles upon economic subjects, more or less unrelated to coöperation, are incorporated into the book.

"TOLSTOY AND HIS MESSAGE"¹² is a study of a prophet by his ardent disciple. It is an apology, an appreciation, just saved from being a panegyric by occasional criticism of minor details in the philosophy and moral code of which it gives an exposition. The author's object is to interpret Tolstoy to men who have not heard or who have failed to understand his message. To this end the author gives briefly an account of the life experience which made of the rich young noble a social reformer, an apostle of primitive Christianity and of poverty. For Tolstoy's philosophy of life, outlined in the two central chapters of Mr. Crosby's book, is in the last analysis that of Peter Waldo and of St. Francis: literal observance of the commands of Christ. His moral code can be summed up in the observance of brotherly love. In a capitalistic age, and a society founded upon militarism, he preaches work and poverty and the doctrine of non-resistance.

The reader could wish that Mr. Crosby had devoted more space to the statement of Tolstoy's message, and less to commentary upon it. Apparently, the doctrine of non-resistance gave the author of "Swords and Ploughshares" an opportunity he could not forego. Accordingly, he has filled fourteen of his ninety-three pages with instances of non-resistance triumphant. The space might better have been given to Tolstoy's views of property, and to his life based on his code.¹³

MR. HEPWORTH DIXON'S "History of William Penn: Founder of Pennsylvania,"¹⁴ is an excellent little book. It is, in fact, unusually well done, and in a style worth remarking. The work is practically a new undertaking, although it purports to be based upon "William Penn, an Historical Biography," which came out twenty-one years ago and which in its time commanded attention. The book forms a chapter in the history of the time of

¹² By Ernest Howard Crosby. Pp. 93. Price, 50 cents. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1903.

¹³ Contributed by Miss E. S. Davison, Ph.D.

¹⁴ Pp. 337. Price, \$1.00. New York: New Amsterdam Book Co., 1903.

Penn, who serves as the central figure. The general tone of the narrative is a defence of the great founder against the charges of Macaulay.

"THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE GERMAN COLONIAL CONGRESS OF 1902"¹⁵ have been published in convenient form. The Congress continued its excellent work of uniting and strengthening the sentiment favorable to colonial development throughout the empire in 1902-03. The subjects discussed included, Geography, Ethnology, and Natural Science; Tropical Medicine and Hygiene; Local and Political Relations of the Colonies and Dependencies; Religious Relations of the Dependencies; Economic Conditions; German Migration and Immigration into German Colonies; Foreign Policy of Germany, with reference to her colonies.

"LABOR CONFLICTS AND THEIR SOLUTION"¹⁶ is an interesting attempt to define the extent to which collective bargaining may be carried between employers and laborers. M. Guyot, in common with other observers, has been much impressed by the emphasis which the trade unions have come to place upon their purely militant activity. He regards the undue prominence of this somewhat pugnacious side of trade unionism as one of the principal obstacles to a peaceful solution of the wage question. He appeals to all except the professional agitator to organize the labor union upon commercial lines, as a business undertaking, for the purpose of bargaining rather than fighting. M. Guyot's pertinent question is, why should not the union control labor, and bargain to supply so much labor at a price to be mutually agreed upon with the employers or the employers' unions. He cites the numerous instances of successful bargaining on this wholesale plan both in England and the United States, giving special prominence to the agreement of the United Mine Workers of America with the operators in the bituminous field. The author does not complain of the strength of labor unions, nor does he insist that they shall occupy the position of mere beneficial associations for accident or insurance pensions, nor would he countenance any attempt to suppress unionism, but he does point out very forcibly their present inability or unwillingness to supply labor to those who are anxious to secure it. The union should remedy this weakness and should be a money-making association.

"THE HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES,"¹⁷ by Morris Hillquit, is a timely and much-needed work. Not since Professor R. T. Ely wrote "The Labor Movement in America," some seventeen years ago, has

¹⁵ Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses, 1902, zu Berlin am 10 und 11 Oktober, 1902. Pp. xvi, 856. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1903.

¹⁶ Les Conflits du Travail et leur Solution. Études de Physiologie Sociale. Par Yves Guyot, Pp. xxii, 396. Price, 3.50 francs. Paris: Eugène Fasquelle, 1903.

¹⁷ Pp. 371. Price, \$1.50. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1903.

any one in this country attempted a comprehensive treatment of the subject. Mr. Hillquit had an open field, and the result is very satisfactory. In one small volume it is naturally impossible to enter into the details of the development of socialism in the last one hundred years, but the salient features of all the important movements are given. Beginning with the early communistic societies, divided into the sectarian (*e.g.*, the Shakers), the Owenite period (New Harmony), the Fourist period (Brook Farm), and the Icarian communities, the author passes to the development of modern socialism. The early agitation carried on largely by German immigrants failed, but this gave way to a local growth based upon the changed economic conditions. Thus the labor organizations, at first hostile to socialism, have been invaded and in great measure captured by avowed socialists. Mr. Hillquit is an active socialist. He believes that socialism is rapidly growing and is destined to play a far more important rôle politically in the near future than it now does.

The book is clearly written. The subject-matter can be found elsewhere, but the author has summarized it all and brought it down to date in a very satisfactory way, and the recent development is well treated.

Apparently the author is accurate in his statements, such defects as exist being chiefly verbal. Iowa is scarcely to be considered as "a vast desert" at the time the Icarians left Nauvoo. Nor is it quite fair to say of the Oneida Community that "within the limits of the community all men were considered the husbands of all women, and cohabited with each other promiscuously." As the book appeared after the dissolution of the famous community at Harmony, Pa., it is to be regretted that this fact was not in some way indicated. The platforms of the Socialist and the Socialist Labor parties are given in the appendix.

"THE ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS,"¹⁸ by Frand Edward Horack, is one of the few doctors' dissertations which rise to the dignity and value of a treatise. The monograph embodies in a well-organized form the results of an exhaustive study of the statutes for the regulation of industrial corporations.

The author begins with a study of the nature of the corporation, and the source and development of corporation law. He discards the "Entity" theory, and holds to the more modern conception, that a corporation is an association of individuals empowered to do certain things through agents, and strictly limited both as to objects and territory.

In the main portion of his work, he discusses the subject of control under two general heads. First, the control of organization; and second, publicity, including the control, and purposes of organization, the duration of charters, the powers and duties of directors, and the control of capitalization. The laws of the different States which bear on these topics are carefully classified and digested, for easy reference. Special attention is

¹⁸ Presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania in 1902 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Pp. 207. Philadelphia: The Equity Series, C. F. Taylor.

naturally paid to the provisions for publicity, and a feature of particular interest is a discussion of the corporation laws of England, France, and Germany. Dr. Horack also shows, in a chapter, whose only defect is its brevity, how the laws of the States which regulate the organization and management of corporations are defeated by the foreign corporation which operates in one State under the laws of another. In conclusion, Dr. Horack presents a carefully worked-out plan of a national corporation law, an examination of which will serve to indicate at once the scope of his work, the accuracy with which he has comprehended the defects in one corporation law, and his clear perception of the remedies necessary. It is impossible to dissent from his conclusion that, "With the advent of a Federal corporation law, . . . many of the most flagrant evils of the present corporation system will disappear and with them the cry of 'anti-trust,' just as the cry against banks disappeared as soon as they were put upon a sound basis."

Dr. Horack has rendered a valuable service in the preparation of this work. His book will be found of great value to lawyers, and to those wider circles of the public who are addressing themselves with increasing interest to the study of the corporation problem.¹⁹

"*QUERIES IN ETHNOGRAPHY*"²⁰ is a very suggestive booklet indicating some nine hundred bits of information which missionaries or travellers in little-known parts of the world would do well to know. The book presupposes a certain modicum of ethnology, but does not profess to be a guide for the expert. It is designed to give some scientific order and value to the observations of such persons as are mentioned above. To this end the questions are carefully grouped, beginning with the problems of daily sustenance, race perpetuation, adornments and amusements, religious ideas, social structure, etc. The concluding chapter raises questions as to the effects of contact with higher races.

"*THE MONEY PROBLEM*"²¹ is an English publication, with some amendments and revisions, of an American edition which was published in 1894 at a time when the message of President Cleveland had brought the currency question into prominence. There seems little to warrant the republication of such a book at this time. In the first place, the subject is not a live one; there is no money question to be argued on the lines laid down. In the second place, the manner of presentation is highly theoretical and adds nothing to the fund of information on the subject. In so far as he deals with credit and causes for financial panics, banking, etc., Mr. Kitson shows a very meagre grasp of American conditions.

¹⁹ Contributed by Edward Sherwood Meade.

²⁰ By A. G. Keller. Pp. 77. Price, 50 cents. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

²¹ By Arthur Kitson. Pp. xxvi, 231. Price, 3s. 6d. London: Grant Richards, 1903.

IMPERIALISM IS THE order of the day. Much has been said and written of American imperialism and of English imperialism; and now we have a French volume on German imperialism.²² The Englishman's discussion of his country's "world-wide interests" has been translated into the German's boast of "deutsche Weltpolitik" and "Weltwirtschaft." M. Lair tells us, in animated, excellently written French, the origins of German imperialism. He sketches the intellectual and moral evolution which, since 1870, has so profoundly modified the genius of the German people. There was a time, not so very long ago, when Germany was content to ape the achievements of her neighbors, and her highest ambition, in all save science and learning, seemed to consist in faithful imitation. The Franco-Prussian War, however, awoke her to a consciousness of herself. And now she seeks to impose her goods and her political influence, as well as her science and her intellectual ideals, upon the rest of the world. Her imperialism, says M. Lair, adopts the two forms of armed peace and industrialism. The author's three chapters, entitled respectively, "Yesterday," "To-day," and "To-morrow," are as illuminating a discussion of Germany's economic status as has probably ever been written.

THE PRESENT PROTECTIONIST agitation in England makes Dr. Hermann Levy's essay on the condition of English farmers before the abolition of the corn laws especially timely.²³ The author undertakes to show that the circumstances which raised the price of cereals, during the first part of the nineteenth century, to an almost fabulous level, while they enriched the landholding classes, yet were disastrous to the large class of tenant farmers. He maintains, in the light of a careful examination of the statistical records, that the dire prophecies called forth by the introduction of free trade in England, have not been fulfilled. (Page 117.) The author's own statement, however, that "the recrudescence of a movement in favor of agricultural protection does not seem likely" is scarcely borne out by more recent occurrences.

CENTRALIZATION IN STATE ADMINISTRATION has already been described by several interesting monographs in the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law. The tendency towards centralization in Ohio and Indiana is now discussed by Samuel P. Orth²⁴ and William A. Rawles²⁵ respectively. Particular attention is paid to the school system,

²² *L'Impérialisme allemand*. By Maurice Lair. Pp. vii, 341. Price, 3.50 francs. Paris: Armand Colin, 1903.

²³ *Die Not der Englischen Landwirte zur Zeit der hohen Getreidezoelle*. By Hermann Levy. (Muenchener Volkswirtschaftliche Studien, No. 56.) Pp. ii, 132. Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta, 1903.

²⁴ *The Centralization of Administration in Ohio*. Pp. 177. Price, \$1.50. New York: Macmillan Co., 1903.

²⁵ *Centralizing Tendencies in the Administration of Indiana*. Pp. 336. Price, \$2.50, paper; \$3.00, cloth. New York: Macmillan Co., 1903.

charities and correction, control over local finance, roads, police, and similar departments of administration which have recently come under the closer supervision of the central authorities in each State. The monographs are especially valuable as showing the general character of the new system of central control over local governments. Professor Goodnow's guiding hand can be seen not only in the scope and manner of treatment, but also in the thoroughness of the work done.

"TOILERS OF THE HOME,"²⁶ by Lilian Pettengill, missionary to the housewife, is an earnest if unconvincing elaboration of the proposition, "Blessed be drudgery."

Miss Pettengill undertakes to prove two points: first, that the employer of domestic servants is to blame for their aversion to the service; and secondly, that public opinion, as voiced by employer, employee, and the friends of the latter, is also at the root of the evil. Miss Pettengill's unit of investigation is the American housewife, whom, in spite of democratic theories, she is pleased to depict as belonging to quite a different species from the toiler whose wrongs the author champions. The fault may be one of detail rather than one of principle, but her delineation of character is wholly unsound. This weakness, combined with the fact that she herself is not a typical servant girl—although she "desires above all things to seem like other girls"—robs the experiment of much of its value.

The experiment is based upon the obviously mistaken theory that it is possible for a young woman just out of college and capable of doing "work in an office," to enter intimately into the feelings and prejudices of an average servant girl. She might have been able to weep with them, but she certainly could not laugh with them. Then, too, how could she have missed seeing that the nature of the work we do reacts upon us in proportion to our thought of it? The girl of refinement, brought up in dainty, exact ways, and bringing a trained mind to bear upon her work, goes into the kitchen and scrubs. Has she taken into consideration the force which the consciousness of high motive, nay, of public-spirited self-sacrifice, gives to her scrubbing-brush? To lose sight of this side of the question is to rob the experiment of the element of fairness.

The book however, will do some good. It is a trustworthy study of the technical difficulties encountered in the "profession" of domestic service by both mistress and maid, and it will arouse those of its readers who "keep help" to give some thought to the matter. It is doubtful, however, if reform in this direction can be brought about by a book, no matter how strong; certainly it will not be done by this book. For although one could imagine a servant girl tired out with her day's work taking a too vindictive satisfaction from the petulant complaints of Eliza's co-workers, there is little in the book which would make her read dignity into her calling.

Miss Pettengill has, after all, drawn a picture rather than suggested a

²⁶ *The Record of a College Woman's Experience as a Domestic Servant*. Pp. xii, 397. Price, \$1.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1903.

remedy, and has only convinced us that the whole problem of domestic service is one of individual attack; and the solution stands thus: Given a suitable mistress with a conscience, who is fortunate enough to find a servant similarly endowed, and the question has been solved for that household.²⁷

It is now practically impossible to think of the problem of juvenile defectives and dependents in France without immediately recalling the name of M. Paul Strauss, who has made it his life-work not only to study the present condition of this important aspect of the social problem, but who, as a member of the French parliament, has been persistently active in devising and urging a host of reforms. His recent volume on "Depopulation and Child-Raising" is characterized by the same noble generosity, the same conscientious study of actual conditions, and the same sound sense, which mark nearly all of his work.²⁸

For France, the problem of depopulation is in M. Strauss's opinion constantly becoming more acute. It is, moreover, closely connected with the problems of infanticide and systematic abortion, of permanent concubinage and illegitimate births, of the industrial employment of prospective mothers, etc. Moral reasons alone, to say nothing of the patriotic arguments often advanced in France in favor of better provisions for the care-taking of illegitimate children or the offspring of the poor, dictate the establishment of institutions,—such as public nurseries, municipal dairies for the sale of sterilized but inexpensive milk,—in behalf of defenceless infancy. M. Strauss furnishes a critical description of all that is done in these and similar ways for the sake of the babes of France and their mothers.

"WHY THE MIND HAS A BODY,"²⁹ by C. A. Strong, Professor of Psychology in Columbia University, is a distinctly noteworthy book, in which the writer, accepting the latest results of modern psychological research, seeks to determine anew the old question of the relation between mind and body. First, the three current theories of causal relation,—viz., automatism, parallelism, and interactionism are passed under a brief, but acutely critical, review: In part I. is discussed the empirical side—the facts and causal relation; part II. is devoted to a somewhat fuller, and always critical, discussion of metaphysical principles and their application to the main problem.

Finally, the thesis which the writer seeks to establish is that there is no chasm between mental and physical phenomena; for things in themselves are mental in their nature, and panpsychism points the way to the true solution of the original problem.

²⁷ Contributed by Emily Newlands Thomson, New York.

²⁸ *Dépopulation et Puériculture*. By Paul Strauss. Pp. 308. Price, 3.50 francs. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier.

²⁹ Pp. x, 355. Price, \$2.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

IN THE THIRTEEN YEARS which have elapsed since the first publication of "*Les Lois de l'Imitation*," by Gabriel Tarde,³⁰ it is probably safe to say that no other French writer has been more often quoted by American students of sociology. Up to the present time only one small volume of Tarde's has been translated, namely, *Social Laws*, which is a brief summary of his social conceptions. The appearance, therefore, in English dress of his most important book, "*The Laws of Imitation*," is most welcome. Our only surprise is that the translation was not made long ago. The present translation is made by Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons, lecturer in sociology, Barnard College.

Tarde's fundamental thesis is "society is imitation," society "began on the day when one man first copied another." History is "a collection of those things which have been the most successful, that is, of those initiatives which have been the most imitated." "In the last analysis all social facts are beliefs or desires under the different names of dogmas, sentiment, laws, wants, customs, morals, etc." "When wants or ideas are once started they always tend to continue to spread themselves in a true geometrical progression." As civilization progresses, people become less conscious of imitating. Initiation arises from a combination of imitations. Although each person imitates his model, yet the imitation is not perfect, so we may say that imitation is affected by the medium through which it passes. Imitation is thus the elemental social fact. Yet, as Professor Giddings puts it in his introduction to the present translation, "Tarde perceived that imitation, as a social form, is only one mode of a universal activity, of that endless repetition, throughout nature, which in the physical realm we know as the undulations of ether, the vibrations of material bodies, the swing of the planets in their orbits, the alternations of light and darkness, and of the seasons, the succession of life and death."

The translation is very good, save for a few minor defects, such as the use on page 76 of "sommnambulism," which confuses the reader until he discovers that hypnotism is the subject under discussion.³¹

THE HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES has now been recognized, particularly by British cities, as a most difficult problem. The Tenement-House Department in New York City has been heralded as one of the foremost municipal achievements of the last decade. New Jersey has attempted to forestall the need for the condemnation of property by establishing a Tenement Commission in time to prepare cities for the growth which is imminent. Voluntary interest in Philadelphia has undertaken to awaken public sentiment against the growing housing evils of that city. Throughout the country, both in urban and rural districts, there is need for knowledge as to

³⁰ *The Laws of Imitation*. Translated from the second French edition by Elsie Clews Parsons, with an Introduction by Franklin H. Giddings. Pp. xxix, 404. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1903.

³¹ Contributed by Carl Kelsey, Ph.D.

sanitary houses which shall be cheap and comfortable. "The Housing Handbook"³² gives just this sort of data, together with illustrations which will help the architect or the superintendent of health, or the private builder, to apply the principles of modern construction. Incidentally, this handbook gives in table and picture a hasty summary of tenement construction in Great Britain.

IN "PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE IN TAXATION"³³ Dr. Stephen F. Weston attempts to justify the commonly accepted principles of universality and equality in taxation by tracing their direct relation to the nature and end of the State. Taxation, he asserts, is fundamentally an ethical problem; first, because of its voluntary nature being implied in the voluntary nature of the State; secondly, because every individual possesses "natural rights" which the State does not create but emphasizes; thirdly, because the tax rests upon the person, not the property. Ability, not benefits, measures the true ethical obligation of the individual to the State. Since ability is embodied in economic goods, it is the net income that determines equality in taxation.

This is the basis for the author's ethical principles in taxation. The approach to the problem of taxation is really from the point of view of individual rather than social ethics. The principles as developed by him, carried to their logical conclusions, would eventually limit and circumscribe the functions of the State. The author's emphasis of the purely personal nature of the tax, the demand "that there be the same relative means of satisfying wants according to their importance after as before the tax," the rejection of the inheritance tax from a theoretical point of view, the exclusion of differential rates based on the source and character of the income, the hesitating acceptance of the principle of progression in taxation, indicate a plan of individual ethics out of harmony with the actual progression of modern States. A "natural right" of the individual to hold property, or a "natural right" of the State in land because it was presumably once held in common, of which the author speaks, is not generally recognized by present-day writers. A too slavish adherence to so-called ethical principles is fatal to justice in taxation. The concept of taxation as a voluntary act is too subtle to be of value. To the individual it certainly is not voluntary, since the age in which he lives and the civilization of which he is a part determine the functions of the State. By the use of Hegelian phraseology the author seeks to emphasize the personal nature of the tax. It should be borne in mind, however, that neither the person nor the property *per se* determines taxability, but it is determined by the relation existing between the person and the economic good he controls. The book is well worthy the serious attention of every student of economics. It is a logical and careful attempt to develop from his premises a solution to the theoretical difficulties of the problem, at the same time throwing considerable light on the theories of other writers.³⁴

³² The Housing Handbook. By W. Thompson. Pp. xvi, 388. Price, 60 cents. London: National Housing Reform Council, 1903.

³³ Pp. 299. Price, \$2.00. New York: Columbia University Press, 1903.

³⁴ Contributed by Albert Charles Muhse, Cornell University.

REVIEWS

History of the German Struggle for Liberty. By POULTNEY BIGELOW. Illustrated with portraits, in three volumes. Volume III. Pp. xvi, 343. Price, \$2.25. New York and London: Harper Brothers, 1903.

Those familiar with Mr. Bigelow's two previous volumes will not expect to find in this one a history in the usual sense of the word. Indeed the title of the third volume would correspond more closely to the context, if it read *Studies in the History of the German Struggle for Liberty*, for both the subject-matter and the treatment are far from being consistently that of a more serious history. In no particular is it like the ordinary histories of the period and least of all like the German works. At the outset Mr. Bigelow declares that it is his intention to sketch for the English reader an outline of "the Germany which gloried in the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, which soon thereafter sank into sullen apathy under the police administration of the Holy Alliance, and which finally took bloody vengeance for its outraged manhood by inaugurating the revolutions of 1848."

But even this does not describe the work. It is less a sketch than a number of sketches or essays of a biographical and anecdotal character, very loosely and disconnectedly strung together. The different portions of the book are not fashioned and moulded to the plan of the whole; Mr. Bigelow unfortunately does not apply his intimate knowledge of the subject to give us the larger, more comprehensive view. As a consequence the subject is very unevenly treated, the *lacunæ* being particularly striking in connection with the political and economic forces of the period. The author's partiality for the dramatic side of his story seems usually to have been the determining factor in the important question of selection. The life and aspirations of the heroes of 1848, the martyrs in the cause of Germany's democracy are excellently sketched; his narrative glows with enthusiasm as it treats of *Turnwater* Jahn, Reuter, Blum, and Kossuth. The representatives of reaction on the other hand are treated in Mr. Bigelow's most ironical vein. Only contempt is dealt out to the incapable Frederick William III.; he is never more than "the husband of Queen Louise."

The style, although replete with Mr. Bigelow's mannerisms, is clear, interesting and vivacious. Many of the pen-portraits are masterly, while the narrative carries the reader along easily and pleasantly. To the general reader, therefore, the volume will prove entertaining and suggestive. To the specialist, however, it will scarcely appeal as serious history, for besides the uneven, sketchy character of the work it is at times inaccurate and unreliable. There is also a proneness to introduce historical parallels drawn from conditions or events in other countries, particularly from the United States. Occasionally these are helpful, but they occur too frequently, often leading to much redundancy. Nor are the sallies of this sort always the most apt, as for example when *Turnwater* Jahn is pictured "as something of a cross between the illustrious Samuel Johnson and Paul Krüger" (p. 78).

There is no index despite the fact that this is the last volume of the work, and the value of the illustrations, many of them excellent, is lost because no reference to the source from which they are drawn accompanies the prints.

W. E. LINGELBACH.

University of Pennsylvania.

Reciprocity. By J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN, PH.D., and H. PARKER WILLIS, PH.D. Pages xi, 583. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Baker & Taylor Co., 1903.

A thorough treatment of the subject of reciprocity has been much needed. Although the discussion of the tariff has been subordinated to the consideration of the monetary questions for the last six years, the tariff is in no wise a past issue and is certain to be the most important question in national politics for several years to come.

The work recently published by Professor Laughlin, of the University of Chicago, and Professor Willis, of Washington and Lee University, is a comprehensive, historical, and analytical treatment of the reciprocity question as it has presented itself in the American tariff system. The volume contains a vast amount of information and is rich in historical and bibliographical material. It gives ample evidence of extensive research on the part of its authors. They have endeavored to do their work so that it need not be done again by subsequent investigators.

The volume, however, is not without defects. Unfortunately, the authors were not able to free themselves from partisan bias. The whole narrative is colored by the opinions of the writers. The book is not an impartial and objective treatment of the subject. It is, of course, a difficult matter to deal objectively with a question so controversial as reciprocity is, but the task is not an impossible one for the investigator whose purpose is simply to ascertain and set forth the facts, and to confine himself to the statement of only such conclusions as may unquestionably be deduced from the facts presented.

The book is, moreover, crude in literary form. The volume need not have been much more than one-half its present size. There is far too much quotation and too much paraphrasing. The extent to which the volume is made up of quotations may be illustrated by reference to Chapter VI., dealing with "Reciprocity and the McKinley Act." This chapter is thirty pages in length, and of the thirty pages, eleven and one-half are made up of quotation. Chapter XI., on "The Struggle for Reciprocity with Cuba," contains sixty-four pages, of which nearly twenty-two consist of quotation. Chapter V., on "The Sugar Situation," illustrates the extent to which the authors have made use of citations.

One of the most serious defects in the book is that the authors resort from time to time to imaginative history and to an explanation of personal and legislative acts by supposing the motives back of those acts. This is a

temptation against which all historians need to guard, but the historian who indulges in supposition may always be detected. One instance of interpreting history by supposition is found on page 350 of the volume, where the origin of the Industrial Commission is explained in a footnote. The following statement is made: "The trust question reached an acute stage. President McKinley determined to resort to his favorite plan—the commission idea. The Industrial Commission was appointed by him to consider all phases of industrial life in the United States." As a matter of fact, President McKinley had nothing whatever to do in promoting the legislation establishing the Industrial Commission.

In spite of its shortcomings, the book will be of great service to every student of the tariff and reciprocity. The appendices, as well as the body of the book, constitute a compendium of information of which all future students of the subject will be certain to make use.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

University of Pennsylvania.

American Railways. By EDWIN A. PRATT. Pp. viii, 309. Price, \$1.25. London and New York: Macmillan Co., 1903.

This book is largely a reprint from articles published in *The Times* of London between January 5 and June 5, 1903, and consists of matter collected in the winter of 1902-03 during the author's four-months trip to the United States. It makes no pretence of being a thorough study of American railway conditions and problems, but is rather a loose series of observations and impressions.

In many respects the author finds American railways inferior to those of Great Britain. Railways in the United States were largely built in advance of settlement, and there is hardly a line, he concludes, which is complete in the sense that the London and Northwestern is complete. "While, therefore, on the one hand, much is said about locomotives and cars in America of power or carrying capacity far in excess of anything to be found in England—and intended to deal with a freight traffic equally in excess of what is available here [in England]—on the other hand, one finds lines that cross one another or that pass along streets or thoroughfares on the level, lines imperfectly ballasted, and lines with trestle bridges, inadequate signalling arrangements, and primitive conditions generally, which would not be tolerated for a single day in the working of our own railways." "In respect to track," the author thinks that "the British railways, as a whole, are distinctly in advance of the American railways, as a whole, though the best of the latter are fully equal to the best of the former." "In the matter of fencing and carrying of the railways above or below the street level, the superiority is undoubtedly on the side of the British lines." "In the matter of signalling arrangements, the general system in the United Kingdom is superior to the general system in the United States." "With a few exceptions, American railway stations are distinctly inferior to railway stations in Great Britain." "Taking the ordinary type of rolling stock, I should say that the corridor

carriages to be found on the main-line trains of British railways, for the use of which no extra fare is charged (except in the case of sleepers), are far superior to the alleged first-class, or 'omnibus' class, of the American railways. The same is equally true of the newer type of compartment carriages on this side." "A comparison of casualties on the railway systems of the two countries is distinctly favorable to British railways, while with ourselves a greater degree of security is afforded by the guarantee that every accident will be the object of close and independent investigation by government officials."

Mr. Pratt recognizes certain excellent features of American railway management, and is especially impressed by the economies effected in the transportation of freight by increasing the size of cars and trains and the hauling power of locomotives. Owing, however, to the shorter haul and the feebler traffic on British railways, he believes "that it by no means follows that what can be done, and done with undeniable success, in the United States would be equally capable of application in our own country."

The conclusions of the author are essentially negative. "British methods are well adapted to meet British conditions, just as American methods are well adapted to meet American conditions, and there is very little for either to learn from the other."

WALTER E. WEYL.

Philadelphia.

Germany: The Welding of a World Power. By WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND. Pp. vii, 376. Price, \$2.40 net. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

One is disposed to look with suspicion on a book that pretends practically to exhaust the whole subject of "Germany" within the compass of less than 400 pages. There is scarcely an aspect of his subject to which the author does not devote some space and attention. One's suspicion is heightened, moreover, by the journalistic tone of several chapters which do not rise above the level of average newspaper reporting. Yet there are parts of the book which are worth reading and pondering. Those to which the economist and the student of politics will turn with most interest are the chapters on "Political Life," "The Socialist Movement," "The Agrarian Movement," "The Tariff Problem," "Commerce and Manufacturing," "Shipping," and "Germany's Colonies."

Mr. von Schierbrand believes that Germany must be regarded as a "world power" for several reasons: (1) she stands foremost in military power; (2) by 1910 she will be the second maritime power in the world; (3) so far as ocean traffic is concerned, her merchant marine stands second; (4) her population, now approaching 60,000,000, has increased 8 per cent. within the last five years; (5) her foreign commerce is the second largest among nations. Above and beyond these reasons, however, the author very properly calls attention to the excellent technical education which Germany provides for her young men. Prominent exporting houses are accustomed to sending

young well-trained representatives to countries that are their main customers, to study the field for a term of years and to establish permanent business relations. An infinite capacity for painstaking effort and any amount of patience and adaptability are valuable assets in a struggle for the control of foreign markets; and these are eminently German qualities.

The chapter entitled "Germany's Political Turning-Point" maintains that Germany must modify her foreign policy. The Triple Alliance, never regarded by its members as more than a temporary arrangement, is losing its *raison d'être*. There are no sound reasons why Austria and Italy should remain in it, and Germany has passed beyond the stage in which she can regard it as very important. Germany must put herself on terms of intimate friendship, if not on those of a formal alliance, with the only two powers that are open to such an engagement—England and the United States. But an Anglophile foreign policy would be difficult, in view of German dislike for England, and because of the keen, unfriendly commercial rivalry between the two nations. Since the Spanish-American War the trend of things, says the author, has clearly shown that the Emperor means to court the favor of the United States, and his diplomacy has already borne fruit in the settlement of the Samoa difficulty, in the acquisition of the Carolines, and during the recent troubles in China. He has, moreover, given adherence to the American definition of the Monroe Doctrine.

It should be pointed out, however, that the economic interests of the two nations clash too violently ever to permit of a close friendship between them.

The chapters on the Socialist Movement, the Polish Problem, and the Agrarian Movement are the best in the book,—thorough, judicious, and readable. It is impossible to understand German political life or to gauge the probabilities of the future without an understanding of these three subjects; and certainly it would be difficult to find a better account of them than Mr. Schierbrand has given. While the book as a whole attempts to cover too much ground and parts of it sink to the level of mere newspaper gossip, there are nevertheless chapters, like the three to which we have just referred, which deserve careful reading. These passages will command the attention of those who, realizing that the era of American economic exclusiveness is indeed past, recognize that our most formidable rival will probably be Germany rather than England.

C. W. A. VEDITZ.

Bates College.

American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century. By EDWARD STANWOOD. Two volumes. Pp. xiii, 410. Price, \$5.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903.

Aside from the government documents, this is the most comprehensive work upon any phase of the tariff question that has yet appeared. The writer was previously known to the public as the author of a "History of Presidential Elections;" also, in the United States Census for 1900, as well as for 1890, his work is to be seen as that of an "expert special agent" in cotton

manufacture. He comes to his task, therefore, with both literary training and the expert knowledge of at least one of the most important industries affected by the tariff.

"Light, not heat," should be the watchword of him who would approach the tariff question. One who is by nature inclined to "take sides," is by nature disqualified from giving an adequate presentation. But this is not saying that it cannot be presented from the partisan stand-point. A writer who frankly tells you where he stands, and who honestly presents all the facts at his command, is to be trusted by friends and opponents alike, whatever may be said of his conclusions. The work before us, to use the words of the author, "is confessedly that of one who believes that the system of protection has given an opportunity which the opposing system would not have afforded for the unexampled growth of the country, and who has not advanced this doctrine with more confidence or with more persistency than writers of another school have expressed their abhorrence for protection." Hence the work is confessedly that of an advocate of protection, who in effect makes for himself the modest claim that his zeal has not led him further astray than the zeal of others has led them in the other direction. A work so free from partisan rancor as Mr. Stanwood's is deserving of better company than that of the mass of literature on either side of this vexed question, a position which the reviewer may accord to it, even though the author may not claim it. In the selection of material out of a superabundance of detail for a history of this series of great controversies, much depends upon the judgment as well as the fairmindedness of the historian. Realizing this fact, Mr. Stanwood says, "However greatly the author may have failed in the exercise of good judgment in this respect, he is not conscious that his choice of material has been affected by personal bias, nor that any facts essential to the formation of an opinion contrary to his own have been suppressed."

Since the appearance of Taussig's "Tariff History of the United States," undoubtedly the best work upon the subject previously written, the excellent monograph of Hill's upon "The First Stages of the Tariff Policy of the United States" has thrown a great deal of light upon our early tariff history. Mr. Stanwood has wisely profited by these researches. Moreover, he has so thoroughly acquainted himself with the debates upon the first tariff bill (1789), that he has quite successfully refuted the claim that it was not meant to be a protective measure. It may fairly be questioned, though, whether our author has succeeded in doing justice to Madison, whose position he characterizes as "peculiar," and whose remarks upon the bill mentioned "are certainly not self-consistent." There is no inconsistency in accepting the postulates of free-trade, *per se*, as Madison did, and at the same time, for lack of ideal industrial conditions, favoring the policy of protection. This was the position taken by Liszt, Henry Clay, and many another protectionist since then.

It is impossible to speak in detail where so much ground has been covered. One must pass over the changes of attitude as reflected in the Non-intercourse Act, the Act of 1824, the Bill of Abominations, as well as the

battles in which Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Everett, Benton, and others fought their hardest. Some rather lengthy quotations are made from the speeches and from Secretary Walker's famous report, but the reader will probably not regret the addition thus made to the length of the work.

About three-fourths of the second volume are given to the tariff legislation of the Civil War and the period following. In this part of the work, which is certainly not beyond its due proportionate length, it may fairly be questioned if the author has maintained his former level of treatment. It would be easier here for an opponent to convict him of being a mere apologist of high protection for manufactures to the neglect of extractive industries.

The main criticism upon the whole work is that the author betrays some lack of preparation for his task on the industrial and economic side. To be sure, the work is true to its title, and is therefore of interest to the historian rather than to the scientist. We are told in the introduction that "the simple truth is that this is in no sense a treatise on political economy," and that "one may search in vain herein for any discussion of the theory of wages, of the wisdom of buying in the cheapest market, and of other philosophical ideas upon which men have based their conclusions as to the economic effects of tariffs." But it is just as true, that he who would write a history of American tariff controversies should be thoroughly grounded in the economic and industrial causes at work; for one must be a good deal of a philosopher in order to be much of a historian. Something of this would have saved him from such a statement as the "three great agencies" by which man's wants are supplied are "trade, manufacture, and transportation;" and again, from ascribing the cause of the crisis of 1873 wholly to the Civil War.

In conclusion it may be said that if one is looking for an investigation into the relation between the tariff and wages, the tariff and prices, the tariff and internal development, etc., he will be disappointed. This is no part of the purpose of the writer, and it remains yet for some one to perform this, the most valuable service that can be undertaken in connection with this subject. Mr. Stanwood is concerned with another series of data of a political and historical character. He has given an unusually readable narrative for such a prosaic subject, the style is connected and clear, the statements of fact trustworthy, and his opinions, at the worst, could with difficulty be proved to spring from "offensive partisanship." The work will doubtless be widely read, as it deserves to be.

JACOB ELON CONNER.

University of Pennsylvania.

The American Revolution. Part II. By the RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, BART. In two volumes. Pp. 353 and 344. Price, \$5.00. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

Those who had read the first volume of this work must have awaited this continuation of the Revolution history with eagerness. Whatever one may think of the scientific value of the history, one can hardly resist the charm of the story. It would be hard to tell where the fascination of the

style lies. It is not in the rapid flow of the narrative, for it often pauses for many pages, and the still waters are even more engaging than the running stream. If the historian dwells for a chapter on the political discontent in England, the vividness of the details or the interest in the personalities seems to account for the breathless way we read. Again, the witty and brilliant criticisms of the ministerial follies appear to enlist our admiration, yet our attention is never distracted from the picture or the story by the cleverness of the writer. Sometimes the new meaning given to well-known events or the keen attack upon an old theory engages us. Gradually it is seen that no one characteristic of style has taken hold of our attention, but rather a happy blending of many excellent traits, none of which has an undue weight.

The new volumes are less a biography of Fox and more a history of the Revolution than was the first. As far as military events are concerned, the work advances from the evacuation of Boston to the close of the Trenton and Princeton campaign. But military themes are the least of the author's interests. He gives the bulk of the volumes to a study of the great struggle between the two great English parties, fought both in England and America, in the forum there and on the battle-field here. The present tendency among American writers to emphasize the rights of the British government as against those of the colonists is reacted upon and a broader, fairer statement substituted.

There are many new features of the Revolution graphically drawn, and old topics are emphasized where they have been subordinated. One of the most striking instances is an exposition of John Wesley's testimony as to the political discontent in England at the outbreak of the war. "In every part of England where I have been (and I have been East, West, North, and South within these two years), trade is exceedingly decayed, and thousands of people are quite unemployed." "The people . . . are far more deeply dissatisfied than they appear to have been even a year or two before the Great Rebellion." "They heartily despise his Majesty, and hate him with a perfect hatred." This testimony is elaborated and defended, while contrary evidence is subjected to exhaustive criticism. Another much-emphasized topic is the political revolution in Pennsylvania and the part taken by the Quakers. The subject of the Loyalists is not disposed of in a single paragraph, but is woven with a thousand threads into the whole fabric of the revolutionary story. Many pages are devoted to the apprehensions entertained in England about the bearing of the American question on English liberty. There is a careful examination of English contemporary opinion, as shown in the newspapers, the letters and diaries, society talk, the pamphleteers, and in the writings of contemporary historians. The religious aspect of the American dispute is given over forty pages.

The omissions are what we might expect in the work of an English historian. Little attention is given to the state constitutions and the political philosophy of the time. The constitutional questions generally are neglected, as are all those matters which are significant in the light of future American history.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

University of Michigan.

BOOKS RECEIVED FROM DECEMBER 1, 1903, TO FEBRUARY 1, 1904.

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NOTES

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

AMERICAN CITIES

Baltimore.—*The Liquor Question.*¹ The general law of Maryland requires of every retail liquor dealer the payment of an annual license fee, varying in amount from \$18 to \$150, according to the value of his stock in trade. Until 1890 Baltimore was included in the application of this general law, but in that year the legislature provided a special license-granting system for the city. Its main features are as follows: The governor, with the consent of the senate, appoints biennially three persons to constitute a Board of Liquor License Commissioners for Baltimore, all expenses and salaries being paid by the city. Every applicant for a retail liquor license must file a petition with the board, in which are stated particulars as to character of applicant, location and ownership of proposed saloon, etc., with an appended recommendation signed by ten residents of the ward. Notice of the application is published in the newspapers, and the board then gives a public hearing to all the residents of the neighborhood who may favor or oppose the granting of such license. The board, after this, makes its decision, and in granting or rejecting a license its discretion is unlimited. Licenses cannot be granted for more than a year; the fee is \$250, one-fourth of the proceeds from this source going to the State, the remainder to the city.

The regulation of the city saloon is also a matter of State action, provided for in special laws of the legislature. Those now in force prohibit the sale of intoxicants (1) on Sundays or on election days, except in hotels to guests in their rooms or at meals; (2) to minors or persons declared intemperate by husband, wife, or guardian; (3) between the hours of twelve midnight and five A.M. No license is issuable within certain designated districts, such as the neighborhood of certain factories, schools, etc. The enforcement of these laws rests, of course, with the city police department, which is also controlled directly by the State through a Board of Police Commissioners appointed by the governor. In this manner the saloon is entirely removed from municipal control and placed in the hands of State boards. The character of such boards is, of course, but the reflex of the character of the State administration. Before the so-called "reform movement" of 1895, there was undoubtedly much laxity in the granting of licenses, but since then there has been a noticeable improvement, and it is now a difficult matter to secure a license when the opposition in the neighborhood is strong. Police enforcement of the liquor laws is ostensibly strict. It is difficult to determine the exact efficiency of this, but there has been an apparent improvement in recent years.

The saloon wields a large power in local politics; to remove it entirely

¹ Communication of Hugh S. Hanna, Esq., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

seems at present utopian. If the system of absolute State control of the liquor license and police department continues, it seems best, on the whole, to retain the existing method of supervision by boards appointed by the governor. With the present high character of the city administration, these two departments could doubtless be better conducted directly by the city. But such a change is unlikely; and in the long run State control in this matter is not an unmixed evil. For, by thus shearing the municipal elections of these important offices, the city government becomes of less moment to the politicians, and the way of improvement in other municipal departments is made easier.

Local option as a solvent has never been tried, and the chances favor the continuance of the present system indefinitely, especially as the income from licenses forms important items in the State and city treasuries. It might, indeed, be practicable to increase the present license charge of \$250. When this was first introduced, there was an immediate decrease of a third in the number of saloons, with a consequent higher character of the remainder, thus rendering possible an easier popular and police supervision. A still higher fee might have similar good effects without materially increasing the danger of illegal selling.

Cleveland.—*The Liquor Question.*² The municipal code adopted in 1902 gave to municipalities authority to "regulate" saloons, but this authority does not permit the modification in any way of statutory provisions upon the subjects of taxation or local option. Under statutory authorization the city of Cleveland has provided by ordinance that saloons shall remain closed between the hours of twelve o'clock midnight and four o'clock in the morning. Prosecutions for Sunday opening and for the sale of intoxicating liquors to minors are carried on under the statutes, there being no ordinance upon those subjects. There is no requirement of bonds from saloon-keepers.

The provisions of the local option law of 1902 have been taken advantage of to a considerable extent throughout the State. Many of the smaller cities and towns have thus abolished the saloon. A local option election has not been had in any of the larger cities. An effort will be made during the present session of the legislature to secure the enactment of a ward local option measure for cities.

My personal opinion, based upon some observations, and shared by many other observers, is that, locally, enforcement is "liberal." This statement is especially applicable to the enforcement of the Sunday closing laws. The violation of these laws is manifest, and police judges require great particularity and refinement of proof before a conviction can be secured. The saloon is quite active in politics, and the saloon-keepers and their adherents usually act in harmony. It has been the custom of the saloon interests, working through a committee of an organization embracing practically all saloon-keepers, to select a ticket composed of those candidates deemed most friendly or least hostile to the business. This is done with considerable secrecy. In

² Communication of F. E. Stevens, Esq., Secretary Municipal Association, Cleveland, Ohio.

other ways less definite, but perhaps equally effectual, the saloon is a political power and the saloons are head-quarters for ward politics. The saloon concerns itself chiefly with candidates for the mayoralty, police court positions, and the city council.

Buffalo.—*The Liquor Question.*³ Since April 30, 1896, the licensing and regulation of saloons in Buffalo, as well as everywhere else in the State, have been governed wholly by the State liquor tax law, which upon that date superseded all local regulations and abolished all local Boards of Excise, their rights, powers, and duties. The law does not restrict the number of saloons that may be established in any place. It does, however, enumerate certain persons, corporations, etc., who may not traffic in liquors, but any other person or corporation who can pay the required tax and furnish the required bond may set up a saloon. The amount of bond required is one and one-half times the amount of tax paid, but in no case less than \$500. The conditions are, that the applicant will not allow any gambling on the premises, nor permit the premises to become disorderly; will not violate any provisions of the liquor tax law, and will pay all fines and penalties that may accrue. The amount of the tax varies according to the population of the locality where paid, and also according to the kind of license desired. For the sale of liquor to be drunk on the premises, it varies from \$150 to \$1200 (the latter for Greater New York); if the liquor is not to be drunk on the premises, the tax varies from \$75 to \$750. A pharmacist's license, however, costs \$7.50 anywhere. In Buffalo the first-mentioned kind of license costs \$750, the other \$450. In counties containing a city of the first class the tax is collected and the tax certificate (which is the license) is issued by a special deputy commissioner of excise appointed by the state commissioner, in other counties by the county treasurer. One-half of the taxes collected are paid to the State, the other half to the locality in which they were received, the expense of collection being first deducted.

The State law regulates everything connected with the traffic, and the municipalities have nothing to do but to enforce the State regulations. By the State law saloons may not be open at all on Sunday nor before five A.M. on Monday. On other days the hours of closing are one to five A.M., also on election days during the hours when the polls are open, if the saloon is within a quarter of a mile of any polling-place. Liquors may not be sold or given to minors under eighteen years of age, to intoxicated persons, habitual drunkards, or Indians; nor to any person to whom the dealer has been forbidden to sell by written notice from the parent, guardian, husband, wife, or child of such person over sixteen years of age, or by a magistrate or overseer of the poor of the town, the notice in the latter case applying only when the person is wholly or partly a charge upon the town.

For the purpose of enforcing the act, the State Commissioner of Excise is furnished with only sixty special agents. As this force is totally inadequate to cover so large a State, it is made the duty of all sheriffs, deputy sheriffs,

³ Communication of S. C. Richardson, Buffalo, N. Y.

police officers, and constables forthwith to notify the District Attorney of the county of all violations of the law coming to their knowledge, and the District Attorney then prosecutes through the grand jury. In Buffalo the enforcement of the law is said to be extremely "liberal."

Local option exists in towns only—not in cities—and is thus confined to rural communities. At each biennial town meeting, provided that ten per cent. of the voters request it in advance, the question is submitted to the voters in substantially the following form: "Shall any person be authorized to traffic in liquors: 1, to be drunk on the premises; 2, not to be drunk on the premises; 3, as a pharmacist; 4, as a hotel-keeper?"

To what extent the saloon is in politics in Buffalo the writer is unable to say; but he believes that the following scheme would go far to eliminate it therefrom,—viz.:

1. Local option everywhere.
2. Where licenses are granted at all, the number should be restricted, say to one for every thousand inhabitants (permitting *one*, however, in a community of less than a thousand inhabitants, if a majority so vote).
3. A minimum fee, where licenses are granted, of at least \$1000 a year, which, however, may be increased to *any* amount by the local authorities.
4. No person or corporation engaged or interested, directly or indirectly, in the manufacture or sale of spirituous or malt liquors to be accepted as surety on a liquor-seller's bond.
5. Sunday opening of saloons to be permitted, at least in cities, to a reasonable extent,—say from one P.M. to midnight,—under the usual restrictions as to good order.
6. The penalty for illegal selling of liquor to be imprisonment only, without choice of a fine.
7. The entire revenue from license fees to go to the community granting the license.

San Francisco.—*The Liquor Question.*⁴ Under the State constitution "local option" exists in all the municipalities of the State until the State legislature enacts a law to the contrary. Section 11 of Article XI. of that instrument provides as follows: "Any county, city, town, or township may make and enforce within its limits all such local police, sanitary, and other regulations as are not in conflict with general laws."

An excellent discussion of the powers conferred by this section is given by the court in *ex-parte* Campbell, 74 California 20, where an ordinance of the city of Pasadena prohibiting saloons was held valid, although it was shown that the State legislature had passed a large number of statutes fostering the liquor traffic, and although Los Angeles County, in which Pasadena is situated, had levied a license tax on saloons, which would, of course, produce no revenue in Pasadena. There are no general laws of the State which in any way interfere with the municipality's power to prohibit saloons or to impose license taxes on them.

⁴ Communication of William Denman, Esq., San Francisco, Cal.

San Francisco has its own charter, framed by its own Board of Freeholders, and passed by its own citizens. This provides for the concentration of executive control in the mayor, who appoints all the municipal boards and has the power to remove their members without trial. Under the charter the Board of Police Commissioners have the following power regarding permits to keep saloons:

“To grant permits to any person desiring to engage in the sale of liquor in less quantity than one quart, and to grant permits to any person engaged in the business of selling liquor to be drunk on the premises, and to revoke any such permit when it shall appear to the board that the business of the person to whom such permit was given is conducted in a disorderly or improper manner. Without such permit none of such persons shall engage in the business of selling liquor. If the board refuse to grant such permit, or propose to revoke any permit that has been granted, the person who is refused such permit or whose permit it is proposed to revoke shall be entitled to be heard before the board in person or through counsel, and to have, free of charge, all reasonable facilities at the hearing. Such permits shall not be granted for more than three months at one time, and they shall distinctly state the name of the person to whom the same is given and the description of the premises where such business is to be carried on. Such permits shall at all times be subject to inspection by any member of the department. Complaints to revoke permits granted by the board must be in writing, signed by the person making the same, and filed with the secretary of the board; and a copy thereof, certified by the secretary, must be served upon the party complained against at least five days before the time set for the hearing of the complaint.”⁵

The Board of Supervisors, an elected body, has the power to fix the license tax.⁶ The supervisors have fixed the license at \$21 per quarter, and police commissioners have issued over 3100 permits, thus creating an establishment selling liquors at retail for every twenty-five registered voters in the city. There are no requirements as to bonds or as to hours of closing, either on week-days or on Sundays. It is superfluous to add that the saloon is well entrenched in San Francisco politics.

A recent test of the voting power of the “wide-open” influences in San Francisco was had in a special election, held under the referendum clause of our charter, for the passage of an ordinance permitting the resumption of gambling in the race-tracks within the city limits. A long campaign was made against the proposition by all the newspapers, churches, and civic bodies. We have no permanently poor class, no illiterates, and a population almost entirely English-speaking. It is safe to say that 95 per cent. of the voters knew exactly what the issue was and voted without coercion. Out of 48,162 votes, 22,636 were for the ordinance.

The town is “wide open.” The most conspicuous examples of the “liberal” enforcement of police regulations are the side entrances to saloons and the large French restaurants. The former admit women to back rooms,

⁵ S.F. Charter, Art. VIII., Ch. 3, Sec. 3.

⁶ Charter, Art. II., Ch. 2, Sec. 15.

where liquors are sold. In the latter, over the public dining-rooms on the street (and which are patronized by the admittedly better class of people of the city), are from six to eight stories of suites of dining-room, bedroom, and bath, devoted exclusively to transient assignation, and served from the same kitchen as the restaurant. Both evils are reachable by existing statutes and ordinances. There is an occasional attempt at closing a side entrance, but absolutely no interference with the restaurants.

As to remedies: San Francisco is a metropolitan seaport, a mining, lumber, and cattle centre, and a pleasure resort combined. There seems no hope of immediate suppression of the richer saloon or of the restaurants. A considerable increase in the liquor license tax, however, would probably close out what are sometimes called "middle-of-the-block" saloons, miserable places in back alleys, where the proprietors eke out a wretched existence selling adulterated liquor, often to the women and children when the men are at work. The continuance of such places depends on the skill with which a trade is built up among the people immediately adjoining the saloon. The profits are too small to stand a raise in the license. An increase to even \$500 per annum would rid the city of a considerable body of people whose entire energy is given not alone to catering to the vices of the community, but to creating vice among its least resistant population. Beyond the occasional discussion of the advisability of raising the license, there does not seem to be any evidence that the public is at all conscious that its saloon conditions are unusual for an American city.

Cincinnati.—*The Liquor Question.*⁷ Under the constitution of Ohio no license can be charged for the selling of intoxicating liquors. The Supreme Court has, however, upheld the taxation of the liquor business. Under a law known as the Dow law it is provided that "upon the business of trafficking in spirituous, vinous, malt, or any intoxicating liquors there shall be assessed yearly, and shall be paid into the county treasury by every person, corporation, or copartnership engaged therein and for each place where such business is carried on, the sum of three hundred and fifty (\$350) dollars." This tax, together with the increase, shall attach and operate as a lien upon the real property on and in which such business is conducted.

Every husband, wife, child, parent, guardian, employer, or other person injured in person or property or means of support by any intoxicated person, or in consequence of the intoxication, habitual or otherwise, of any person, shall, after having given notice to the person selling such liquors, begin an action against such person if he sell after notice. And the owner of any building or premises and the person renting or leasing same having knowledge that intoxicating liquors are to be sold therein in violation of the law shall be liable severally and jointly with the person selling intoxicating liquors.

The sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday, except by a regular druggist on written prescription of a regular practising physician and for medical purposes, is declared unlawful, and all places where it is sold shall be closed,

⁷ Communication of Max B. May, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio.

and whoever sells, or allows such place to be open, shall be fined for first offence not more than \$100 and not less than \$25, and for each subsequent offence fined not more than \$200 or imprisoned not less than ten nor more than thirty days, or both. In regular hotels any bar connected therewith shall be closed. Every city has full power to regulate selling, furnishing, or giving away of intoxicating liquors as a beverage and the places where such liquors are sold. In Cincinnati all saloons must close at twelve o'clock midnight and remain closed until six o'clock A.M.

Wherever forty per cent. of the qualified electors of a municipal corporation shall petition the council for privilege to determine by ballot the question of prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, a special election shall be held, not earlier than twenty nor later than thirty days from filing of petition; and if the majority of votes cast at said election was against sale, any selling more than thirty days after election is unlawful. A local option election may be held every two years. On January 1, 1904, local option was in force in 120 towns and incorporated villages. The State administration has little or nothing to do with enforcement of the liquor law. Every two years there is a contest in the legislature between anti-saloon and saloon factions, the former trying to extend anti-liquor legislation. The city members are usually opposed to such laws.

The Cincinnati administration is favorable to the saloon. On Sunday the side doors of most saloons are open and certain resorts are open all night. If a person should be arrested for violation of Sunday or midnight closing law, he demands a jury trial. So often have juries disagreed or acquitted, that such cases are put on open docket and never tried. In every sense of the word there exists in Cincinnati a "liberal enforcement,"—*i.e.*, liberal towards saloon.

In local politics the saloon plays a very important part; many of the "leading" councilmen, members of Board of Education, and other officials are saloon-keepers or have "retired" from business. The ward and precinct captains make the saloon their head-quarters, and here are carried on all preliminary caucuses. In Cincinnati the boss of the city and his cabinet meet at regular intervals in a saloon. In my opinion, the best way to eliminate the saloon from politics is to abolish the delegate convention system, have nominations made direct at the primaries, and establish a rigid civil service law.

Providence.—*The Liquor Question.*⁸ The history of the liquor traffic in Rhode Island shows increasing restrictions on the license traffic, forbidding the location of saloons near public schools, penalties for selling to minors, etc., which culminated in the passage of a prohibitory amendment in May, 1886, by a vote of 15,113 to 9230. The enforcement of prohibition under the chief of the special State police (now the boss of this State) was so lax that it was discredited; and in May, 1889, the amendment was repealed by a vote of 28,315 to 9956. On August 1, 1889, Chapter 816 of the public laws was passed, making general provisions for the regulation of the traffic. "Intoxicating

⁸ Communication of Sidney A. Sherman, Esq., Providence, R. I.

liquors" are defined to be those containing over two per cent. alcohol, or even less than that if *actually* intoxicating. The granting of licenses is placed in the hands of the town councils and of certain specially appointed commissions in a number of cities. Licenses are for one year. No liquor may be sold on Sunday, nor to any woman to be drunk upon the premises, nor to a minor, nor to a notoriously intemperate person. No license shall be granted to a place where the owners of the greater part of the land within 200 feet object. The licensee must give a bond of \$1000, with two sureties. No license may be granted where a dwelling-house is connected with the licensed premises from within, except taverns, and none where entrance is otherwise than directly from a public, travelled way. The husband, wife, parent, child, guardian, or employer of an excessive drinker may notify a dealer not to sell to such person, and can recover damages if he does. Drug-gists may sell only on the written prescription of a physician. Screens must be removed on Sunday. Wholesale license fees are not less than \$500 and not more than \$1000; retail, \$400 in Providence, and then down to \$200 in smaller communities. The city council has just requested the legislature to raise the fees. Three-fourths of the amount of the fees go to the town or city and one-fourth to the State. The sheriff of any county must suppress unlicensed liquor shops on the request of any tax-payer, under penalty of \$500 for wilful refusal.

The authorities in any city or town may permit licenses to be transferred to others than the original licensee. This gives rise to a trade in licenses, which are now said to be held at more than double their price in Providence. The local authorities may also fix the number of licenses to be granted, large or small. They also have power to close shops, saloons, and other places of resort in the evening as they think proper, and to close saloons during any specified hours on holidays and election days.

In carrying out these powers the Providence city ordinances provide that no shop, store, or other place of trade or entertainment, except licensed taverns, shall be open from midnight to four A.M. No restrictions are made upon the holiday and election day traffic, and the city merely carries out the State laws already quoted in regard to Sunday selling, sales to minors, and the requirement of bonds.

Local option is complete, but the vote is only taken upon petition of 15 per cent. of the total vote in towns and 10 per cent. in cities. Agitation is discouraged by this law, and there has been only one vote on the license question in Providence for a dozen years. The five cities of the State give licenses, as do nineteen towns; while fourteen towns refuse them. The twenty-four license communities contain 398,556 people by the census of 1900, and the fourteen no-license towns just 30,000. In 1902 there were seventy wholesale licenses in the State, forty-four of which were in Providence; and 1164 retail licenses, 475 of which were in Providence. This is an average of one retail license to every 368 people in the State, one to every 354 in Providence, and one to every 110 in the town of Tiverton. The town of Westerly and the surrounding southwestern part of the State are quite strongly no-

license, but a striking feature of some of the country districts is the saloon at the cross-roads. Some mill villages have their streets lined with saloons.

The attitude of the State and city authorities accords with public sentiment for the most part. Recently, enforcement in Providence has been more strict than formerly, which would indicate that it was formerly somewhat "liberal." In certain smaller communities and in one or two larger ones the local administration winks at many infractions of the law. It seems to be difficult to secure conviction in the courts for illegal selling on account of lack of credible witnesses and technicalities under which refuge is taken.

Few liquor dealers appear in our legislature or city council, but here, as everywhere, they are a potent influence in politics. This influence is exerted not only by the small dealer upon his patrons, but by the wholesaler, who moves in the best society and contributes to charities and campaign funds. Owing to the almost absolute lack of agitation upon the license question, this influence is silent and less apparent to the public than it is in many places; but it exists, nevertheless. Up to November 26, 1901, licenses in Providence had been in the hands of the city, but on that date a State Police Commission, appointed nominally by the governor, but actually by the State Senate, took control of the police and licensing systems in the city. This was a partisan act, passed in order to deprive the mayor of his power. The city pays all the expenses of the commission. The majority of the people have several times shown their strong disapproval.

As to the general question of eliminating the saloon from politics, it is doubtful if it can be eliminated as long as it exists. It surely cannot be left unregulated, and the moment the community begins restriction the liquor interests begin to work against it. And those interests are so powerful, and so alert from self-interest, that it seems unreasonable to suppose that the elimination of the saloon from politics is possible unless the saloon itself is destroyed.

Seattle.—*The Liquor Question.*⁹ By State law the cities of Washington are grouped into classes, all below the first class being allowed local option regarding the liquor traffic. Cities of the first class, such as Spokane, Tacoma, and Seattle, are given the right to "regulate" but not to prohibit the traffic, and may fix licenses anywhere between \$300 and \$1000. The State law prescribes that there shall be no Sunday opening of saloons and no admission of minors, and allows the city government to prescribe "limits of time and place." Seattle ordinances have required absolute closing between one and five A.M., and have limited the location of saloons to the business and waterfront district—perhaps one-tenth of the city's area. Ordinances have also been passed against the wine-room evil and the admission of minors.

In the face of these regulations, the county officials with some few exceptions, and the Seattle officials without exception, have maintained a "wide-open" policy, tolerating violations of practically all provisions of liquor laws and ordinances, as well as laws relating to gambling and prostitution. Saloons

⁹ Communication of Professor George H. Alden, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

are open at all hours of the night and Sundays, laws and ordinances to the contrary being dead letters. Boxes in saloons are common. Spasmodic efforts are made to keep out minors—after the arousing of an indignant public opinion by some tragedy in that connection. The liquor business of the city is practically all in the hands of a brewing concern, which, of course, takes care of the matter of bonds; in fact, the saloon-keepers are merely the agents of this organization.

That the saloon has been the controlling factor in city politics goes without saying. An illustration of the fact that it intends to keep this control is seen in the impossibility of getting the ninth ward, which is strongly anti-saloon, divided into three wards, with the aldermanic representation to which it is entitled by population. Indeed, if we may credit reports apparently well founded, the liquor organization is now planning to seat certain men in the city council as its own openly avowed representatives.

Duluth.—*The Liquor Question, General Provisions.*¹⁰ Under the laws of Minnesota the license fee in cities of 10,000 population and over is fixed at the minimum of \$1000 per annum. This license fee may be increased, but not diminished, by the common councils of the municipalities affected. In Duluth it remains as fixed by the State law, and the municipality derives a yearly revenue of \$174,000 from the 174 saloons within its limits.

In cities under 10,000 and in villages, towns, and boroughs—that is, in all other political subdivisions of the State—the minimum license fee is \$500, which may also be increased, but not diminished, by the common councils, county commissioners, or other governing authorities. In one municipality of the State, a city of about 6000 population, the license fee has been increased to \$2500 and the number of saloons reduced to two.

The usual provisions against the sale of liquors to minors, inebriates, etc., are incorporated in the State law, and the saloons are ordered closed on Sundays, election days, and between the hours of eleven P.M. and five A.M. on all other days. There is also an inhibition against conducting a saloon within 300 feet of any school, against the sale of liquors on or within certain limits of the State fair grounds, etc. Local authorities are empowered to place such additional restrictions and safeguards around the traffic as may be included in the authority to “regulate” and in the proper exercise of the police power of the State.

Saloon-keepers are, without distinction as to locality, required to give a bond for \$2000; but a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the State has practically nullified the restrictive influence of this provision by holding the sureties under the bond liable for only actual damages shown on account of violation of the law instead of making the bond a punitive guarantee of proper observance and subject to forfeiture on proof of violation of the law, as many, before that decision was rendered, had supposed it to be. The State legislature has not seen fit subsequently to amend the law. The local option provisions of the law are somewhat obscure, and do not seem

¹⁰ Communication of W. G. Joerns, Esq., Duluth, Minn., January 25, 1904.

to apply to incorporated cities or to villages operating under special charters. In villages incorporated under the general law and in municipal townships, however, the question of license or no license may be put to popular vote on petition as provided by statute, and, if the vote results unfavorably to license, the sale of intoxicants prohibited in such village or township. Only one such political subdivision in the county at large (a strictly rural township) has made use of this provision of the law, and there are no saloons within its limits.

The question of enforcement of the law is difficult to answer. Duluth has been subjected to all three methods,—to wit, "Strict" enforcement, "liberal" enforcement, and the "wide-open" policy. It is at present operating under what might be termed a policy of "liberal" enforcement. In this connection it should be borne in mind that Duluth is a city of 75,000 inhabitants, a prominent lake port, and the centre of supply for a large lumbering and mining region, each of the indicated industries bringing with it conditions that seriously complicate the solution of the liquor question. Duluth, on the other hand, also has a wide-awake citizenship and an unusually well-developed civic spirit, which tend to hold in check what otherwise might easily degenerate into an unbearable condition.

A one-time "wide-open" policy in Duluth in the earlier days resulted in a popular upheaval, and was followed by a period of "strict" enforcement in all that the term implies. Saloons were closed at eleven P.M. sharp and on Sundays; gambling was stopped and other violations of the law were followed up closely. The police administration was, moreover, recognized as thoroughly honest and efficient, and was wholesomely respected and cordially hated by the interests involved.

But it was soon suggested that the material interests of the city were being substantially affected by the strict policy; that sailors, lumberjacks, and others were not only transferring their debaucheries but also their legitimate expenditures to other cities, notably to St. Paul and Minneapolis and to Superior, across the bay; that hotel business was impaired, and that Sunday trains and street cars to Superior were crowded. The merchants and business men of the city quite generally entered a loud protest against "strict" enforcement, and the local administration, yielding to what at least was supposed to be popular clamor, modified its course. The policy of "strict" enforcement was succeeded by a policy of "liberal" enforcement. Since that time there was one other period of notably lax enforcement, but it brought political disaster to the otherwise fairly respected administration that had been identified with it.

This so-called "liberal" enforcement, as distinguished from the "wide-open" policy, is a partial though, unfortunately, more or less hypocritical concession to the moral sentiment of the community. It appears to have its crux in allowing the saloons to keep a sort of veiled open house after eleven P.M. and on Sundays, by keeping the front door locked and permitting access to the saloon by a side entrance, and, where they exist, in compelling a greater secrecy and discretion in gambling operations and other vicious practices that have brought the traffic into disrepute.

Whatever the nature of the enforcement, to be permanently effective it must have the sympathy of the community. To have this the regulations must appeal to the community as reasonable, and unfortunately, it would appear, must not materially interfere with its more sordid interests. Whatever may be said on the question of Sunday closing, it is a fairly general opinion that eleven P.M. on week-days is too early as an effectual closing hour in a community the size of Duluth, and that, if the State law were amended so as to extend the time to midnight, the enforcement of this feature would be much easier and more effective. As it is, the violation, which in this instance is condoned by public opinion, in many cases extends over the whole night and to other delinquencies without rebuke.

It might be here suggested that the advantage of a "liberal" enforcement over the "wide-open" policy lies in the fact that the former is itself the result of and a concession to a healthier and more vigorous public sentiment than the one that permits a "wide-open" policy, and this sentiment must be respected. This, coupled with the fact that the privilege extended depends on a partial official concession or omission which can cease at any time and must cease whenever general public sentiment is outraged, tends to exercise a sort of moral suasion, if such term can properly be used in this connection, and to ameliorate some of the graver and more generally recognized evils of the traffic. So far as the admission of minors to saloons is concerned, public sentiment does not condone it. The violation of the law in this respect occurs at times in the saloons, as it has in some instances at soda-water stands in mixing intoxicants with the otherwise comparatively harmless beverage; but if, in either case, such violation becomes public, punishment follows.

The State authorities have concurrent jurisdiction with municipal authorities in cases where the general excise laws have been violated. The tendency in Duluth, however, is ordinarily to allow the municipal authorities sole sway within their special jurisdiction. When violations of the law have, however, incidentally come to the attention of the grand jury, it has not hesitated to indict and the public prosecutor vigorously to prosecute the offenders. At times, also, the grand jury becomes an original investigator, and usually with effective results.

In a city the size of Duluth even the comparatively limited number of saloons, together with the wholesale liquor and brewing interests and what otherwise attaches to the traffic, while not a dominant force, is nevertheless a power to be reckoned with. It is well organized, militant, and watchful of its own interests. The general public sentiment of the community would, however, scarcely brook the open and avowed domination of the so-called liquor interests, and, when visibly confronted with the danger of such domination, readily solidifies against it. It is often an element of weakness in a candidate to be recognized as having the support of those interests. The work that is done is therefore done more or less under cover, but is none the less effective unless adverse public sentiment is wide-awake and active.

The elimination of the saloon from politics is a most difficult question. The saloon will probably remain in politics so long as the action of public officials may favorably or unfavorably affect the liquor interests. This is but

natural. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and conditions peculiar to the liquor traffic tend to place it in a class by itself and thus to bring about united action in its own interests. If it were not the subject of special legislative restriction and police control, but stood on the same footing as other commercial pursuits, there might not be the same inducement to political activity, at least not to united action.

Absolute freedom of traffic is out of the question, however, in the present temper of the American people. The question then resolves itself into how to minimize and neutralize the political activity of the saloon under existing conditions. No doubt the greatest safeguard will always lie in the sound moral sentiment of the community. This public sentiment, however, to be effective must be general, active, and earnest. It must meet organized effort by organized effort. It must make sure of its ground in the support of candidates for office, as it may always rest assured the saloon interest has already done. It must see to it that legislative and administrative officers or the press are not lured from the path of duty by bribery, cajolery, or intimidation. It must be able to discriminate between the evasions and platitudes and partisan appeals of the practical politician and the character of the man. Above all, it must be eternally vigilant in the propagation of high civic ideals and of sound morality, and in insisting that the saloon shall observe the rules of common honesty and common decency, not along the narrow lines that are akin to persecution, but from the stand-point of that broader view that will appeal to the common sense and common fairness of the community.

St. Louis County outside of Duluth. The territory herein included is of wide extent, partly wild and uninhabited, partly rural and semi-rural, and, again, the seat of extensive iron mining and lumbering operations. In all but the incorporated villages, where the village council decides, the power of granting licenses is vested in the Board of County Commissioners, which is chosen by districts. As before stated, the minimum annual license fee is \$500. This can be raised, but as a matter of fact has not been raised in any case by either board or village council. The Board of County Commissioners has, however, repeatedly refused to grant licenses in localities where particularly urgent and well-founded objections have been raised.

A more serious problem, however, is presented in the incorporated villages of the mining regions, particularly on the newer or Mesaba Range. Here licentiousness, debauchery, and excess of every kind have run riot until it has become not only practically unbearable in the immediate localities, but a stench in the nostrils of the county at large. In one village of less than 5000 population, much of it of a floating character, there are to-day in the neighborhood of fifty saloons. It goes without saying that the saloon element is a dominant influence in the public life of that community, and that corruption, crime, and moral degradation are prominent features. Public functions and celebrations even have been arranged and located with reference to the increase and distribution of the saloon patronage, and at times a veritable saturnalia has reigned supreme. This description is unfortunately typical of several similar communities, and varies only as size and environment tend to make the conditions better or worse.

It follows as a corollary that a large percentage—out of all proportion to population—of the criminal business of the county has its origin in the several communities where these shocking conditions exist. The public prosecutor in a recent annual report has estimated that thirty-one out of one hundred and fifty convicted criminal defendants committed their several crimes while under the influence of liquor, and that ninety per cent. of all the criminal business that came under his jurisdiction in the year just passed was more or less connected with the sale of intoxicants, gambling in saloons, and with the excesses and concomitants generally of the traffic. It is only fair to say that in the more recent past the better class of people in several of these communities has made an earnest effort at, at least, a partial reform, and has succeeded in electing a few good administrators to office, with what permanent effect remains, however, to be seen. It is quite probable, however, that unless help comes from the outside even bearable conditions can only be approximated.

Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.—*The Liquor Question.*¹¹ The sale of liquor at retail in the County of Allegheny, Pennsylvania (containing the cities of Pittsburgh, Allegheny, and McKeesport), is regulated by the general excise laws of the State. These are: the act of May 13, 1887, usually known as the "Brooks High License Law," and later acts supplementing or revising it, the most important of which are those of July 30, 1897, April 24, 1901, July 19, 1901, and April 27, 1903. These laws largely increase over its former amount the annual license fee, and give to the county Courts of Quarter Sessions, sitting as license courts, jurisdiction over the whole subject of the granting and transferring of retail licenses. The courts are authorized to decide the date when the term of licenses shall commence. In this county the term, which runs one year, begins May 1, and the licensee must annually renew his application. His conduct of his business for the preceding year, therefore, becomes a determining factor, and his knowledge that upon it depends largely his chances for the succeeding terms is a strong influence towards the observance of law.

To secure a license the applicant must (in addition to filing a bond in the sum of \$2000 with sufficient sureties for the observance of the laws relating to the business of retailing liquor, and for the payment of all damages which may be recovered in any action instituted against him, under the provisions of any act of Assembly) satisfy the Court that the license sought is necessary for the accommodation of the public and entertainment of strangers and travellers. The facts set forth in his petition must be certified to by twelve reputable, qualified electors, residents of the district in which the liquor is to be sold. He must also show that he is a fit person to have the license. And in determining the matter of fitness the courts are allowed wide latitude, and their decisions are practically final. The courts of Allegheny County, unlike those of Philadelphia and other counties, require the appearance and examination of every applicant for renewal, even though there is no remonstrance.

¹¹ Communication of Edwin Z. Smith, Esq., Pittsburgh, Pa.

The license fee in cities of the first and second class (Pittsburgh and Allegheny belong to the latter) is \$1000; in third-class cities, \$500; in all other cities, \$300; in boroughs, \$150; and in townships, \$75. A small proportion of it goes to the county treasury, but the principal part to the treasury of the municipality; the money thus paid into township treasuries, for example, being used to keep up the roads. In addition to these fees, a further sum must be paid to the county treasury for the use of the State, amounting to \$25 in townships and \$50 in boroughs, and all cities except those of the first and second class, in which the additional fee is \$100.

While to some members of the judiciary the duties of the License Court are distasteful and are regarded by them—and not without some reason—as derogatory to the dignity of the bench, the consensus of opinion among the judges and the people at large is highly favorable to this mode of granting licenses, as tending to make the business of liquor-selling more respectable, more law-abiding and less harmful. The comparatively large amount of the license fee and the necessity that the application must be made formally and personally in open court, where an unsavory record may be laid bare, evidently have their effect in keeping improper persons out of the business. Experience since the system was put in force demonstrates that the licensing of a certain number of saloons (the proportionate number in any locality depending largely on the occupation, nationality, and condition of the inhabitants) is necessary for a given population, the alternative being an increase in illegal liquor traffic. In the year 1889, when the licenses in Allegheny County were cut down to (one hundred and eighty-eight) a fraction of what they had been before and have been since, the number of “speak-easies” and the crime of selling liquor without license increased to an extent unprecedented and quite beyond the power of the police to control.

At the present time, after fifteen years’ administration of the system by the courts, upon lines which have been generally careful and conscientious, illegal liquor-selling is not a frequent, a threatening, or an increasing offence in this community. As in all large cities, it takes its most serious form in the sale of liquor in disorderly houses, which is a most prolific source of lawlessness and crime, and the existence and treatment of which by the municipal police authorities is a subject which opens up the whole question of municipal corruption, graft, and vice. To aid their own labors, inform the police authorities, and instruct the liquor dealers, the License Courts each year lay down certain rules of conduct for the dealers, which they are expected to observe if they would keep clear of the police and retain their standing for renewal of license. In this county these rules have varied from time to time with the opinions of different judges. For example, the furnishing of the so-called “free lunch” was for several years forbidden, but a longer experience resulted in the prohibition being removed.

The following rules were adopted by the License Court of 1903, and crystallize the experience and observation of years:

“All retail dealers shall keep their bars closed as follows:

“In the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, from 11.45 o’clock P.M. to five o’clock A.M.

"In the city of McKeesport, from eleven o'clock P.M. to 5.30 o'clock A.M.

"In the boroughs, from 10.30 o'clock P.M. to 5.30 o'clock A.M.

"In the townships, from ten o'clock P.M. to 5.30 o'clock A.M.

"During the time the bar is to remain closed, as provided by the above rule, no malt, vinous, or spirituous liquors shall be sold or furnished on the licensed premises.

"Licensees must not have or permit upon the licensed premises any vocal or instrumental music for the purpose of attracting or retaining customers, nor shall they have or keep thereon any slot machine, weighing machine, blowing or lifting machine, or any similar device, or keep and maintain any bulletin of the stock market, races, or games.

"Liquors shall not be furnished by any retail dealer on trust, directly or indirectly.

"Retailers shall not furnish liquors in buckets or substitutes therefor.

"The violation or disregard of any of the above regulations will be considered as sufficient ground for the refusal of further license to the offender."

Theoretically, the police authorities of the cities see to the strict observance of these regulations; practically, their enforcement varies with the conscience, fidelity, and ability of the Directors of Public Safety and of the heads of the Police and Detective Bureaus. Politics also has much to do with the strictness with which the particular saloon is watched and regulated. The License Court judges, to a certain extent, make use of police information as to the past conduct of applicants for the renewal of licenses, and Directors of Public Safety have been credited with handing up lists of worthy and unworthy licensees for the instruction of the courts, but no accusations have ever been made of the improper use of such evidence by the judges, who have other means of investigation, and have been singularly free from any reproach of political or other improper bias. Pittsburgh and Allegheny, among the cities of their size in the country, are the most noted for strictness of general Sunday observance, and the force of this public sentiment is felt in the attitude of the police authorities towards Sunday closing.

"Liberal enforcement" of the Sunday laws is hardly known, and the back- and side-door traffic is small. The result is a certain amount of "hole-in-the-wall" liquor-selling on Sunday, especially in districts occupied largely or mainly by foreigners. The sale of liquor to minors, one of the most dangerous evils of the liquor traffic, is, perhaps, the most difficult to suppress. It exists to a much greater extent than is generally known, but the criminal court dockets show few convictions for the offence; the inference is that the law in this respect is not strictly enough enforced by the police authorities. In a few boroughs and townships of Allegheny County the sale of liquor is prohibited by special laws enacted at various times, and in some localities, usually high-class suburban neighborhoods, where the public feeling is against saloons, it is respected by the courts and licenses are refused. However, the tendency seems to be rather towards the extension than towards the more general prohibition of the liquor traffic. Considered at a glance, the present high license system is without doubt the best the State has ever

known, and the most conducive to law, order, and the minimizing of the inevitable evils of the liquor traffic.

Michigan.—*The Liquor Question.*¹² There are two liquor laws in Michigan. One is for the taxation and regulation of the business. The other is for the prohibition of the business in those counties which, by popular vote, determine to suspend the sale of liquor. Under the local option law, which has been on the statute-books for fifteen years, three counties now have prohibition. Several more will vote on prohibition this spring. Several have had prohibition and have gone back to license.

Under the general law every saloon-keeper is required to pay \$500 tax into the county treasury. After deducting a fee of one per cent. for collection, the county treasurer is required to divide the liquor money into two equal parts, half going to the township, village, or city in which the saloon is located, and the other half going into the general fund of the county. Every saloon-keeper in a city must secure a license from the city councils. In Grand Rapids the charter requires an absolute two-thirds vote of all the aldermen to grant a license. The council is authorized to "restrain, license, and regulate" saloons, and to "regulate and prescribe the location thereof."

The State law requires two freeholder bondsmen for every saloon, and prescribes general regulations for the conduct of the business. The saloon must be closed on Sundays, election days, and holidays, and between nine P.M. and seven A.M., except that in a city or village the council may permit the saloons to be open till eleven P.M. and to be opened at six A.M. Selling liquors to minors or permitting them to remain in a saloon unaccompanied by parents is strictly prohibited. The employment of women barkeepers is also forbidden. For a saloon-keeper to sell liquor to any person while intoxicated, or to any drunkard, or to an Indian, or to any person after being forbidden in writing to do so by the person's husband, wife, parent, child, guardian, or employer, or by the township supervisor, the mayor, or the superintendent of the poor, is a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not more than \$200, or by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than ten nor more than ninety days, or by both fine and imprisonment.

There is a good deal of "liberal enforcement" of the law, and the saloons are more or less in politics. Just now the Grand Rapids municipal authorities have been struggling to break up the alliance between the saloon and the disorderly women which existed under the preceding "wide-open" administration. There are somewhat more than 200 places in the city where liquors are sold. Two years ago thirty or forty of these were "stall" saloons. The License Committee of the council exercises a large amount of discretion in the recommending of licenses, and has required saloon-keepers to remove their partitions and take out their "stalls" before getting their licenses renewed. Once licensed, the saloon-keeper feels pretty secure for the year, and promises made to the License Committee are not always kept. No matter what the real cause may be for refusing a license, the committee

¹² Communication of Delos F. Wilcox, Esq., Grand Rapids, Mich.

always reports that the place is "neither a proper nor a desirable location for the conduct of the saloon business."

I know of no sure way to get the saloon out of politics except to abolish the saloon or to stop trying to regulate it. It is probable that better results could be attained if we had a perfect system of popular control by localities, including the right to vote license or no license, to adopt regulations suited to local public sentiment, and to recall officials who neglect to enforce the laws enacted by the people.

II. DEPARTMENT OF PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Board of Control of State Institutions of Iowa.¹—Probably no legislation of recent years in Iowa has gained more in favor since its enactment than the law creating the Board of Control of State Institutions and the amendments thereto. The original law gave the board control of the penitentiaries, hospitals for the insane, institution for feeble-minded children, orphans' home, soldiers' home, industrial schools, college for the blind, school for the deaf, and the industrial home for the blind (adults), fourteen in all, and also provided that the three State educational institutions should be inspected as to their appropriation expenditures. The amendments have all tended to add to the scope of the board's work and to remove it entirely from political influence.

All county and private institutions where insane are kept, and all homes for friendless children are now subject to inspection, and the board is given power to prescribe rules and regulations governing the same. If for any reason the institutions cannot or do not comply with the requirements, the inmates are transferred to a county or State institution where conditions are satisfactory. There can be no question but that great good has been accomplished by the present method of management, and it is but natural that this should be so. Under the old law each institution (except the penitentiaries) had its board of trustees, which met quarterly or at such times as occasion seemed to require. Each institution made its own purchases according to the ideas of its chief executive officer, many of them locally at retail prices.

Now, these officers meet with the members of the board every three months, read papers, and discuss every topic touching the operation of the institution, treatment and care of the insane, the defective, the unfortunate, and the criminal. The dietary, ventilation, heating, lighting, water supply, disposal of sewage by modern methods, proper provision for isolating contagious and infectious diseases, sanitation in general, fire protection, drilling employees and inmates to use the apparatus and means of escape provided, etc., these and all matters looking to the welfare and comfort of the State's wards are freely discussed, and upon these exchanges of ideas many excellent regulations are based, and great improvement in the care of the inmates has been accomplished. Estimates from each institution are submitted quarterly, covering their entire requirements for the coming three months, which are passed upon by the board and the items which are approved are then scheduled under proper trade heads and sent to dealers in the various lines. There are about one hundred classifications, and in many cases these are sent directly to the manufacturer or producer.

Bids on these commodities, and samples where required, are received at the office of the board at the time of these conferences, so that the superin-

¹ Contributed by F. S. Treat, secretary Iowa State Board of Control of State Institutions, Des Moines, Iowa.

tendents have an opportunity to make a thorough inspection and make their recommendations to the committee which is to analyze the bids and make the final awards. This method practically insures to all institutions, whether large or small, the advantage of buying in large quantities, affords a uniformity of quality, and the assurance that the board will require all specifications to be complied with by the bidder, there being no neighborly feeling or local or political influences to overcome. Commodities involving large expenditures are purchased on yearly contract direct from first hands and shipped in carloads. The advantages of the economical features of the new law over the old cannot be questioned, facts and figures showing conclusively that material improvements have been brought about and a large saving made annually.

While the financial improvement may have been uppermost in the minds of the framers of the law, yet the humanitarian side of the problem is just as carefully provided for. One of the strong features of the law provides against political influence. The chief executive officer of each institution is appointed by the board purely upon his fitness for the place, with full power to remove for any cause which to him seems sufficient, and from his action there is no appeal. These officers in turn must select all their assistants and employees on a similar plan and with absolute power of removal for unfitness or incompetency. To emphasize this feature, I quote the law touching the matter of political influence:

"Sec. 35. *Political influence or contribution prohibited.* Any member or officer or employee of the board of control, or any officer or employee of a State institution subject to this board, who, by solicitation or otherwise, exerts his influence directly or indirectly, to induce other officers or employees of the State to adopt his political views or to favor any particular person or candidate for office, or who shall in any manner contribute money or other thing of value to any person for election purposes, shall be removed from his office or position by the proper authorities."

"Sec. 3. *Solicitation of contributions for political purposes a misdemeanor.* Any person who demands or solicits, from any member, employee, or officer of the Board of Control, or from any officer or employee of any institution subject to this board, a contribution of money or other thing of value, for election purposes, or for the payment of the expenses of any political committee or organization, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished accordingly."

The advantages arising in the management of the institution when protected by such stringent measures as that quoted must be apparent. Under the old system, however good the intentions of the superintendent may have been, he was necessarily handicapped by his political friends. An employee was in some cases retained long after his usefulness was a thing of the past, because of political influence brought to bear on the head of the institution, and when finally deposed, his place could be filled by the same influence. This method cannot be conducive to efficient service. It puts a club in the hands of the employee and very seriously handicaps the executive officer. Under the present law, a grading system is established and promotions made for efficient service. Every employee feels that retaining his place, and making advance-

ment, depends solely upon his own efforts, and that the superintendent is in full command of the situation with absolute authority of dismissal if he proves unfit or unworthy of his position. He knows that there is no appeal, that his "backing" counts for nothing, and that his chances for securing a position in any other Iowa institution are very meagre.

This system appeals to the kind of men and women needed to conduct institutions for the unfortunate, and deters from undertaking the work those who are not fitted for it. The result is a marked improvement in the medical staff and attendants, in the dietary and clothing, and in the general condition of the institutions, while the inmates have more privileges, more freedom, more out-door life than ever before, with mechanical restraint practically abolished. The same rule as to political influence applies to the office force of the board, and when I say that neither the politics nor the religion of an applicant is questioned, and that no person can hold a position under the board who does not faithfully perform his duties, I speak from personal experience and observation. The law contemplates that the members of the Board of Control shall give their undivided attention to the duties of the office, and the amount of work constantly before them makes this necessary without such provision. Some member must visit each hospital once each month, inspect every department and every ward, see the patients, and give them an opportunity to converse with him privately. An inmate of any institution may correspond with the board at any time without having the correspondence censored by the institution authorities, the object being to remove the possibility of ill treatment without means of communicating with the outside world. Twice each year all institutions are visited and thoroughly inspected by the board in a body, four or five weeks being consumed in each tour. An architect is constantly employed supervising improvements, making plans and specifications for betterments for which the legislature has made provision, and assisting the board in preparing estimates for the consideration of the law makers, covering future improvements. The board has on file plans of each institution, showing the location of buildings, roads, water-mains, and sewers, as well as blue prints and specifications of the buildings, and being in constant correspondence with every institution, all of which can be communicated with readily by telephone, is always in position to act quickly and intelligently on any matter that may come up.

Accounts are so kept that not only is the financial condition of each institution known, but the exact amount of any commodity purchased can be told by the books in the board's office. All goods purchased and the products of the 6000 acres of agricultural land owned by the institutions are placed in the custody of storekeepers who are under bonds and who disburse in quantities as required for immediate use, on the written requisition of the chief executive officer only. Inventories are taken quarterly and the stock checked by the head accountant semi-annually. In short, the whole economic scheme is on the plan of a large mercantile enterprise, the institutions occupying the relative positions of branch houses. In conclusion, I quote from the biennial message of Governor Cummins, delivered in joint session of the Legislature, January 12, 1904: "The work of the Board of Control still vindic-

cates the wisdom of the law creating it, and still commands the confidence of the people. It would be idle for me to attempt a review of its report in the limited time which I may consume. I can only give it my unqualified recommendation, and express my belief that a comparison of the condition of the institutions under its management as they now are, with their condition at the time the change was made, will gratify every disciple of economy and every lover of humanity."

Prison Commission, New York State.—The Ninth Annual Report of the New York State Commission of Prisons, which has just appeared, shows that during the year 102,581 admissions have been made to the prisons, penitentiaries, and reformatories throughout the State, while in many cases, embarrassed by inadequate equipment, the State prisons have shown intelligent and commendable management. The abolition of the lock-step and the substitution of the military step have proved most satisfactory, as has also the fact that practically all the prisoners able to work have had employment. The report again recommends that the prisons be provided with modern sanitary cells, pointing out that the State has no right to deprive its prisoners of health, and thus incapacitate them for honest work when they leave prison. It is also recommended that an amendment be made to the Parole Law giving the Board of Parole authority to release additional classes of prisoners, since, if convicts are to be benefited by their imprisonment, parole before final discharge is almost indispensable. During the past year, of 216 prisoners paroled from State prisons, only 12 were returned for violation of parole. Elmira Reformatory has been at all times crowded, showing the increasing esteem in which its methods are held.

The management of most of the jails, says the report, cannot be commended. Two glaring evils exist, namely idleness and the commingling of prisoners in the common corridors. The law forbidding such commingling has been disregarded by most of the jail officials, primarily because of the unsanitary conditions of individual cells. During recent years, however, many counties have built new and modern jails, and the necessity of allowing prisoners to spend their days in the corridor no longer exists. The commingling in the jails of prisoners awaiting trial is a great evil, bringing together as it does dangerous and desperate criminals and first offenders. The latter if kept from association with hardened criminals will not become degraded. To allow these different classes to associate, converts the jail into a school for instruction in crime and increases the criminal population. The State law requires sanitary jails with facilities for classification and separation. While some counties employ their convicts in road construction or stone breaking, in very many others the prisoners are absolutely without employment. The Commission points out that the management of a county jail is a matter of concern to the whole State. Misdemeanants who this year have been convicted and supported at the expense of the county, are quite likely next year to become inmates of State prisons unless improvement be made in the treatment of county prisoners.

A change in the method of treating drunkenness is advocated. Men who

are victims of the drink habit are not strictly criminals, and the constant conviction and reconviction of such offenders to jail tends to degrade the men, to cause suffering to their families, and to put a great burden of expense upon the tax-payers. Habitual drunkenness arises largely from mental weakness, and its treatment should partake of the characteristics which the State has thought wise to use in other cases of mental aberration. The report again calls the attention of the legislature to the great need of a reformatory for boys between 18 and 25 years of age, convicted of offences not grave enough to warrant sending them to Elmira.

Department of Charities, New York City.—The report of the Department of Public Charities of the city of New York for the year 1902 is unquestionably one of the most valuable and significant that have appeared during the year, not the less so from the fact that it is the first report of the Department since 1893. The work which Commissioner Folks has inaugurated will stand as one of the best achievements of New York's two years of reform, and it has set a high standard by which the incoming administration must inevitably be judged. Every division of the department has been thoroughly overhauled in a spirit at once liberal and economical. The budget for salaries, as fixed October, 1901, was revised in April, 1902, at a saving of \$25,000, showing a dismissal of unnecessary help, while at the same time the salaries of valuable officers were raised. Vast improvements have been made in the equipment in all divisions of the department, the hospitals have been supplied with new and necessary apparatus, additional buildings have been erected to prevent overcrowding, and more wholesome and abundant food and clothing have been supplied to inmates of city institutions.

On January 1, 1902, there was no hospital set apart for consumptives, and tuberculosis patients were distributed among the other hospitals, where they were, in many cases, in the same wards with other patients. During Mr. Folks's administration the vacant buildings on Blackwell's Island, formerly occupied by a State Hospital for Insane, have been fitted up as a hospital for consumptives, with facilities for abundant air and sunshine, a specially arranged dietary and all sanitary precautions. The results have been highly satisfactory. Phthisis patients have shown marvellous gains, even very advanced cases improving under treatment, while a most serious danger has been removed from the inmates of other city hospitals. An expert dietitian has been employed to make a study of the supplying, cooking, and serving of food at large institutions, in order that a greater variety and more nutritious quality of food may be furnished to city wards without increased expense.

In reading the report one is constantly impressed with the effort made to co-ordinate and classify all the institutions in the department, so that there shall be no duplication of effort or overlapping. For instance, the Almshouse on Blackwell's Island and the Richmond County Almshouse on Staten Island were formerly two separate institutions. The latter has a large farm connected with it, and by transferring to Staten Island able-bodied paupers from Blackwell's Island, it has been found possible to work the farm so profitably that it can supply vegetables for both institutions. The helpless paupers from

both Manhattan and Richmond Boroughs are placed on Blackwell's Island. The two institutions are thus made to supplement each other. The same principle is seen in the reorganization of the institution on Randall's Island, so that it is distinctly understood which children shall be assigned to the Infants' Hospital, the Children's Hospital, and the School for Feeble-Minded respectively. Formerly the line of demarcation had never been clearly established and duplication of effort resulted. The Bureau of Dependent Children, formerly a dependency of the Out-Door Poor Department, has been organized as a separate bureau. A list of children who had been indentured by the department since 1884 was made and a system of visiting and supervising them inaugurated, this part of the work having been largely neglected in the past. The rules of the State Board of Charities have for several years required an annual re-acceptance of each child supported in a private institution at public expense, but it was found that many children in Brooklyn were being thus supported, the circumstances of whose parents had never been investigated since the original commitment. Steps to remedy this were at once taken, and by the end of 1902 all children in Brooklyn and Queens (over 4000 in number) had been investigated in compliance with the rules of the State Board of Charities, with the result of relieving the city of a very considerable number of children.

An interesting and significant fact is brought out in regard to the desertion or alleged desertion of fathers. It appears that for several years such desertion had been increasing to an alarming extent. Under Mr. Folks a plan was devised for dealing more effectively with this evil. It was ascertained that "in many cases the desertion was simply a prearranged plan between the husband and wife by which the husband would disappear from the neighborhood for a short time, only to return as soon as the children had safely been placed under the care of the city; in many instances the husband continued meanwhile to send money regularly at unusual hours. A special list of families, in which the husband was reported as having deserted, was started in the Bureau of Dependent Children in June, 1902, and these families were visited from time to time at hours at which a visit would not naturally be expected—in the early evening or on Sundays or holidays. The result has been that in numerous cases the head of the family, who had been reported as having deserted and as having been absent for many weeks, was found by his own fireside, with every appearance of having been there regularly and of enjoying the additional luxuries made possible by escaping the burden of supporting his children. Out of 127 cases of desertion under observation from June to the end of the year, husbands were found in 43 cases.

On October 1, 1902, the Bureau of Dependent Children was instructed to require parents of children committed as public charges, if able to pay for their children in part, to enter into an agreement to make such part payment. During the quarter ending December 31, 1902, the sum of \$2142.32 was collected from parents. Children whose parents are able to pay for their entire support in institutions are not to be committed by this department. It will thus be seen that the department is doing all in its power to put

responsibility for children where it should rest, namely with the parents. The department places the larger number of its children in private institutions at public expense. Foundlings and motherless infants, however, are placed at board in private families through a joint committee of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the State Charities Aid Association. Of 125 such infants in care during the year, only 10, or 8 per cent. died,—a death-rate which shows the great value of family life for the baby as against institution life.

The following table represents the work of the Bureau of Dependent Children for the year:

Number of children proposed for commitment..... 6423

Of these 6423 children there were:

Approved for commitment indefinitely	1124
Approved for temporary commitment	924
Approved for commitment (parent to pay part of expense incurred)	123
Disapproved unconditionally	4252

The 4252 children disapproved unconditionally were disapproved for the following reasons:

Non-residents	402
Immigrants	162
Unknown at address given	179
Insufficient information	211
Able to be paid for in full and whose parents were referred to institutions	316
Able to be supported at home	2031
Referred to private charities	776
Referred to court; parent to be placed under order to pay	175

It will be seen from the above that the department disapproved unconditionally over 69 per cent. of all children proposed for commitment, and of these, 48 per cent. were able to be supported at home. In other words, by thorough expert investigation, it has saved the city the expense of supporting 4252 children, while at the same time it has placed the responsibility of that support where it ought in each case to rest. It is in such ways that an intelligent and honest administration can save money for the city while it serves in the most far-reaching manner those persons who come within its influence.

Condition of Children in Great Britain.—The *London Daily Telegraph* draws attention to the surprising facts contained in the Scottish census report of 1903, in relation to child-labor. It appears that in every 100 males between eleven and twelve years of age 34.92 are at work, and in every 100 females

of the same years 65.10 are at work. The majority of these children are employed in the cotton, flax, and hemp industries.

In a subsequent issue the *Telegraph* refers to a meeting of the London Charity Organization Society, at which a paper was read by Dr. Edmund Cantley. Dr. Cantley in speaking of the appalling infant mortality due to ignorant and careless mothers, said that from 1891 to 1900 there had been an average of 160 deaths under twelve months out of every 1000 children born in London. Nearly all of these deaths were due to bad feeding, and Dr. Cantley asserted that the physique of the nation varied directly as its food supply during infancy and childhood. He also said that cases where infants were insured or were "out at nurse," were looked upon with grave suspicion by hospital physicians, and he advocated a law placing every "nurse-child" under a system of registration and inspection. He also urged, in order to deal with the ignorance of mothers, that when a birth was registered a paper of instructions on methods of rearing should be handed to the parents, that the milk supply should be under close municipal inspection, and that there should be co-operation between charitable agencies in educating mothers and visiting them in their own homes.

Le Musée Social of Paris, of recent date, has some interesting remarks on the value of garden and farm work as a method of relief for the dependent or semi-dependent classes. Such relief work consists in putting at the disposal of a poor family, either gratuitously or for a nominal sum, a small garden where they can cultivate such fruits and vegetables as they need, where the husband may find recreation and rest from the toil of the workshop, and where the children may play, shielded from the evils of the streets. Work and interest in such a little garden makes for a man's physical and moral health, keeping him after working hours from saloons, which have heretofore tempted him to stay away from a cramped and dirty home. With an interest in his garden once aroused, a man is ambitious to extend it and to procure better tools, and this encourages him to wise economy. A number of philanthropic persons in France are taking an active interest in promoting this work of providing the poor with little gardens, and many charitable organizations are taking the matter up, so that there are to-day 6167 such gardens, of which 45,169 persons have the benefit.

The Success of an Indiana Experiment.²—In Indiana the counties are divided into townships, the chief official of which is the township trustee. Outside of cities and incorporated towns he is the executive officer. He has charge of the roads, schools, ditches, and elections. He is *ex officio* the overseer of the poor. As the last-named official, his authority extends over all the township including the cities and towns. He alone could determine who should receive official aid, or could place a person in the county poor asylum (infirmary). He was the first and sole authority in determining whether a child should be a public dependent. All such authority is his still, subject, however, to certain checks and limitations.

For many years succeeding officers as overseers of the poor exercised

² Contributed by Amos W. Butler.

their authority with practically no supervision. It was inevitable that abuses should rise. The giving of relief became a business matter. The tax-payer paid his taxes and sent all beggars to the trustee. Often the trustee was sent to persons who were reported to be in need that he as the public's almoner might help them. Pauperism was encouraged and grew to great proportions. Ten years ago an effort was made to learn the facts, but it was found to be impossible to tell the number of persons aided or the value of the official relief given. The legislature of 1895 passed a law requiring reports to the County Auditor and the Board of State Charities. These show the name, color, age, and sex of the person aided; the age and sex of the members of the family, who shared in the relief given, and why help was necessary. They also gave the date, kind of relief, and its value. It was made illegal to pay any money out of the county treasury for out-door poor relief until these reports were filed. From the records obtained in 1895, it was shown that the official relief given that year, including medical assistance, amounted to \$630,168.79. The county had paid all the expense of official out-door relief. There was little restriction upon this. It could almost be said, to him that asked it was given. The information gathered from these reports was such that the legislature at its next biennial session provided that each township should pay for its own poor. This was done by levying a tax against all the property in the township to reimburse the county for the money advanced. Thus the trustee was made responsible directly to his own constituents.

The success of these laws led the next legislature, in 1899, to enact into statutes certain charity organization principles. These required investigation on the part of the trustee, registration of persons helped, co-operation with other charitable agencies, effort to secure the needed assistance from friends and relatives or to assist in obtaining employment if the applicant was able to work. They prohibited giving relief to able-bodied non-residents, and the sending of transients from place to place. Nowhere else have the essential principles of charity organization been accepted by a State and adopted as a part of its fundamental law to such an extent.

In 1901 all of the poor relief laws were codified. In brief, they were working out of recognized principles, in a practical way, through a series of years to suit observed conditions. The results have been exceedingly gratifying. A large part of the overseers of the poor themselves approved of the laws and entered heartily into the effort to secure satisfactory results under them. Each year from the enactment of the first, saw some measure of improvement, and in 1900 the total official out-door relief, including medical aid, was reduced to \$209,956.22, being a decrease of \$420,215.57 in six years. Succeeding years have shown some increase in this amount, but this is chiefly attributed to two causes: one, the succession of an entire new force of township trustees to office; the other, the increased relief required on account of smallpox and other contagious diseases. The total value of this relief for the year ending December 31, 1902, was \$266,876.96. The number of persons who shared in it was 48,849, which is approximately half of those who were helped when the first of the laws went into operation.

The theory of the law is that the trustees, as overseers of the poor, shall administer such temporary relief as is necessary to the poor in their townships and that those who require permanent relief shall be cared for in the county poor asylum. Many of the persons helped by the overseers of the poor were shown to be given practically permanent relief. Numbers of these were given the opportunity to go to the poor asylums. In most cases few availed themselves of the offer. Generally they showed that they were able to make their own way or could get along with the assistance afforded them by relatives or friends. The township trustee of Fairfield township, Tippecanoe County, had on his books the names of sixty-five persons who were considered as regular dependents. Early in March a year ago, he thought to test the law, and told them the only thing he could do was to care for them at the poor asylum. There were but two old women who consented to go. Counting these, forty were dropped from the list that summer and have proved that they can get along without the help of the trustee since that time. The prevailing popular opinion after the new laws were passed, was that the poor asylums (infirmaries) of the State would be filled to overflowing, but the fact is that with the decrease of out-door poor relief, there has also been a decrease every year in the population of the poor asylums.

Not only have these laws proved valuable for the reduction in the number aided and in the value of aid given, but in the reduction and prevention of pauperism, by reason of the required investigation and more careful oversight. The poor were never so well looked after as they are now. From the reports made by the overseers of the poor some interesting facts are brought to light. While the poor asylum population shows a proportion of two men to one woman, it is to be observed that the township trustee aids a larger number of females than males. Last year there were of the former 25,611, and of the latter 23,238.

One of the abuses of the old system was the giving of cash by trustees to applicants for aid. In Wayne township, Allen County, which was the greatest offender, the total relief given during the year ending August 31, 1898, was \$9931.28, of which \$6340.61 was cash. For the entire year ending December 31, 1903, the amount of aid given was \$5291.19, of which \$176.50 was cash. It can be said that the giving of cash is practically stopped. The reports of the overseers of the poor show among other interesting facts the reasons for asking relief. One of the notable causes given is the desertion of families by parents. The number of such cases reported by the overseers of the poor during the year ending December 31, 1902, was 262. From this fact and others, which are being studied from the reports received, other steps in legislation for poor relief will be asked. Taken altogether, the enactment of this series of laws and the results accomplished under them in the State of Indiana, have been notable, and with them and the manner of their enforcement the people of the State are greatly pleased.

The Charity Entertainment Promoter.³—The greater part of the charity of any American city is the result of private initiative, and is supported by

³ Contributed by Ernest P. Bicknell, Chicago, Ill.

voluntary gifts. The difficulty which organized charities experience in obtaining from private givers the sums necessary to their proper maintenance is painfully familiar, both to those charged with the collection and to those who are the recipients of almost constant appeals for contributions. The wearing burden of responsibility on the one hand, the annoyance to the giver on the other, and the number of necessary charities which drag out a half-starved existence, are sufficient to justify a searching inquiry into the entire subject of our systems of charity, their maintenance and management, and their relation to the public. This note has no such ambitious purpose, but will be confined to a brief reference to one of many causes for the conditions mentioned. It has to do with the operations of the person who, for want of a better title, may be called the "Professional Promoter of Charity Entertainments." This promoter, carrying into the field of charity the methods learned in other fields, comes to a reputable but weak and struggling charity, and proposes to give an entertainment for its benefit. The managers of the charity are tired and discouraged. Their treasury is empty. The promoter is inspiring, breezy, sympathetic, persuasive, and resourceful. An agreement is made, drawn up in contract form, duly signed, and becomes binding. I have had an opportunity to learn the terms of a number of such contracts. In several the promoter paid the charity a lump sum in cash before the date of the entertainment, the charity thereafter having no interest in the affair, no knowledge of how it was conducted and no check whatever upon the use made of its name by the ticket-sellers employed by the promoter to canvass the community. In one instance a promoter paid a charity \$250 cash when the contract was signed. This discharged the entire obligation of the promoter to the charity and left her a clear field of operation with the right to use the name of the charity at will. She fixed the date of her entertainment three months in the future and set a trained staff of five attractive young women at selling tickets. The capacity of the hall which was engaged was not considered a limitation upon the number of tickets to be sold. The ticket-sellers said little about the entertainment, and neither sellers nor buyers, as a rule, made any pretence that the transaction involved any desire or intention of making use of the tickets. The actual cost of board and incidental expenses for the promoter and her assistants during the three months of this campaign, together with hall rental and entertainer's fee, was not less than \$750, to say nothing of clothing or promoter's profits. It is a safe estimate that the badgered and busy charitable people gave at least \$1000 in the name of charity in order that the society which had sold its name might receive \$250.

In other contracts which have come to my attention, the promoters have worked on a percentage basis. At the date of this writing, tickets are being sold in Chicago by a corps of young women, for a lecture ostensibly in aid of a religious mission of good standing. The entire enterprise is in the hands of a promoter and the contract provides that she shall have 70 per cent. of the gross proceeds from the sale of tickets, the mission to receive 30 per cent. Neither the promoter nor her ticket-sellers have any real interest in the mission, and only such information is given concerning it as will enable them

to dwell pathetically upon its needs. The citizen is importuned to buy tickets, not singly, but in bunches, and not because of the merits of the entertainment, but because of the great need and the merits of the mission.

It were easy to enumerate many other examples of a similar character, but the two mentioned are typical. A considerable number of men and women have adopted the promotion of entertainments in the name of charity as a business, and there is every reason to believe they have found it profitable. The result is, of course, deeply injurious to the cause of charity. Such methods of raising money serve to arouse the distrust of all charity organizations among busy people, who do not take time to discriminate carefully in their giving. There is an all too common tendency on the part of the public to question with sweeping indiscrimination the wisdom or good faith of agencies of charity in general. The fact that the professional promoter exists and thrives will have an effect out of all proportion to its importance, in alienating the moral and financial support of those on whom all private charities must largely depend for their efficiency.

St. Louis Session of Social and Economic Science Section, American Association for the Advancement of Science.⁴—The programme of the Social and Economic Science Section for the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which convened at St. Louis, December 28, 1903, to January 2, 1904, included four sessions, the first of which was given to the Labor Problem, which was the subject of the vice-presidential address by Mr. H. T. Newcomb, and formed the basis of discussion at the opening session.

The second session, on the Economic Aspects of the New Agriculture was devoted to four papers, covering the general subject of Agricultural Economics, by Dr. H. C. Taylor, of Wisconsin University; the "Functions of Forestry in the New Agriculture," by Mr. Thos. H. Sherrard, of the Bureau of Forestry, Department of Agriculture; "Improvement in Farm Management," by Professor W. H. Hays, of the Minnesota State Agricultural Experiment Station; and the "Economic Functions of Live Stock," by Professor Charles F. Curtiss, of Iowa State College. A paper on the "Evolution of Agriculture in the Middle West," by Professor Eugene Davenport, of the Illinois College of Agriculture, was read by title.

A third session was occupied with the status of instruction in social and economic science in schools, colleges, and universities, including the following papers:

High School: W. J. S. Bryan, Principal, St. Louis High School; Colleges: Professor Charles J. Sprague, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill., "The Real Source of Economic Opinion in America;" Normal Schools: Henry W. Thurston, Chicago Normal School, Englewood, Ill.; Discussion by J. H. Scarborough, Warrensburg Normal School, Mo.; Universities: J. E. Hagerty, Ohio State University.

The fourth session included papers by Charles A. Conant, Treasurer, Morton Trust Company, New York, on "Wall Street and the Country;" by Frederick N. Judson, St. Louis, Mo., on "Public Purposes for which Taxa-

⁴ Reported by John Franklin Crowell, secretary of Section of Social and Economic Science.

tion is Justifiable;" by G. H. Shibley, Bureau of Economic Research, Washington, D. C., on "Development of Representative Government;" by Wm. F. Saunders, Business Men's League, St. Louis, on "Services of Commercial Organizations in the Social and Economic Development of Cities;" and by E. Dana Durand, Bureau of Corporations, Washington, D. C., on "Social Significance of Street Railways."

III. NOTES ON COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Educational Progress in Porto Rico.—The annual report of Professor S. M. Lindsay, Commissioner of Education of Porto Rico, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, has just been published by the Department of the Interior at Washington. It gives valuable statistical tables and many interesting comments on the problems encountered in establishing the American school system in a country where the native language is Spanish and where the people belong to another race.

The record of the year in matters pertaining to public instruction has been a notable one in many ways. Among the more important features of this work may be noted: an increase in the number of children reached by the public schools and a lower per capita cost to the treasury; the opening of four industrial schools which promise steady growth; a greater uniformity of work and higher standards required of pupils and teachers alike; greater care in the selection of American teachers for courses in English; initial steps in the organization of the University of Porto Rico to provide for higher education and professional training; steady improvement in the material and equipment of the schools and the construction of new school buildings.

Six years ago there were 539 schools with an enrolment of 22,265 pupils; three years ago there were 733 schools housed in 507 buildings, reaching a maximum of 33,802 pupils and having employed at some time during the year 812 teachers; two years ago there were 921 schools, housed in 613 buildings, reaching a maximum enrolment of 61,863 pupils; while during the past school year there were 1014 schools, housed in 717 buildings, and reaching a maximum of 70,216 pupils. This constitutes a very gratifying record of progress, although it leaves still a great work to be done before our school facilities can be favorably compared with those in the most advanced and enlightened parts of our country or of the world. Three years ago 3.5 per cent. of the total population and 10.5 per cent. of the school population (persons between five and eighteen years of age) had been enrolled in the schools; two years ago there were 6.5 per cent. of the total population and 19.2 per cent. of the school population; while last year we had enrolled 7 per cent. of the total population and 21.7 per cent. of the school population; all of the figures being based on the official census of 1899. If allowance were made for the probable increase in population since 1899, of course the present showing would be less favorable. Comparing these figures with the various States and Territories of the United States, it appears that the average school enrolment for the whole United States is 20.28 per cent. of the total population and 71.54 per cent. of the school population, while the lowest in any State or Territory (excluding the Indian Territory for which there are no complete statistics) is 13.77 per cent. of the total population in Wyoming and 42.4 per cent. of the school population in Louisiana.

No movement in educational work is fraught with more promise for the

future than the inauguration of industrial schools. The four in operation will supplement the common schools by providing a practical training for the various arts and trades. Judging from American experience, this training should not only increase the welfare of the individual students, but should give them a greater value to society and enhance their industrial efficiency.

Industrial schools serve to teach the dignity of manual labor, and pupils acquire a taste of the pleasure of creative work. The economic independence of a man whose developed powers enable him to render material service of a character always in demand, constitutes an essential element in the welfare of any people. The industrial schools, properly guided in their development, should assure to the children of the future an opportunity to free themselves from poverty at the same time that they are being freed from illiteracy.

The school laws now in force provide a sound system along American lines of procedure. It would be well, however, to afford some additional protection to a good teacher that his position may not be left to the whim or caprice of changes in local political conditions. The position of a teacher who devotes his life conscientiously to the welfare of our children is worthy of our sincere respect and enthusiastic support. He should be free from any political control whatsoever. This could best be secured by requiring that all teachers at present employed in the several school districts should retain their places as long as they may legally qualify and perform their work to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of Education, who is charged by the Organic Act with the superintendence of public instruction in the Island, and that the local school boards should nominate teachers, in accordance with the present provisions of the law, only to fill vacancies as they may occur.

The organization of a Board of Trustees of the University of Porto Rico, under the University Law, establishes a corporate body to which may be confided public trusts within the sphere of educational affairs. The Insular Normal School under its direction has progressed more rapidly and more satisfactorily on exactly the same expenditure as was provided for it before the University Law was enacted and when the Legislature appropriated a sum for its maintenance under the direction of the Department of Education. A new spirit and higher purpose inspire the work of that school now that it has become the first department in the University organization. This organization was necessary in order to insure Federal aid for higher education in like manner as it is granted by the government at Washington to the various States and Territories of the Union.

The bill to extend the benefits of the Morrill and Hatch Acts to Porto Rico has been again introduced in Congress and it is hoped will become law this year. When that is the case, the Island will be in a position to receive \$30,000 a year and an increase of \$1000 each year for a period of ten years, making the annual receipts from this source at the end of ten years \$40,000, which should be placed in the hands of the Trustees of the University for the purposes for which it is intended,—namely, the furtherance of agricultural education. The University may then hope to have a strong agricultural department with another experiment station, which will be of service not only for the purposes of instruction of pupils but for the general benefit of many

people living in an agricultural community. This large sum of money, if granted by the Federal government, will in its annual income yield what will amount in time to 4 per cent. interest on an endowment of one million dollars. For the endowment of professional schools in other departments of the University efforts are now being made to bring the matter to the attention of philanthropists and private persons in the United States who may be willing to avail themselves of the corporate organization of this Board of Trustees for the purpose of endowing education and other public enterprises in the Island.

During the first term of the current school year, comprising the three months of October, November, and December, 1903, the statistics of schools show a still further advance over last year. The official statistics are not, at the date of this writing, complete for all districts of the Island, but for eleven districts out of the total of eighteen there is a maximum enrolment of 15,115 pupils in the graded or town schools and 14,838 in the rural or country schools; or in other words, there were 30,000 children enrolled during the first term in the eleven districts referred to, which will mean an enrolment of considerably over 50,000 for the whole Island when all of the statistics are in; and as the first term comes in the rainy season and also, for the rural schools, in the season when the coffee crop is being gathered and the attendance is always very poor, the maximum enrolment for the whole Island for the school year promises to be five to ten thousand higher than for the previous school year.

The average daily attendance per school in all the schools of the eleven districts heard from was 36.83; whereas, for the previous year the average for the whole Island was 35.51 for the entire school year, and during the corresponding months of the previous year the average was a little over 34.

The four industrial schools now open have an aggregate attendance of over four hundred. They are being equipped with the necessary machinery and apparatus for very practical work, and the people in the communities in which they are located take a great interest in them and are glad to send their children.

A series of educational conferences is being planned again for this year on a more thoroughly organized basis than heretofore. Two days of one of the closing weeks of March will be set aside in every school district as institute days, and the institute director will be sent into the district to work with the district superintendent in carrying on the meetings, at which all the teachers of the district will be required to be present. Educational addresses of a popular character open to the general public are arranged for the evening sessions during these institute days.

Hawaii.—The local government act passed at the last session of the Territorial legislature provided a complete system of local rural administration similar in outline to that existing on the mainland—county courts, a sheriff, tax assessors and collectors, township officers, and other local authorities were made elective. This superseded a district system, the officers of which had been appointed by the central government at Honolulu. The demand for an

elective local government had formed part of the platforms of both political parties in the islands and the law passed was considered satisfactory by both sides. At the election in November, 1903, officers were chosen to fill the newly organized positions. The Supreme Court of the Territory, however, has just rendered a decision, declaring important sections of the law invalid. While the details of the decision are not yet at hand, the probable effect will be to oust all the officials so chosen and to render an entirely new county law necessary. One of the important features of the local government system was the vesting of the control over police and fire departments in the local authorities. A disarrangement of these important services has followed the decision.

The resignation of Governor Sanford B. Dole, who has been appointed Presiding Judge of the United States District Court in Hawaii, has led to the appointment of George R. Carter as governor by President Roosevelt. Ex-Governor Dole was a Judge of the Supreme Court under the Hawaiian monarchy, became president of the Provisional Government at the time of the revolution, remained president of the Republic of Hawaii, and was appointed governor of the Territory upon its acquisition by the United States in 1898. Governor Carter, like former Governor Dole, was born in the islands, though educated on the mainland. The general economic condition of Hawaii is at present unusually prosperous; the production of sugar has reached a point never before equalled, and the internal improvements in the islands, particularly the system of roads, trolleys, telegraphs, and schools, have been greatly extended within the last few years. A promotion committee has been formed to make known the advantages of Hawaii to travellers and home-seekers and an extensive campaign of advertising has been undertaken throughout the United States, as well as in the Orient. A large merchants' association has been organized in Honolulu, including all the more prominent merchants of the city and other parts of the islands. The opening of cable communication with the outside world in 1903 has also given the islands a closer touch with the national interests of the United States.

Philippines.—The latest report of the Philippine Commission gives much new information on the condition of the archipelago. While, as a general condition, peace has been completely restored, yet several instances of ladronism are noted. The Commission lays great emphasis upon the political and social value of suppressing these outbreaks by means of native forces rather than by regular troops, in order to avoid race antagonism on the part of the people and further to stimulate in the natives a sense of their own responsibility for law and order. In some instances, notably in the revolt under Rios, this plan has caused considerable delay as compared with the time in which the ladrones might have been captured by the regular troops; but, on the other hand, it has had the effect of making the people feel that they, themselves, control the situation and are therefore responsible for the maintenance of tranquillity. In two important instances the power of the civil governor to call upon the military for scouts in order to aid the constabulary has been utilized with good results. Since the report was submitted, considerable attention has been aroused by the mutiny and desertion of a

force of constabulary in Vigan. Most of the mutineers have, however, either returned or been captured. The economic conditions with respect to sugar and tobacco, already mentioned in a previous number of *THE ANNALS*, still continue unfavorable, and the Commission is emphatic in its recommendation that a market for these articles should be allowed in the United States by a lowering of the American tariff on Philippine products.

Friars' Lands.—In a former number of *THE ANNALS* the final purchase of the friars' lands was reported. Details of this purchase are now presented in the report of the Commission; \$7,239,000 gold has been fixed as the approximate figure to be paid on these holdings. Over 400,000 acres of land, most of which have been highly cultivated and are now thickly inhabited, are transferred to the Philippine government. Of this acreage only a small proportion has been directly transferred by the friars themselves; most of the holdings being in the nominal possession of the British-Manila Estates Company, the Colonial Agricultural Society (*La Sociedad Agricola de Ultramar*), and the Philippines Sugar Estates Development Company. The Recoleta Order sold a small portion of its holdings directly. The Commission is hopeful that the transfer will work a great improvement in the economic and social condition of the islands. It is reported that of the more than one thousand Spanish friars present in 1898 there are now but 246 in the archipelago, and of these a number are infirm and unable to do parish work, while eighty-three Dominicans have given up such work altogether. It further appears to be the intention of the church authorities to Americanize the church in the Philippines, as is also shown by the appointment of American Catholic bishops and one Filipino bishop to fill the episcopal offices. The matter of damages to church buildings occupied by United States troops still remains to be adjusted, as does the administration of certain trusts, partly of a secular and partly of a religious character.

A marked falling off in the government income for the last six months is noted, and the Commission anticipates a deficit in consequence of the increased expenditures for internal improvements. Emphasis is laid on the need for greater school capacity, as there are at present only 10 per cent. of the children of school age in attendance at the public schools. The following important recommendations are also made.

First.—Legislation which shall reduce the tariff on sugar and tobacco imported from the Philippine Islands to not more than 25 per cent. of the present Dingley rates on tobacco and sugar imported from foreign countries.

Second.—Legislation authorizing the Philippine Commission, with the approval of the President and the Secretary of War, to issue bonds from time to time, which shall not in the aggregate sum exceed \$5,000,000, for the making of future permanent improvements.

Third.—Legislation providing that all bonds authorized to be issued by the Philippine government or any provincial or municipal government thereof by act of Congress shall be made exempt, not only from Federal and Philippine taxation, but from State, county, and municipal taxation in the United States.

Fourth.—That control over the shipping in the trade between the islands shall be left wholly to the discretion of the Philippine Commission, subject to the approval of the President and the Secretary of War.

Fifth.—That the application of the United States coastwise navigation laws to the trade between the Philippine Islands and the mainland of the United States [excluding all but American vessels from such trade] be postponed by Congressional action until July 1, 1909; or, in the alternative, that the coastwise laws of the United States be not made applicable to the trade between the islands and the mainland of the United States, except with a proviso or condition that the rates upon imports from the Philippine Islands into the United States shall not pay duty in excess of 25 per cent. of the rates on such merchandise imposed by the Dingley tariff.

Sixth.—That authority be given by Congress to the Philippine Commission, with the approval of the President and the Secretary of War, to encourage the investment of capital in the construction of railroads for the Philippine Islands by accompanying the grants of franchises to build railroads, in cases where it is deemed necessary, with a guaranty by the Philippine government of income on the amount of the investment, to be fixed in advance in the act of guaranty, the amount of income guaranteed not to exceed annually 4 per cent. of the fixed principal.

Seventh.—That the amount of land which may be required, owned, and used for agricultural purposes in the Philippines by any individual or corporation shall be extended to 25,000 acres.

Eighth.—That the clause which forbids the filing of more than one mining claim by the same individual or association upon a lode or deposit be repealed.

The report of the Civil Governor is also of interest as showing a number of important measures taken to improve the social conditions in the islands. The reconcentration of all persons in the towns throughout those sections which are infested by the *ladrones* has been found to be a thoroughly feasible, humane, and effective means of breaking up *ladronism*. Another forcible method of preventing cattle stealing and highway robbery by organized bands of thieves is the so-called *bandolerismo* statute, which provides that where such organizations for stealing *carabao* or other personal property by means of force and violence are found, and where the members of the band "shall go out upon the highway or roam over the country armed with deadly weapons for this purpose, they shall be deemed highway robbers or brigands, and every person engaged in the original formation of the band or joining it thereafter, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by death, or imprisonment. . . ." The Governor reports great difficulty in securing evidence against the members of such bands, because of the fear of the inhabitants, who are terrorized by the robbers. The act makes mere membership in an armed band of the kind sufficient evidence of the intention to commit robbery or murder. Other measures of special interest are the laws directed against dissolute and lawless Americans in the archipelago. This class has been reached by measures somewhat akin to our vagrancy acts in the United States. One of these measures, however, provides that upon "the conviction of any citizen of the United States under act numbered five hundred and nineteen

. . . [prohibiting vagrancy] the court may suspend sentence conditioned upon the convict leaving the Philippine Islands and not returning thereto for a period of not more than ten years; and the fulfilment of this obligation shall be deemed as an extinguishment of the prescribed sentence."

In the Moro country the relations between the Philippine government and the people have undergone a radical change. That section has been placed under a special provincial government, with full military powers, General Leonard Wood being chosen as the Governor. It will be remembered that this district of the archipelago under Spanish rule was never subdued, and that upon the introduction of American rule in the Philippines, the Moro territories and islands were in a state of approximate independence. This was especially true of the Jolo or Sulu Group, where an independent sultan was recognized in an agreement or treaty made by General Bates. This agreement provided that in consideration of the recognition, by the sultan, of United States sovereignty, the American authorities should not attempt to interfere with the social and religious institutions of the islands. Among the social institutions existing at the time were polygamy and slavery. The treaty was never formally recognized by the Washington authorities, being held unconstitutional. In the mean time, however, the treaty relations have been repeatedly violated by the sultan and his dattos or chieftains, who have committed hostile acts of robbery and violence against the Americans. General Wood reports that the rule of the Sultan and his chiefs is simply a system of organized brigandage practised upon the inhabitants. The American authorities have, therefore, taken a radical stand and have regarded the treaty or agreement as abrogated through the hostile acts of the natives. Kidnapping for purposes of slavery has been prohibited.

THE PROBLEM OF MEDICAL CHARITY

Medical relief of some kind for the indigent has long been recognized as necessary. Public and private charity, with its hospitals and dispensaries, its district physicians and visiting nurses, has contributed on a large scale, while, in a less obtrusive fashion, the general practitioner, from motives of humanity and the desire for experience, has given aid where payment could not be expected. Public opinion, on the whole, has given its approval. Charity workers and students of poor-relief, however, look askance at the rapid extension of medical aid. The theory of general relief promulgated by the English poor law reformers and inherited by the charity organization societies of to-day, based, as it is, on an individualistic social philosophy filled with a great fear of pauperization and distrustful of all assistance not bristling with tests and deterrents, has fostered a disposition to question the value of large-scale medical charity. In regard to some of the agencies of this charity, the hospital and the district physician, or "poor doctor," there has been only muttered doubts and some shaking of heads. The free dispensary, however, has been made the object of fierce and persistent attack. Those apparently best qualified to judge, condemn the indiscriminate charity of the dispensary. The London Charity Organization Society, the gray mother of charity organization, has fought it for years. The American societies are opposed to it. The medical profession is divided. Those connected with this class of institutions, using them as a means of building up reputations, are disposed to see no harm in them. Younger members of the profession, on the other hand, feel keenly the loss of patients, and are loud in their complaints. The total abolition of the dispensary, it is probably recognized, is impossible, if not undesirable. The most that is hoped for is a check on the further extension of the system. Limiting the discussion to what is practicable, the question becomes that of preventing so-called "abuse," the receipt of free medical service by those not unable to pay. What the critics of prevailing methods desire is either the complete refusal of treatment to those not indigent, or the demand of payment from those possessed of means. Such

limitation of gratuitous service implies either an investigation of the circumstances of the patient in order to sift out impostors, or some means of deterring all except those driven to the dispensary by sheer necessity. It is the widely prevalent practice of giving medical aid freely to all who apply, and "no questions asked," upon which judgment is to be pronounced. The consideration of what may be said for and against this practice involves some fundamental questions of poor-relief and suggests, almost inevitably, some speculations on the general trend of social development. The number of patients treated, and the wealth and labor devoted to these institutions, of themselves are sufficient to demand notice. It is to the broader theoretical aspects of the question, however, that the writer desires to invite the attention of serious students. The discussion will relate chiefly to dispensaries, but the larger part will apply to all forms of medical charity.

Three objections are commonly made to free treatment: (1) That it pauperizes; (2) that it discourages more desirable methods of securing medical service, such as the provident dispensary and the mutual aid society; (3) that it deprives the private physician of practice.

The charge most frequently made, and apparently deemed the most serious count of the indictment, is that of pauperization. "A vast school of pauperism," writes Gurteen, the first systematic exponent of charity organization in this country, "demoralizing the honest poor, educating them in improvident habits, and teaching them, in one of the most vital departments of life to be thriftless and dependent."¹ Aside from the generalities of this sentence there is no indication of how the pauperization is brought about. In "A Propagator of Pauperism: the Dispensary,"² a Jeremiad by Dr. Shrady, there are piled up instances of "abuse" and much strong assertion, but no attempt to trace the pauperizing factor. These citations show the kind of literary treatment the subject has received. Nowhere, to the writer's knowledge, is there an analysis of the *process* of pauperization.

Two questions should be considered preliminary to a discussion of this process. First, What class of patients is asserted to be

¹ Handbook of Charity Organization. Buffalo, 1882.

² Forum, June, 1897.

exposed to pauperization? Second, What is pauperization? Dispensary patients may be divided into those able to pay for medical services and those not able. To the latter, the very poor, the critics of the dispensary wish to have free treatment restricted. Whether medical charity, or, indeed, any form of charity, is pauperizing to them does not, therefore, enter into the question. The charge of pauperization is brought with reference to those able to pay because it is they alone that it is proposed to exclude. They may be expected to possess greater powers of resistance to pauperizing influences than the very poor. The actual process of pauperization will be substantially the same, however, in both classes, and a sharp distinction between them need not be drawn while discussing the general characteristics of the process. It may merely be noted here that the number of free patients who are able to pay is probably much smaller than the outcry about "abuse" leads one to expect. There are many who have the means to pay ordinary doctor bills but not the fee of a specialist. The investigator, on his visit, perhaps finds the patient keeps a retail store and occupies comfortable apartments. He finds him reticent concerning his pecuniary affairs and jumps at the conclusion that there is a case of abuse to be reported. The profits of a small store, however, are uncertain, and the scale of expenditure indicated by the appearance of the parlor has been entered upon without thought of the possibility of an illness requiring the expensive attendance of a specialist. The charge the latter would have made might not have been large. Ignorance of what the charge would be, and fear of what it might be, however, draw to the dispensary those who in matters of ordinary need take pride in paying for what they get. Many of these are struggling with poverty while keeping up a deceptive appearance of prosperity. The amount of abuse, however, if not at present large, is certain to grow as dispensaries increase in number and the service is made more attractive. The increase of those exposed to the alleged pauperizing tendencies indicates the importance of the question.

What is pauperization? The term is evidently not a synonym of *impoverishment*. It does not make one *poor* to receive medical services free. Also, it will be admitted, there are self-respecting *poor* people who are not pauperized. The state of pauperization is a condition to which the poor are, indeed, especially liable, but indicates

more of a downward step, a deeper degradation, than mere impoverishment. It implies a *moral* change, which disposes those subject to it to seek aid from others instead of laboring to satisfy their wants. It is a complex state not easily analysed into all of its elements, but its most essential marks seem to be idleness, improvidence, shamelessness, untruthfulness. Each of these we must undertake to examine with reference to the influence of medical charity.

The most obvious mark of the pauperized is their idleness. It is a manifestation of laziness, induced, perhaps, by ill-health and lack of vitality, clinched by habit, and reposing on the expectation, justified by experience, of receiving aid when need arises. How these conditions are fostered by medical charity is not clear. In so far as pathological conditions are the basis of idleness, medical aid may have a remedial effect. Its occasional character prevents it from contributing to the growth of habit. It can, at most, establish a habit of securing medical services gratuitously. It cannot make this the habitual method of satisfying other needs. It cannot establish a general expectation of receiving aid. It has, indeed, been maintained that to get anything for nothing is a first lesson in begging. Our experience with free schools, free concerts and art galleries makes it clear that it is possible that the getting of certain things for nothing may become an established expectation without arousing the expectation of getting all things gratuitously. The relief that is necessary to maintain pauper idleness is that in the prime necessities—food and drink, clothing and shelter. Withdraw assistance in these, and the pauper must do some work, honest or dishonest, or give up the ghost. Having shown that the state of pauperization is impossible without relief in the daily necessities, and that medical relief alone, therefore, cannot bring about pauperization, we might rest the case here. It is possible, however, that medical charity may induce a moral condition that predisposes the patient to accept any kind of aid when it is offered. If not a sufficient cause of pauperization, it might be a favoring condition. If such be the case, the proof will probably appear from an examination of those marks of pauperization that remain to be considered.

Improvidence, a common trait of the pauperized, appears, at first sight, to be encouraged by medical charity. The inability or neglect, to imagine the future and its needs grows out of weakness of mind or

out of preoccupation with the present. To those of small means the payment of large medical charges adds to the difficulties of the present situation, and consequently to the difficulties of providing for the future. A small provision for possible future sickness and its attendance might not be burdensome, and possibly could be so arranged as to become a lesson in provident living. The large charges of the specialist, however, cannot be provided unless the present is to be starved for the sake of the future. There are so many to whom the need for a specialist's services never comes that these charges are of the nature of very slightly probable contingencies. To have them adequately provided for by the unaided individual would be uneconomical. Taking a collective view, it is easily seen that the total premiums of this method of individual providence would be much larger than the total hazards. The situation, apparently, calls for the co-operative method of insurance. This, however, it will later appear is not easily applied. Moreover, though charity should take the costs of medical treatment out of the class of risks that must be provided for by the individual, there still remains a wide field for provident practice. Medical charity alone cannot remove the need for the frequent exercise of this virtue. In so far as it contributes to health and efficiency, relieving the pressure of present need and permitting the mind to take the future into its widened vision, it is a valuable aid to provident habits.

The term *shamelessness*, though rather caustic, has been employed to indicate, with one word, the willingness of the pauperized to discuss private affairs with strangers, and to lay open to view what others would be most anxious to conceal. To the normal man, an attitude of reserve towards strangers forms the strongest obstacle to asking for or accepting assistance. Before the breaking up of the patriarchal family and of tribal organization, distress of sickness or of old age was probably regarded as the possible lot of every man. Help, if given at all, came from those of supposedly the same blood, and there was no shame in receiving it. The stranger, however, the outsider, was an enemy from whom no charity was expected and to whom none was given. With the establishment of civil society and the gradual decay of organizations based on consanguinity, relief began to mean the giving of assistance by strangers to strangers. No longer a matter of mutual accommodation and domestic arrange-

ment, it implied on the part of the recipient a suppression of the primal attitude of defiance towards the stranger and a willingness to appear his inferior in accepting the gift that is made in a spirit of condescension. The one accepting assistance departed from the standard mental habitus and became abnormal, pitied, perhaps, but socially outcast. A despised beggar class began to form, with traditions and methods of its own. Poor relief became a *problem*. In modern times, the increased mobility of the laboring classes, weakening the ties of family and of neighborhood, has again made charity, to a greater extent than before, an affair between strangers, with all the distrust and deception growing out of this relation. Meanwhile, the political and industrial organization of skilled workers has cultivated a proud class consciousness and some feeling of contempt for those who submit to the patronizing charity of the rich. Thus, again, those lacking in a sense of shame and in self-respect are become outcasts. There are certain conditions under which medical charity may aid that first breaking down of reserve that opens the way to the worst pauperization. Merely laying bare physical ills—one of the inevitable incidents of all medical treatment—does not have that effect. There is, however, a confession of poverty in applying at a dispensary, intended for the poor only, that tends towards the pauper's lack of shame. If the dispensary is made free to all, this disappears. When, as is sometimes the case with poor-law officers, the dispenser of medical aid also gives general relief, or directs to the agencies of general relief, the application for medical assistance may lead to pauperizing aid in other pressing needs. It is probably largely owing to experiences growing out of the administrative connection of public medical and general relief that English poor-law experts regard medical charity as an opening to pauperizing influences. Thus, Mr. Ede writes: "There is ample evidence to show that when medical relief is given on easy terms, such relief leads to further applications to the guardians and to habitual pauperism." In American institutions, however, this danger cannot be very great.

Untruthfulness is a frequent characteristic of the pauperized, and appears at first glance to be encouraged by medical charity. The "abuse" of dispensaries makes liars. This, however, is the result of attempts to restrict free treatment to the indigent and to fasten the stigma of pauperism upon it. Some patients go to the dispensary

prepared with false name and address. Others discover on their arrival that they must either withdraw or make false statements. Falsehoods will be told before there is time to take thought. Nothing is easier than a lie on the spur of the moment. If, however, medical treatment be made free to all who apply, there will be no occasion for telling lies.

It appears then, that, medical treatment, given freely to all applicants, fosters none of the special characteristics of pauperization. If it pauperizes, it is through hidden channels. In certain obvious ways it even counteracts pauperizing forces. Some of the poor will not readily spend of their meagre earnings for medical services, unless the need be painfully urgent. The visit to the doctor will be postponed, and experiments be made with nostrums and home remedies. Neglected and mistreated ills, however, may develop into such serious disease that charity must step in with free food and fuel as well as with free medicine. Prompt, ungrudging medical aid in checking sickness at the outset and preventing the serious illness that interrupts employment or permanently disqualifies for it, prevents the poverty that exposes to pauperizing influences. It is the unemployed poor, be it remembered, who are in most danger of pauperization, not the affluent impostors who are supposed to swarm to the dispensaries. In the absence of free treatment, open to all, with no questions asked, it is those too truthful to give false names and addresses, those too sensitive to submit to investigation, those too honest to "dead-beat" the private physician, who will suffer most from the ravages of neglected disease. The attempt to fasten the stigma of pauperism upon the receipt of dispensary services acts, in fact, as a selective factor, discriminating against the finer spirits among the poor. On the other hand, an extension and improvement of the dispensary system (and probably still more of the hospital system) would save many potentially valuable members of our population.

The means employed to prevent abuse are either ineffective or more or less objectionable: Investigation appears indispensable if impostors are to be kept away. It has been asserted that the disagreeable waiting in the crowded dispensary is sufficient to keep away those not in need. Plausible as this seems, it has not convinced those who have had experience with dispensaries. Some instances of abuse certainly occur. If, however, dispensaries generally were to adopt

the practice of having investigations made, it would require at least a generation in our larger cities, with their ever-shifting population, for the public to become thoroughly cognizant of the fact that treatment is no longer free. No searching inquiries are ordinarily made at the dispensary. When it has been determined to make investigations, the dispensary physician is likely not to inform the patient. He is too busy to attend to anything but the medical aspects of the case. A very disagreeable, and not uncommon, situation arises when name and address have been taken at the dispensary, as if a mere formality, and a visitor or investigator makes an unexpected and unwelcome appearance at the home of the patient.

New York State has tried to force the elimination of abuse by legal action. An Act of the Legislature passed in 1899 authorizes the State Board of Charities to make rules and regulations concerning the government of dispensaries, and requires all dispensaries to secure a license from said Board. One of the rules made by the Board under this power runs as follows: "Every applicant . . . in regard to whose ability to pay for medical or surgical relief . . . the registrar is in doubt, shall be admitted to a first treatment on signing a card containing the 'representation' or statement of the applicant; but the registrar shall forthwith cause an investigation to be made of his or her ability to pay, either personally or by parent or guardian; the results of such investigation shall be filed among the permanent records of the dispensary. Any such applicant who declines to sign the required 'representation' or statement shall be refused admission."

The use of the representation cards, according to Dr. Stephen Smith, chairman of the Committee on Dispensaries of the State Board of Charities, "has not been as general . . . as is desired. Some of the dispensaries use representation cards for every case, and others use them only when doubtful applicants appear. . . . The representation cards were designed for use as a basis for investigation of the worthiness of the applicants for free treatment. In a majority of instances, investigation has consisted simply of questioning the applicant. Something more than questioning the applicant, however, was designed by the rule. . . . The charity organization societies in various parts of the State have indicated a willingness to

co-operate with the managers of dispensaries by investigating doubtful cases referred to them, but these offers of assistance have not always been taken advantage of by the managers." ³ Although, according to Dr. Smith, the managers of dispensaries show no disposition to oppose the wishes of the State Board, it seems doubtful whether, for some time to come, the law will be effective in enlightening the public. It seems no exaggeration to assert that it will require a generation to make it generally known that treatment is no longer free to all and that investigations are made. If such enlightenment of the public is ever accomplished, "abuse" will be somewhat diminished. Many, however, would come to the dispensary prepared with bogus name and address. Such false statements might prevent a second visit to the same dispensary. They could not, in the larger cities, prevent the patient from making the rounds of all the dispensaries. In any case, a diagnosis and a bottle of medicine would probably have been given, and that might be all the patient needs, or thinks he needs. It would be difficult, also, to keep up a persistent system of visitation and inquiry if the visitors were continually led astray by false addresses. To keep the suffering patient waiting, and insist on an investigation previous to giving treatment, is a policy impossible to entertain. Investigation, as a means of checking abuse, cannot, therefore, be entirely successful.

Whether or no it be made effective, investigation is not altogether desirable. It involves inquiry into the private affairs of many who are, in all matters except medical service, proudly independent. They are not a class that ought to be needlessly humiliated or offended. If they should ever become hardened to such inquiry it would be evidence that being investigated had cultivated in them some of the indifference and shamelessness of the pauperized. The investigation is often made for the dispensary by an agent of a charity organization society. This arrangement finds favor with those wishing to check abuse, because it appears advantageous to use existing agencies of investigation rather than make the dispensary develop its own methods of making inquiries. Unfortunately, charity organization societies have important tasks somewhat in excess of their powers, tasks that are often disagreeable and with the performance of which a perplexed public is not in entire sympathy.

³ In *Charities* for August 29, 1903, article entitled "Dispensary Law Effective."

It is doubtful, therefore, whether these societies can afford to undertake, in addition, the unpopular office of investigating for dispensaries a class of people who are not accustomed to the charity worker's visits and resent the intrusion. The accomplishment of charity organization ideals depends on the co-operation of the general public, of the poor as well as of the rich. For charity organization societies to undertake unpopular tasks when the need is not more obvious and urgent than is that of investigating dispensary cases, is to imperil great matters for the sake of lesser things. The poorer classes in the large cities are accustomed to free medical treatment. To deprive them of it will arouse ill-will. To educate them to dislike this form of charity will be difficult and a heavy addition to the sufficiently troublesome educational tasks of this generation. How can the public be reasoned with and taught that it is shameful to receive medical services free? The results obtained by such educational efforts will be small. It is enough if a dislike for assistance in clothing, food and fuel can be inculcated. This is the main lesson, and unpalatable doctrine concerning medical charity will only distract the unwilling learners.

In regard to the first count of the indictment of free treatment, its alleged pauperizing tendency, we have seen (1) that it does not strongly foster any of the special characteristics of the pauperized; (2) that by preventing physical degeneration it tends to prevent pauperization; and (3) that the means of preventing pauperization are either so ineffective or so undesirable that the pauperization, if there is any, is an evil that must be borne unless, what is not probable, we are willing to abolish the free dispensary altogether. Turning now to the second count, does the dispensary hinder the development of more desirable methods of securing medical treatment? Self-help, whether it be co-operative, as in the case of the fraternal organization, or individual, as when doctors' bills are paid for professional services rendered, is more pleasant to contemplate than charity of any kind. If capable of sufficiently general application, it would, of course, be preferred. Is it generally applicable? To pay a private practitioner for expensive specialist services is beyond the means of too many. The method of the provident dispensary is making little headway in England, and appears to have no prospects whatever in this country. The fraternal orders, though displaying vigor and promise, and

including in their membership skilled laborers and small shopkeepers—the very classes that would suffer most from a more stringent policy on the part of the dispensaries—have not, and probably cannot, make adequate provision. The physician employed by them, the “lodge doctor,” is a general practitioner, unable to deal with special cases. With his eye on the more lucrative operations of his private practice, he often renders the lodge membership but grudging service. If the writer may venture to generalize, on the basis of observations made in investigating cases for dispensaries in New York City, members of fraternal organizations frequently think it necessary to resort to the free dispensary. The methods of self-help do not, therefore, appear to be generally applicable. Shall the need for prompt and efficient treatment remain unsatisfied because what seems the ideal method is impracticable?

It has been argued that, in a democracy, governmental activity may be called a form of co-operation. In matters of charity, however, we are not altogether democratic. Public grants are hardly keeping pace with the contributions of private wealth. The social democrat may scent degradation in the receipt of aid from privately endowed institutions. If there is anything evil in it, however, it is an inevitable incident of prevailing social tendencies, and would not be greatly aggravated by a larger medical charity. The fierce class-consciousness of the laboring classes possibly may force the development of public dispensaries in preference to private institutions. The only certainty is that unaided individuals, or associations of persons of small means, cannot cope with the problem of securing adequate medical aid. Some power must step in and draw from the social surplus, whether in private hands or public funds, the means of supporting the proper agencies of relief. Whether, under a “benevolent feudalism” we accept the gracious gifts of the millionaire, or a social democracy through taxation, appropriation or confiscation secure the means—free, prompt and adequate medical service for all who may apply, we may expect, will be necessary to satisfy the modern humanitarian spirit.

The third objection to the free dispensary, its injury to the practice of the private physician, indicates the origin of the bitterest opposition. The mere desires of the profession, of course, cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the satisfaction of a general need.

Unless a vested right in an occupation be admitted, the dissatisfied profession has no ground upon which to make its plea. No trade can be given a perpetual patent. With the medical profession in private practice it is not as yet a question of total extinction, but only of forcing out an excess of supply. If we conceive the possibility of the private physician being some day entirely displaced by the various agencies of medical charity, there arises the question whether the public would be better served by a physician serving for a fee, as a trader selling his wares, or by one following the routine of duty for a salary. A purely academic question this, and yet not altogether irrelevant to the discussion of our practical problem. An extension of the dispensary system and a general acceptance of the argument in favor of universal free treatment, would tend to bring about the disappearance of the private practitioner, the free lance in medicine. The argument in favor of the dispensary is, therefore, not complete unless it can be shown that the work of the attached and salaried doctor of medicine will not be inferior to that of the independent physician.⁴

The physician derives his income from the misfortunes of others. The more sickness, the wider his market and the larger his income, provided, of course, sickness does not proceed to the point of diminishing the average purchasing power of the community. Preventive measures for meeting sickness are opposed to the interests of the profession. Public sanitation appeals to the physician only in so far as he and his family are protected by it. Still greater, it appears, must be his indifference to the work of educating the public in hygiene and sanitation. Too much intelligence on the part of the

⁴ The result of a continued growth of the dispensary system may be the disappearance of the physician not connected with a dispensary, but not the end of private practice. The amount of the latter remaining will depend on the salaries paid the dispensary physician. As a rule, no salaries are now paid, physicians making use of the dispensary as a means of advertisement, and sometimes of experimentation, looking to an increased private practice as the source of their income. A satisfactory salary would relieve them of the necessity of striving for a private practice. The effect of an increase of dispensaries, under the system prevailing at present, would be to throw private practice to an increasing extent into the hands of dispensary specialists. The mass of mankind would resort to the free dispensary. The rich and fastidious would pay for private service outside of the dispensary, and in so doing would be indirectly supporting the dispensary. As the specialist's fees include payment for his dispensary work, they would be too large for persons of ordinary means. Some medical attendance in the homes of the patients there will always be, but this may fall largely to the "out-patient" departments of the large hospitals, leaving no field for the independent practitioner except in the rural districts.

public might be fatal to his practice. Such are the purely economic interests of the profession. Most of its members, of course, are open to more generous motives. It is here merely insisted that, from the economic point of view, the interests of the profession are at variance with the interests of society as a whole. Some physicians are not superior to the temptations arising from this situation. Aside from a not uncommon, half-conscious luke-warmness for preventive measures, there is the use of clearly dishonest methods of getting a practice. The encouragement of imaginary maladies and unnecessary performances upon gullible and profitable patients are some of the works by which the independent trader in medical services must be judged. These are evils not likely to be much checked by the rising intellectual standards of the profession. The migratory character of our population and the disappearance of the old family physician diminish the sway of sentiment and friendship in healing sickness, and open the door to a more complete dominance of the commercial spirit. It may be granted that selfish interests and dishonest methods cannot be eliminated completely from any system. Medical treatment by public official, or the employee of privately endowed charity, will have its faults. The danger of unprogressiveness in bureaucratic management is notorious. At its best, however, institutional effort to serve a public interest appears better than the commercial rivalry of individuals. In the relief of distress, the motive of pecuniary gain is a poor substitute for sympathy and the sense of duty. Pride in the performance of duty has often been made a powerful motive to the salaried agent of public and private institutions. The private physician, in the performance of duties, has one eye on the possibility of collecting his fee. A bureaucratic system may degenerate until it fails to accomplish what the system of private enterprise now performs. At its best, however, the institutional system is the ideal method of relieving distress. It is not an ideal system that leaves to individual enterprise the commercial exploitation of human suffering.

To some readers the above argument may appear to savor of socialism. The proposed extension of medical charity, as has been suggested before, may be either private or public, according as society tends towards aristocracy or towards democracy. In the latter case, there will be a fulfilment of the desires of the socialists,

who have proposed to make all medical aid a public charge, all alike to be treated by public officials. If, under an aristocratic régime, private benevolence make the large donations, these may also be said to possess a *public* character. The charitable institutions of society must be supported by those who control its surplus wealth, and who, in consequence of this control, are the *de facto* rulers. The direction of social change is at present far from clear. The extension of public functions to the care of health is, however, in important respects, very different from the rest of the socialist's program, and not open to the same objections. The most damaging charge brought against collectivism is the inferiority of public to private administration in enterprise and inventiveness. The rapid adoption, if not also the invention, of improved methods, has been the office of private enterprise. In the art of healing, however, unlike the ordinary processes of industrial society, such progress as has been made has not been the result of the competitive spirit. The scientist and humanitarian, the man working for a salary rather than the man "hustling" for a fee, has been the discoverer and inventor. The general adoption of new methods by the profession has been due to the teaching of the medical colleges rather than to the pressure of competition. The objection that has so much force against the extension of public administration to agriculture, manufacture or commerce is, therefore, not valid against the increased activity of the State in matters of health. After all, long strides already have been taken in the direction pointed to by the socialist. Medical services are not merely performed gratuitously by public authorities, but in some cases even forced upon unwilling recipients. It has come to be only a question of degree, not of principle. Once let it be recognized that it is not so much the abjectly poor and incurably dependent that ought to be protected against degenerating influences, as those potentially valuable members of society who are above the pauper line, but struggling hard to maintain their economic independence, and it must be admitted that it is a duty of the rulers and guardians of society to watch over the health of its members and to treat all sickness at its start—freely, promptly, thoroughly.

It has been the aim of this paper to show the weakness of the chief objections made to a generous and indiscriminate medical charity. That the movement for the extension of medical relief

will, in this generation, proceed so far as to make the physician's services as free as those of the teacher or librarian, is not to be expected. It is proper, however, to raise the question whether the time has not come for the charity expert to withdraw his opposition to a slow but inevitable "drift of things," and to adjust his mind to the expectation of a new order.

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SOME PHASES OF THE DISPENSARY PROBLEM

“Of all the subjects with which the charity worker has to deal,” said Dr. Silas F. Hallock in a recent address, “hospital charity is one of the most important. When we stop to consider the large proportion of cases which come to us for relief, and of which sickness is the chief and determining cause of financial distress—and in many more it is the contributing cause—we can readily see its importance. Then again when we consider how much sickness is to be traced to the ignorance of the masses as to the simplest rules of hygiene or proper preparation and cooking of food, we see that our work is not only curative but educational and preventive.”

Hospital charity may be separated into two main divisions: treatment in cases where the patient occupies a bed and remains in the hospital during the entire duration of the illness, and outdoor relief, where the patient comes to the hospital or dispensary for treatment and advice, but lives at home and very often continues the usual round of daily duties. It is with the latter phase of medical charity that we are now concerned.

The subject is an old one, and for generations the uses and abuses of the dispensary have been discussed both by the medical profession and the laity. That there is and always has been need of improvement in dispensary service must be admitted; that much unnecessary obloquy rests upon the dispensary and its work there is also but little doubt. Charitable work of all sorts is more and more seeking to prevent rather than to cure destitution. “It is better to have a fence at the top of a precipice than an ambulance at the bottom; better to prevent a man from going down than to try to raise him when he has fallen.” It is in this way that the dispensary serves a particularly useful purpose. Preventive medicine occupies an increasingly important place in the work of the medical profession, and dispensary treatment endeavors to check the disease before it has become so serious that it involves the train of hardships consequent upon giving up work.

An English observer says:

“At present our most highly equipped—and therefore most formidable—

competitors are our kinsmen across the Atlantic. America is commercially formidable, not merely because of her gigantic enterprises and almost illimitable resources, but because, as recent investigations have shown, her workers are better nourished and possess a relatively higher efficiency.¹

Industrial success cannot be secured by any body of people unless the public health is maintained. The functions of municipal government deal largely with questions of good housekeeping which affect the people as a whole. The effects of a good or bad water supply are instantly reflected in the commercial prosperity or troubles of a city. Hamburg, with unfiltered water, was once the scene of a constant scourge of disease. Supplied from the same sources, but with its water purified before reaching the consumer, it is now a healthful city. One of the most serious results of bad municipal government in this country is its invariable effect on the health as well as the morals of the community. Clean streets, proper building laws and public sanitation all have a direct influence on the public health. The first duty of the community is to keep the citizen well, to prevent the danger of illness, and, in case of accident and disease, to return the wage-earner as soon as possible to the ranks. This should be done so as to interfere as little as may be with his productiveness and consequently, where possible, treatment should be commenced at the outset of the disease in a dispensary or the out-patient department of some hospital, in order that the sufferer may keep at work and retain his means of livelihood. Where this is not possible, the patient has to be cared for in the hospital ward. We often forget what this means where the family is barely able to maintain itself on the combined earnings of all its members.

Another point which is too often lost sight of is the difference in cost between walking cases and in-patients. Sir Henry Burdett states:

"The cost of treating 1,000 out-patients is about equal to the expenditure upon one constantly occupied bed, provided the administration of the institution in question is conducted with reasonable efficiency."²

The figures for England, while hardly applying to this country, as the dispensary cases there do not receive as costly treatment as here, yet give a general idea of the great difference in cost between the two classes of patients.

¹ "Poverty, A Study of Town Life," by B. Seebohm Rowntree.

² Burdett's "Hospitals and Charities." London, 1903.

The most often discussed point in connection with dispensaries is the abuse of their facilities by those who are able to pay a physician. It is generally agreed that all those below the "poverty line," and a large number whose earnings are barely more than sufficient to keep the family together, provided the health of all is good, are fit subjects for the dispensary's care. Unfortunately there are no figures to give even an approximate idea of what proportion of the population this may be in our great cities. Mr. Rowntree, in his study of poverty in York, England, writes:

"Nearly thirty per cent of the population are living in poverty and are ill-housed, ill-clothed and under-fed. So long as this state of things continues a low average of efficiency among the wage-earning classes is inevitable."

He further states:

"We have been accustomed to look upon the poverty in London as exceptional, but when the result of a careful investigation shows that the proportion of poverty in London is practically equalled in what may be regarded as a typical provincial town, we are faced by the startling probability that from 25 to 30 per cent of the population of the United Kingdom are living in poverty."

In a study of social conditions in the southeastern end of Boston, it is stated that "about thirty per cent. of West End people, and about forty per cent. of North End people, are below the line of poverty as set by Charles Booth in his London studies."³ These figures refer only to congested districts in Boston; for the whole city the proportion would, of course, be far lower. In this country, the number of persons living in poverty is much less than in England. Miss Richmond, General Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, says:

"My own opinion is that we have little or none of the hereditary pauperism of England, and that the percentage (in this country) should be much lower—say not more than a third as much."

The fact remains, however, that a considerable proportion of our population is living from hand-to-mouth, and is not in a fit position to face the complications which disease and loss of occupation bring. Before one can measure the extent to which dispensary privileges are abused by the patients, it must be discovered what proportion of the population is actually unable to pay anything for the service of a physician.

³ "Americans in Process—A Settlement Study." Boston, 1902.

If 10 per cent. of the population of our larger cities are below the "poverty line," and possibly half as many again are so little more than self-sustaining that they cannot afford to pay a physician in time of illness—then among the remaining dispensary attenders we must include those who are able to pay, but very sensibly prefer the free services of skilled dispensary physicians to the care of often less capable practitioners whose fees are within their reach.

Other circumstances besides poverty may also be considered proper reasons for attendance at dispensaries. Chief of these is the educational value to the student of medicine which comes from studying at first hand the cases which present themselves at a dispensary. In other words, it is often to the advantage of the community that persons able to pay a small fee should be treated without further return than their willingness to serve as subjects for demonstration for classes of medical students. This is particularly true in regard to special diseases where difficulty is found by the teacher in securing adequate material. It is a strong argument for confining free dispensaries to teaching institutions. There is, moreover, less danger of slovenly treatment in a dispensary used for teaching. As Dr. W. W. Keen says: "Students are the best whip and spur I know."

A physician connected with a medical school in one of our smaller cities writes:

"As yet we have not to complain of any abuses. The hospital with which I am connected has only an out-patient service for the eye and the nose and throat, as it was felt to be an injustice to the younger general practitioners to foster a general out-patient service. But for instruction there must be ambulant patients, especially as the younger practitioners will find among such their chief clientele later."

The results of a recent investigation of the dispensaries in Philadelphia⁴ may prove of value as giving in concrete form a view of the situation as it exists to a greater or less extent in most of our large cities. In order to secure the necessary data, letters were sent to a large number of physicians, and at the same time a question blank was sent to each of the dispensaries in Philadelphia, asking for detailed information. The results of this investigation showed that there were 61 dispensaries in Philadelphia devoted to the relief of the sick and injured. More than half of these were connected with hos-

⁴"The Dispensary Problem in Philadelphia—A Report made to the Hospital Association of Philadelphia, October 28, 1903."

pitals. In 42 of the dispensaries under consideration, 305,980 patients were treated during 1902, or 238 cases for each 1,000 of the population. An investigation made in 1880 showed that at that time 159 persons were receiving treatment for each 1,000 of the population. In twenty-three years the percentage had risen from 15.9 to 23.8. In New York, 876,070 patients were treated during 1900, or 254 for each 1,000 of the population. While the statistics do not include all of the Philadelphia dispensaries, they are sufficiently accurate to give a close idea of the total amount of work done. The number of cases treated would undoubtedly have been raised a few thousand had complete statistics been obtained, but this increase would probably be offset by the number of cases which appear more than once in the figures which have been secured. It can, in a general way, be stated that more than one-fifth of the population is now receiving free treatment at the dispensaries in Philadelphia. There are over 800 physicians connected with these institutions, almost all of whom give their services without receiving any direct compensation. That the indirect return is fully worth the time expended is shown by the competition to secure dispensary positions, particularly of the higher grade.

A study of the superintendents' answers gives the impression that there is little uniformity in the methods of management and that there must be considerable carelessness in the carrying out of these methods. It has been impossible to get an accurate idea as to the cost of maintenance of the dispensaries. The figures given vary from one-half cent to \$1.32½ for each patient treated. As most of the dispensaries are connected with hospitals, and as these institutions as a rule do not separate the expenditures for the in- and out-patient departments, the figures given must in most cases be simply the result of guesswork. The difference would, however, be partly accounted for were the items known which had been included in the figures. The institutions reporting the higher costs have undoubtedly included a proportionate amount of the total outlay for maintenance of plant, interest charges, heat, light, wages and other expenditures of this nature, in addition to the actual cost of materials used. The institutions giving the lower figures cannot include anything but the actual value of the materials dispensed. In most of the dispensaries under consideration no effort is made to

increase the number of patients, and but one-third use their cases for teaching purposes. Less than one-third attempt to prevent imposition by patients able to pay. Of these the larger number try to regulate the matter by simply questioning the patient. Where patients are able to pay, the majority report that they are referred to the office of a physician. The indirect gain which some dispensary physicians are able to secure is shown by the practice at several of the dispensaries of permitting them to refer cases to their own offices.

A large proportion of the physicians who were consulted agree that the chief abuse of the dispensary is that patients are treated who are able to pay a physician for his services. As to the other abuses, there is no unanimity of opinion, although many which are noted are undoubtedly true. The abuse on the part of the doctors mentioned by the largest number of physicians, is that patients are not carefully treated in the dispensary. This is a natural result of handling large numbers of people in a limited amount of time, and is an undoubted fact. A problem which was not enlarged on by the doctors, is that of the many patients applying for free treatment at our dispensaries are persons who have exhausted their resources in paying a doctor and are forced to seek the aid of these institutions to rectify the results of improper treatment.

In Philadelphia the problem presented is that of sixty-one dispensaries, having little or nothing in common, competing with each other more or less directly, and all of them anxious to show large returns in the amount of work done. Connected with them are about 28 per cent. of the physicians practicing in Philadelphia, and yet the majority of doctors feel, rightly or wrongly, that dispensaries are fostering abuse and depriving them of fees justly theirs. They tell us that the district physicians, who are paid by the city, should care for the indigent poor, that competition should be eliminated and means taken to prevent imposition, and yet they are apparently unwilling or unable to take any steps to alter existing conditions. A careful scrutiny of the answers received from both physicians and superintendents at the time of the investigation made last summer, leads to the conclusion that, while the chief abuse is the application for treatment by those who are able to pay, the management of our

dispensaries and the physicians connected with them are also open to criticism.

The State of New York has been the first to recognize the necessity for regulating dispensary practice. Its law, which has now been in effect for more than three years, has already shown good results. It has acted as a check to indiscriminate dispensary attendance, the increase in the number of patients since the enactment of the law having been proportionately less than the increase in the population during the same period.⁵ The law defines the purpose of dispensaries, provides that they shall be licensed by the State Board of Charities, and gives rules and regulations for their operation. In addition, the State Board of Charities is given power to visit and inspect licensed dispensaries and, after due notice, to revoke these licenses in case the public interest should demand such action. In accordance with the terms of the act, the New York State Board of Charities has adopted a simple but effective set of rules requiring that in each dispensary there shall be posted a public notice showing that the dispensary has been duly licensed under the laws of the State, and providing for a registrar to supervise the work of the dispensary and to make and preserve all records, receive applicants and enforce the rules and regulations. All emergency cases must be admitted and receive prompt care and treatment. Every applicant who is deemed poor and needy is to be treated. Where there is a question as to the patient's ability to pay, the registrar is to make an investigation, the results of which are filed among the permanent records of the dispensary. At the same time the patient is required to sign a statement in a form approved by the Board of Charities. It is a misdemeanor to receive treatment on false representations. The Board also provides for the appointment of a matron, excludes the treatment of contagious diseases, directs that cases shall not be used for teaching purposes without consent being obtained, and defines the duties of the apothecary and provides for sanitary inspection and the arrangements and equipment of the dispensary. Legal enactment is undoubtedly a step in the right direction, and where the State Board of Health is a liberal-minded and progressive body much can be done to prevent abuse and increase the efficiency of these institutions. The provision making it a misdemeanor to receive treatment on false

⁵ "Dispensary Law Effective." Stephen Smith, M. D., Charities, August 29, 1903.

pretences is in itself a safeguard, as well-to-do people, who would unblushingly demand the services of a dispensary physician, might be deterred by knowing that discovery of their imposition would lead to prosecution and punishment. Another value of legal control is found in the fact that inspection can be made by a competent branch of the State government, thus making it possible to require a higher standard of efficiency than would be possible where no such control exists.

At the present time, too little thought is given to the equipment and detail management of the dispensaries, particularly where they are not connected with medical schools. It is just as important to keep accurate and scientific records of the work done in a dispensary as it is in a research laboratory. The recent adoption of more accurate systems of records by some of the leading institutions in this country is a hopeful sign and should help to raise the standard of efficiency. It will also aid in ferreting out the patients addicted to the so-called "dispensary habit," who drift from one clinic to another in the hope of securing novelty in treatment if not recovery of health.

A fatal defect in the present loose method of caring for our sick poor is the overlapping of the institutions devoted to their care. A glance at the map of Philadelphia, for example, shows that the various dispensaries are not placed with any view to the needs of the various sections of the city. Indeed, most of them are in the older part of the city, between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers. At one point there are five dispensaries within a radius of two blocks, while in other parts of the city large territories are entirely without any such facilities. It is, of course, almost impossible in districting a city to eliminate organizations which are already established. Much can, however, be done to prevent unnecessary duplication in the launching of new ventures.

The most poorly-clad patient is sometimes not the most deserving recipient of charity. Patients coming to the dispensary often put on their best clothes and endeavor to appear to the best advantage when seeking medical assistance. For this reason, in making rules to regulate dispensary practice, great care should be taken not to do anything which is likely to turn away those cases which really need help but are unwilling to admit that they have been reduced to such a condition. It is generally wise to give the desired advice or treat-

ment on the occasion of the first visit of the patient, deferring investigation, except in very flagrant cases, until the pressing necessities of the applicant have been relieved. It is thus possible, without forcing the patient to wait for treatment, to provide for all immediate needs and at the same time to prevent subsequent imposition.

The work of the dispensary can undoubtedly be largely increased in usefulness by securing the aid and co-operation of other charitable agencies and extending the scope of relief far beyond the mere giving of advice and treatment. The work which has been started by the Vanderbilt Clinic in New York in its dispensary for pulmonary tuberculosis is an example of what can be accomplished by following the patients to their homes and endeavoring, through the employment of a trained nurse, to ameliorate the conditions existing there. In the same way, co-operation with the charity organizations can be made a most important factor in eliminating improper cases and in performing the greatest service to the deserving. With large numbers of organizations devoted to charitable relief, there is no necessity for anyone, no matter how poor, to go hungry or sick without receiving prompt and adequate assistance. Indeed, the greatest trouble in Philadelphia is not the lack of charitable effort, but the enormous amount of competition, duplication and overlapping.

A large share of the responsibility for existing difficulties in the dispensary situation must be laid to the physicians themselves. Men of wide reputation usually charge more than the moderate wage-earner can afford to pay, and the physician who is willing to accept a very small fee is too often incompetent. Probably nothing is worse for the health of the laboring classes than the treatment so often given by the quack, who is willing to supply advice and medicine for an almost nominal fee. A few standard prescriptions are all that are needed to cover the majority of ills, and a hasty examination and still more careless diagnosis are followed by an injunction to take the contents of the bottle and come again when it is exhausted. A community of interest has even been known to exist between a physician and undertaker, which naturally aroused suspicion on the part of the patients. Is it to be wondered that attendance at a public clinic, even with the loss of time and other inconveniences which may be entailed, is often thought preferable to an office visit? The patients feel, and rightly, that the names of the prominent citizens who act

as trustees are a guarantee of the character and ability of the physicians on the staff, and it is this feeling which is so often expressed in their refusal to be treated by anyone but "the professor."

State regulation of the medical profession did away with many and serious abuses, and as the standards for admission to the profession are raised and safeguarded the problem of the dispensary will undoubtedly be lessened. Were it possible to expend a larger sum for the maintenance of our dispensaries, to provide them with the best equipment, and to give the dispensary physician a direct return for his services, requiring of him, as of all the other officers, a strict performance of duty, much could be accomplished. At the present time, the dispensary is too often considered to be merely the feeder of other departments of the hospital or college, and too little thought and care are devoted to its housing, equipment and the qualifications of the medical officers. It is just as important to keep the standard of all appointments high in dispensaries as it is in other hospital work, for even where the chief of clinic is all that he might be, an incompetent or unscrupulous assistant can do a deal of harm. While the dispensary undoubtedly is abused, and while its abuse is a favorite topic of discussion, it would seem that the benefit of these institutions to the community at large is far greater than their evil effects. Improvement must come through intelligent direction on the part of those responsible for their management, conscientious and unselfish work by the medical profession, and careful investigation of applicants for relief. The dispensary is here and is here to stay. The problem is simply so to direct our medical charities that the greatest amount of good may be accomplished with the least possible waste.

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Philadelphia.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF GIRLS IN TEXTILE INDUSTRIES OF PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania, if classified according to the amount of power used in manufacturing, ranks first among the states of the Union. In the decade 1890 to 1900 the increase in the value of its products was greater than that of any other state. There is an aggregate wealth in its banks of over \$150,000,000, which is over \$500 per capita of the depositors, while in its building and loan associations there is an aggregate assessment of over \$112,000,000. The capital invested in instruments of production and real estate devoted to productive industry amounts to over a billion and a half dollars, and the net value of products of its mills and factories in 1900 was over a billion dollars, or nearly \$175 per capita of population. In the half century from 1850 to 1900, the gross per capita value of the products increased from \$67.07 to \$291.19. All this proves—if proof is needed—that the State of Pennsylvania is rich, and is under no necessity to enlist in its industrial army thousands of young girls whose physical vigor and intellectual power are impaired by continuous and arduous labor.

The labor needed in our factories and workshops to produce articles of social utility, whose net value is over one billion dollars, amounts to over 800,000 hands, of whom 188,578 are females; and of the female employees, 17,286 are girls under 16 years of age. Many of these children are employed in stores as "cash girls," but the vast majority of them are employees in mills and factories, where tiny fingers labor for ten hours each day for 300 days in the year. The industries in which most of them are employed are silk-throwing, hosiery and underwear, cigars and sweet-stuffs, umbrellas and parasols, paper-bags and boxes, overalls and shirts, etc. These industries, in which female child labor forms so important a part of the employees, are not equally distributed over the State. They are found for the greater part in the east. Pennsylvania has 67 counties, but in 18 of them—all of which are east of Harrisburg—which contain 52.87 per cent of the female population of the State, we find 87.07 per cent of all girls employed under 16 years of age.

The six counties in which female child labor most prevails are Berks, Lackawanna, Lancaster, Lehigh, Luzerne and Philadelphia. Most of the children employed in these counties are found in factories and mills located in large cities, such as Reading, Scranton, Lancaster, Allentown, Wilkes-Barre and Philadelphia. Of all the girls under 16 years of age employed in the State, 69.81 per cent are in the above six counties, which contain only 34.98 per cent of the female population of the State.

There are in Pennsylvania 18 cities with over 25,000 population. By a comparison of the returns from the factory inspectors and the returns of the superintendent of public instruction of the State, we are able approximately to determine the percentages of female children employed, of the age-group, 13—16 years, in these cities. The following table gives the percentage:

	Percentage of Girls of age-group 13— 16 years employed.	Percentage of Popu- lation having Foreign Parents.	Percentage of Popula- tion For- eign Born.
In the State.....	9.16	22.7	15.6
Allegheny.....	7.82	37.4	23.2
Allentown.....	41.63	14.1	8.4
Altoona.....	10.17	17.9	8.4
Chester.....	19.28	25.4	14.9
Easton.....	24.46	17.9	8.4
Erie.....	3.80	40.9	22.6
Harrisburg.....	16.09	10.1	4.9
Johnstown.....	1.00	26.7	20.3
Lancaster.....	49.40	18.9	8.4
McKeesport.....	0.59	32.9	27.3
New Castle.....	2.86	22.7	18.8
Philadelphia.....	19.51	32.0	22.8
Pittsburg.....	4.12	37.3	26.3
Reading.....	36.02	12.6	7.5
Scranton.....	32.95	44.3	28.4
Wilkes-Barre.....	26.03	40.0	23.3
Williamsport.....	6.16	19.4	7.7
York.....	31.44	9.2	3.8

York and Easton, together with the cities above mentioned, stand forth conspicuously in this list as centres where young girls are

largely employed. Column second in the above table gives the percentages of the native-born of foreign-born parents, and column third gives those of the foreign-born of the population of these cities. The table shows that cities, such as McKeesport, Johnstown, Erie, Pittsburg, and Allegheny, which have the highest percentages in the second and third columns, have the lowest percentages of girls under 16 years employed; while the cities in which the highest percentages of this class of employees are found—with the exception of Scranton and Wilkes-Barre—have the lowest percentages of foreign-born or descendants of foreign-born parents. This suggests that entrepreneurs in mills and factories do not wholly draw their supply of child labor from among the children of the foreign-born. Whatever degeneracy is associated with the labor of girls of tender years in factories, it prevails among the children of the native-born as well as among those of foreign-born parents in the State.

Let us now consider three industries of the State, namely, silk-throwing, hosiery and worsted mills. The following table gives us the percentages of female hands employed in them :

	Percentage of female employees.	Percentage of all employees under 16 yrs.	Percentage of all employees under 21 yrs	Percentage of female employees under 16 yrs.	Percentage of females among all employees under 21 yrs.
Silk.	70.65	20.20	50.97	22.15	77.49
Hosiery	79.50	18.92	52.19	19.77	83.10
Worsted Mills.	57.40	17.83	31.90	23.04	73.75

This table shows that the vast majority of employees in these industries is female, and that of this majority an average of over 22 per cent. is under 16 years of age. Of both male and female employees, nearly 20 per cent. is under 16 years, while an average of nearly 50 per cent. of the hands is composed of minors. These percentages, which show how prevalent female labor is in these industries, are still further corroborated by studying them in distinct localities. Take the three industries, silk-throwing, hosiery and underwear mills in special localities, and the following table gives the percentages of female labor in them :

	Percentage of female employees.	Percentage of all employees under 16 years	Percentage of all employees under 21 years	Percentage of all females under 16 years.	Percentage of girls among all employees under 16 years.
SILK					
In Philadelphia .	77.07	6.10	25.08	5.28	66.66
Outside Phil'a. .	77.68	23.90	52.84	25.00	77.69
HOSIERY					
In Philadelphia .	77.09	26.00	56.41	26.82	79.53
Outside Phil'a. .	76.98	24.42	48.73	27.37	86.25
UNDERWEAR					
In Philadelphia .	87.19	7.68	27.72	7.65	62.50
Outside Phil'a. .	84.60	9.15	36.60	7.53	69.65

This table shows that among the silk-workers in Philadelphia we do not find nearly so many minors and young girls under 16 years employed as in this industry outside that city. In the hosiery mills the employment of these classes is as great as in territories outside Philadelphia, while in the underwear factories the employment of minors and young girls is not so prevalent as in the other two industries.

A study of the factories and mills in five of the cities where female labor most prevails gives us the following table as to the percentages of minors employed and the percentages of girls under 16 years employed:

	Percentage of Employees under 21 years.	Percentage of Girls under 16 years employed.
Lancaster	48.24	18.78
Reading	42.26	20.39
Allentown	51.39	23.16
Wilkes-Barre	64.59	22.48
Scranton	55.05	30.87

Let us now consider the wages of these classes of our employees. In the census returns of 1900 we have data given of three industries—

silk, hosiery and worsted goods—whereby we may compute the average annual wage of females. It is as follows:

	Average per Annum.	Average per Working Day.
Women 16 years and over (silk)	\$204.33	68 cents.
Girls under 16 years (silk)	128.95	43 “
Women 16 years and over (hosiery)	265.58	85 “
Girls under 16 years (hosiery)	141.61	47 “
Women 16 years and over (worsted goods)	290.61	97 “
Girls under 16 years (worsted goods)	174.54	58 “

In “Industrial Statistics” of our State the daily wage for all employees in silk-throwing, hosiery and worsted yarns is 84 cents, 95 cents and one dollar, respectively, which differ from the figures given by the census of 1900, which are 74 cents, 90 cents and \$1.09, respectively. The average daily wages of children under 16 years employed in silk, hosiery and underwear in the state is 43 cents, 46 cents and 47 cents, respectively. Averages, however, do not give us the true wages paid in factories which are located in cities and towns where an abundant supply of cheap labor is near at hand. In factories located in towns and cities in the anthracite regions, young girls work for ten hours each day, or sixty hours a week, for from \$1.50 to \$2.00 a week. A girl who earns \$3.00 a week is considered fortunate, while forewomen who have charge of from fifty to one hundred girls, get only \$5.00 a week. In factories located in small towns the average daily wage of females over 16 years, as well as that of girls under 16 years, is fully 25 per cent. lower than that of the general averages based on the census returns. Of all industries employing young girls, that of silk-throwing pays the lowest wages, notwithstanding the fact that “of the several branches of the industry the manufacture of silk stood first in the value of products in 1900.” Pennsylvania, according to the last census, ranks second in the industry among the states of the Union.

In the annual report of the factory inspectors for 1902, the chief of inspectors says concerning child labor: “The first year’s report of the Department in 1890 showed that over 10 per cent. of the employees were children between the ages of 12 and 16 years. This year’s report shows that less than 5 per cent. were employed between the age of 13 and 16 years.” In the census of 1890, only 3.87 per cent. of all

employees in the State were children under 16 years, while in 1900 the percentage was 4.51. During the decade, 1890-1900, the increase in the employment of children under 16 years was 47.80 per cent., while the percentage increase of school children in the decade was 15.3. During the same decade the number of female employees increased 44.87 per cent., while the female population of the State increased 19.5 per cent. The returns of the census for 1870, 1880, 1890 and 1900 show that the percentages of children under 16 years employed, as compared with all employees engaged in mechanical and manufacturing pursuits in Pennsylvania, are 6.02, 7.66, 3.87 and 4.51, respectively. The percentage in 1902, as given in the factory inspector's report, is 4.51. With these figures before us it is hard to see how the chief of the factory inspectors could make the above statement. In the last generation the percentage increase of female employees in the State is about three times the percentage increase of our population. Since 1870 many legislatures have attempted to regulate child labor in the State, but the number employed has kept pace with the percentage increase of our population. In 1890 the average wage of children under 16 years was 50.6 cents a day; in 1900 it was 53 cents, an increase of 5.5 per cent. The average wage of females over 16 years in 1890 was 89 cents a day; in 1900 it was 87 cents, a reduction of 2.28 per cent.

The small percentage of children under 16 years employed in Pennsylvania is no guarantee that child labor is less prevalent here than in southern states, to which public attention has been recently called. Our State has many industries in which few children are employed, such as iron and steel, locomotive- and car-building, foundries and electric apparatus, etc. Hence, to give the percentage of children under 16 years employed in all industries of the commonwealth may appear favorable to Pennsylvania (4.51 per cent.), as compared with North Carolina (14.70 per cent.), but the method of comparison is misleading as to the prevalence of child labor in both states. North Carolina has no large industries in which few children are employed. If a just comparison between north and south is made, the nature of the industries in the respective states should be taken into consideration. Rev. E. G. Gardner wrote, in the fall of 1902, that of 45,044 operatives in textile industries in North Carolina, 7,996 (17.7 per cent.) were under 14 years of age and their daily average wage

was 29 cents. In the textile industries specified above in Table 2, there is an average of nearly 22 per cent. of the employees under 16 years of age, whose average net wage, outside Philadelphia, is not 40 cents a day. In North Carolina, 37.8 per cent. of the population is employed in gainful occupations and in Pennsylvania 38.8 per cent.; but in the former State, 64.1 per cent. of these is engaged in agricultural pursuits and 12.7 per cent. in manufacturing and mechanical work, but in Pennsylvania only 14 per cent. of all employees are in the former and 40.1 per cent. in the latter. A just comparison of female and child labor in both states can only be made when we find what percentages of females of the age group 13-23 years, and of children of 13 to 16 years, are employed in each. By this method of comparison we find that 16.3 per cent. of females of the age group 13-23 years is employed in Pennsylvania, and 6.6 per cent. in North Carolina, but the percentage of children under 16 years of age employed in both states is about the same—in Pennsylvania 20.2, and in North Carolina 20.4. While we censure the states of the south for their exploitation of child labor, we should not lose sight of this evil in Pennsylvania because of the specious argument that only 4.51 per cent. of the total employees are children under 16 years of age.

A study of the laws of Pennsylvania relative to child labor reveals a mass of complicated, contradictory and confusing statutes. Legislators, in their anxiety to do something, have disregarded the labor of their predecessors. They pass laws wholly oblivious of the importance of historical continuity and the result is a series of incongruous and disconnected statutes regulating the labor of the wards of the State. But, however bungling the work of the legislators is, the student is hardly prepared to find Pennsylvania more indifferent than Russia to the interests of its children employed in factories. England, since the passage of the Ashley Act in 1833, has prohibited the employment of persons under 18 years at night. Every other European country of any industrial importance has followed England's example. Even Austria and Russia, whence come the Slavs, whose manner of life and customs we so frequently condemn, forbid the labor of young persons at night. But these people coming to Pennsylvania find young girls under 16 years of age employed at night in our mills. Many deem it cruel to employ these.

young persons by day for ten hours in stifling mills, but every humane person considers it barbarous to employ them at night. This is a reproach to a State as rich as ours, and although the wrong was amply exposed before the Coal Strike Commission, there were no legislators found in the last legislature chivalrous enough to enthusiastically champion the cause of the coming mothers of our State.

The "Journal" of the American Medical Association, in commenting on "Child Labor in the South," said: "When these immature individuals are kept at constant work for long hours, the outlook for their future can be imagined. It is bad policy for a state to encourage the increase of degeneracy in this way, to say nothing of the questions of humanity involved. Whatever may be thought of some of the other demands of the labor agitation of the day, that of the abolition of child labor, as it exists in some of the southern factories, can be endorsed by our profession, and should be by the public generally." Suppose the medical profession of Pennsylvania, numbering over 10,000 persons, were to direct its attention to the 17,286 girls under 16 years of age employed in our State, would not their professional knowledge of the development of the female organism from the age of 13 to 16 years urge them to co-operate in the attempt to abolish this evil? From the days of Quetelet down to the present, accurate measurements have been taken of the bodily growth of young girls from 13 to 16 years, and the consensus of opinion is, that at no period of their life do they grow so rapidly as then. The female, during these years, develops more rapidly than the male, so that the average girl of 16 years has reached a stage in physical development which boys do not attain until two or three years later. All parents, who duly watch over their children, know that the factory and the mill are not proper places for girls from 13 to 16 years of age.

From the standpoint of economics, this employment of young girls cannot be justified. The more wealth produced the more we have for distribution. The larger the number of persons engaged in gainful occupations the better. But along side these self-evident truths we must place another, namely, that if the health of our industrial life is to be preserved, the various industries of the State must be self-supporting. Those which flourish by the labor of women and children are not self-supporting, for they consume an

amount of energy which they do not replace. They draw upon the capital stock of the nation's vital force and care little or nothing about the degeneracy they effect. When the silk-throwers of England were fighting for a living wage, it was asked: "What is a fair day's wage?" and the reply was: "The due reward for our labor may be summed up in these words: shelter, food and raiment both for ourselves, our wives and our children." Suppose we apply that rule to the textile industries of Pennsylvania. Is 40 cents a day sufficient to give proper food, raiment and shelter to a child of from 13 to 16 years of age? Can a young lady keep herself in food, clothes and room on 85 cents a day? The State spent on its youths in the Huntingdon Reformatory in the year 1901 an average of \$248.90 per capita, or \$4.79 per week—a sum twice as large as that which our young girls earn in our mills and factories. The state has erected a comfortable home for its convicts and spends annually \$199.95 per capita on food, clothing, etc.; this is \$3.84 a week, or \$1.16 less than the average weekly wage of young women over 16 years employed in the mills—a difference that is barely sufficient to cover the item of rent. The textile industries are not self-supporting. We are safe in saying that 50 per cent. of the employees in these industries expend an amount of energy which their wages do not replace. The majority of the women and girls who labor in them cannot provide for their wants with the wages they earn; they must either go short or else the deficiency must be supplied from wages earned in other industries.

But that is not all. The textile industries drain the energy of successive generations of youths, and care nothing whence they come or whither they go. Over 50 per cent. of the employees are minors. When these come to their majority, they pass out of the industry and their place is supplied by successive relays of youths under 16 years. Every boy or girl at the age of 13 has cost somebody from \$500 to \$600; however the textile industries have not paid the bill. Young men are constantly forced out of these industries when they demand wages that will enable them to establish a home and raise a family, and young women soon reach the maximum wage and, no matter how long they remain in the factory, they have no hope of better wages. Young men who leave the industry face the world at a great disadvantage, and, when their industrial capacity diminishes

and ailments come upon them which finally end in death, the industries in which they spent their youth bear no part of the burdens which fall upon the community. If these industries existed in a State where the institution of slavery prevailed, they would be obliged to raise boys and girls for the mills, and they would also be compelled to provide for them when ailments, old age and death came upon them. But here in Pennsylvania, the textile industries flourish by absorbing a supply of energy that has cost them nothing. The children and youths are drained of their strength for a decade, then pushed out into the cold world. These industries hold the same advantageous position as compared with the self-supporting industries, that they would if they received a bounty or subsidy from the government. They flourish by freely drawing upon the capital stock of the nation and, being under no social pressure to maintain a rate of wages that will keep their employees day by day in unimpaired health and vigor, they wholly lose sight of the larger obligation to maintain each generation unimpaired in quantity and quality.

Society may ask for cheap products from the textile industries, but goods that have in them the flesh and blood of the future mothers of the toiling masses are not cheap. The price paid is degeneracy. Insufficient wages mean insufficient food, liability to diseases, industrial inefficiency, scanty clothing, cramped dwellings and a vitiated atmosphere. These women and young girls, who, under financial pressure, yield the strength so much needed in the building up of their frames, pay the penalty in headaches, toothaches, dyspepsia and sores, dragging pains and chronic anæmia. Do the medical profession find among these young mill hands that state of health which is normal among the young daughters of the professional classes? Communities where textile industries flourish are the scenes of degeneracy, and upon each generation rests a curse. The individuals who are exploited depart farther and farther from the higher type of womanhood which American civilization has held before the world.

The social interest of our State demands that the textile industries be made self-supporting. It cannot be done by collective bargain, for the youths, under existing conditions, cannot be organized so efficiently as to effect this. The better way is to check the

excessive use of child-labor by raising the age at which boys and girls can be employed. The International Socialist and Trade Union Congress in 1896 demanded that the age of boys and girls beginning to work should be raised to 16 years. This certainly should be done in the case of our young girls, and the medical profession, because of its greater knowledge of the physical organism, should advocate such legislation. Pennsylvania, whose productive wealth annually amounts to over two billions of dollars, should rise to the degree of intelligence which regards the boys and girls, not as independent wealth-producers who earn their wages from day to day, but as the future citizens and parents of our commonwealth, for whom, up to their majority, proper conditions of growth and education should be secured. The well-being of society demands that all conditions of employment inconsistent with the maintenance of the employees in a state of efficiency as producers should be eliminated. Nothing imperils this imperative of modern civilization so much as permitting young girls to be employed for bare subsistence at an age when nature taxes their system to the limit of profitable endurance. Such a custom works deterioration both in the physical and intellectual spheres, and hinders the continuous existence, generation after generation, of healthy and efficient descendants.

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CAUSES OF VAGRANCY AND METHODS OF ERADICATION

To what extent is vagrancy due to causes which can be speedily remedied? In seeking an answer to this question, the writer, during the winter of 1902-1903, made an investigation of the life histories of a large number of men at the Wayfarers' Lodge of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity. He has also spent several weeks as a tramp and beggar in the cheap lodging houses and missions of London and Philadelphia. Conferences with police officers and others dealing with the question have furnished further opportunity to study the causes leading to vagrancy and the influence of social institutions upon the problem.

Vagrants may be divided into four classes:

1. Those who are really in search of work, and not merely "looking for work." Of this class the following is a typical case: F. J., 18 years old, has worked as bell boy in clubs in New York, where he has only an uncle who cares little for him. Having lost his job when a new steward was appointed, he started to tramp till he could get another place.

2. "Hobo mechanics," who can secure employment at good wages most of the year, but spend their money in drink and high living. They are often employed at seasonal trades, so would have to have more than one to be occupied during the entire year. Typical case: L. P., 40 years of age, learned carriage painting when 16, began to drink at 18, and has been spreeing off and on since. Has earned \$4.50 per day, and on several occasions spent over \$200.00 on a single debauch.

3. Men with whom the plea of "looking for work" is merely an excuse for wandering and begging. Typical case: N. M., 26 years old, hand and limb slightly palsied by some accident. He gets permission from the police of many cities to sell pencils and says he is trying to get home. He often makes \$2.00 a day begging.

4. "Yeggmen." A class of criminal mendicants who beg, steal or commit petty depredations as occasion offers. Typical case: A. N., 35 years old, lost a leg on the railroad, and has begged for several years in New York, serving several short terms there. Was

found to be "feeler" for a gang of safe-crackers operating in Philadelphia—locating safes for them while begging and planning the raid.

Objective Causes of Vagrancy.

I. Unwise philanthropy.

1. Religious missions without a work test. Many so-called religious missions foster the lowest type of tramp, the "mission bum," by putting the premium of money gifts or lodging upon professions of conversion.

2. Indiscriminate giving of alms. This is a more widespread and dangerous form of demoralization, and the most selfish way of evading responsibility under the pretence of generosity.

3. Caring for families of married vagabonds. This system of charity relieves the husband and father of all responsibility, and encourages him in tramping when his earnings are most needed at home.

II. Bad systems of public relief.

1. The open-door almshouse. Such relief enables vagrants to pass winter without labor and to renew their irresponsible wanderings in the spring. A vagrant in Boston who was recently shown to have been thirty-four times within seven years sent to jail or fined by the court, spent all his winters in the almshouse.

2. Careless outdoor relief. Without investigation this tempts the improvident to wander, and invariably attracts him from a more rigid régime.

III. Faulty municipal administration.

1. Methods of licensing small peddlars. Granting licenses to crippled and blind to peddle small wares practically licenses them to beg and starts many, especially cripples, on a life of vagabondage.

2. Lax enforcement of laws against begging. The failure of the police in most cities to arrest beggars enables vagrants to secure their living and traveling expenses.

3. Free police station lodgings and "over winter" sentences. This system corresponds in its effects to the missions without a work test, and the open-door almshouse, and vagrants feel they have a right to the help of the police.

4. Lack of proper places of detention for boys. Placing young boys in the same cells or even prisons with hardened vagrants and

criminals is an active and vicious way of manufacturing vagrants and criminals.

5. Inadequate supervision of common lodging houses. Chicago, with 200 common lodging houses, Baltimore with 113, New York with 104, and Philadelphia with 106, to cite a few important cities, lack any adequate supervision of these moral oubliettes. The vagrant can in most cities easily pick up 10 or 15 cents, the price of a lodging, and if he wishes to avoid the police, can lose himself in any one of a score of cheap lodging houses.

IV. Transportation.

1. Stolen. If stealing rides could be prevented, one effective blow would be given to vagrancy. Out of 19,438 men arrested for stealing rides, by police officers of the western division of the Pennsylvania Railroad from 1899 to 1902, all but 532 were professional tramps. Tramp camps along the main lines are disastrous agencies for enticing young boys into vagabondage. Railroad police often experience difficulty in securing conviction of trespassers by the courts along their lines, on account of the expense to local taxpayers of additional prisoners.

2. Free and half-fare. The practice of public officials or officers of private charitable societies of "sending on" applicants free or on half-fare, without investigation, encourages vagrants of the so-called respectable type as well as the ordinary tramp.

V. Lack of uniformity in legislation and enforcement on social subjects. This is notably true of laws on vagrancy and treatment of dependents and delinquents. Wife desertion is an offense and extraditable in only a few states. The vagrant naturally drifts into states where he knows conditions are most conducive to his habit of life.

Subjective Causes of Vagrancy.

I. Lack of employment due to following causes:

1. Drink. This is admittedly frequently only a secondary cause, but it is impossible to discuss here why men drink, and condoning the habit does not qualify drunkards for work.

2. Inability to work with others and under direction. Many skilled workmen have tempers uncontrollable in proportion to their appreciation of their skill. On slight provocation they throw up a job, and drift for a long time before securing as good employment.

3. Licentiousness. With increased demand for high-grade labor the man whose mental keenness is blunted is thrown out of work first, and finds it hardest to reinstate himself.

4. Laziness. No amount of euphemism can cover this cause. It applies to piece-workers as well as time-workers. "There is hope for the vicious man, none for the lazy."

II. Personal traits.

1. Lack of thrift. Single men earning \$9.00 to \$15.00 a week for a large part of the year claim they cannot save anything from that, though they often spend one-third of their earnings on drink.

2. Pride. Men who leave home in good condition, and fail to get employment, will starve while wandering, or beg, rather than return to the ridicule of their friends and relatives.

3. "Wander lust." An indefinable and irresistible desire to "see the country."

III. Desire to escape justice.

1. Deserting husbands and petty criminals as well as those "wanted" by the police, are anxious to cover their tracks and be lost from detection by constant wandering.

Suggested Measures of Reform.

I. Municipal.

1. Licenses to peddle small wares. These should be issued only to those whose record shows that they really wish to peddle legitimately.

2. Schools for the blind and crippled. Every large city should maintain institutions to teach blind and crippled children and adults some legitimate trade or occupation at which they may earn a living. Attendance should be compulsory, the city furnishing means of living if necessary.

3. Wayfarers' lodges. Adequate provision should be made for every respectable homeless man to secure his board and lodging for a limited time while looking for remunerative employment, in return for three or four hours work daily. This will involve in all cities of over 50,000 a Wayfarers' Lodge under private or public management, with compulsory bath and medical examination. In cities of under 50,000 a department of this lodge should be maintained entirely distinct for boys under eighteen. The treatment given them, while

kind, must be sufficiently firm not to encourage the "wanderlust." In cities of over 50,000 the work of the Juvenile Court should include a detention room, where boys under eighteen must be sent.

There should be connected with the lodge, in the larger cities at least, some man who will take a sane and sympathetic interest in the men who come to the lodge. By no other method can the first class of vagrants be so effectively restored to natural relations, while it provides opportunity by moral suasion for the second class to reinstate themselves.

"By sending the worthy displaced laborer and willing but ignorant and discouraged country boy to paid employment, the sick and disabled to dispensaries, hospitals and homes, and the criminal to the House of Correction, it prevents the exploitation of the unfortunate by municipal authority, or the equally harmful exploitation of the municipality by corrupt loafers and vagabonds." There must be thorough differentiation in treating the several classes. The existence of such an institution abolishes every vestige of excuse for police station lodgings.

The most conspicuous effect of the result of a municipal lodging house is illustrated by the experience of Chicago. During 1901 the number of homeless men and boys lodged in the police stations of Chicago was 92,591. During 1902 the number lodged at police stations was 5,740. During 1902 the number lodged at the municipal lodging house was 11,097. Decrease of the number of homeless men and boys lodged at the expense of the city in 1902 as compared with 1901, 75,754.

For smaller towns a simple building with a few cords of wood, saws and saw-horses suffices. The town of Sherborn in Massachusetts, with a population of 1500, established such a place in 1897, at an expense for tools of \$10.00, and reduced the number of tramps visiting the city from 1844 in that year to 31 in 1901—a period of four years.

Every mission which furnishes lodging must also be induced to establish a work test.

4. Supervision of common lodging houses. These should be supervised by the building, health and police authorities, and licensed by the police. A high standard of cleanliness and sanitation should be maintained for the double purpose of restraining the decent

element of patrons from degenerating, and compelling the worst element to improve themselves.

Boston has model health regulations. Every new applicant for public lodging is required to take a shower bath. A new applicant is interpreted to mean a person who has not been lodged at the same place the night before. A lodger may not be lodged for more than seven consecutive nights without taking a shower-bath. No person may retire or sleep in his day clothing. The means for light and ventilation must be satisfactory to the Board of Health and beyond the control of lodgers.

Lodging-house keepers should also be required to keep a record of the time of arrival and departure of every lodger, this record to be open at all times to the inspection of the police. Every building in cities of over 25,000 inhabitants, not licensed as an inn, in which ten or more persons are lodged for a price for a single night of 35 cents or less—in manufacturing cities, 50 cents or less—for each person should be deemed a public lodging house. Officers of the three supervisory authorities should be allowed free access to any part of a public lodging house at any time. Any keeper violating any of the regulations of the authorities licensing his house, should be heavily fined and his license revoked. These regulations should extend in toto to all missions and religious shelters.

5. A mendicancy squad. Every city of 50,000 or over should have at least one plain-clothes policeman to arrest beggars and vagrants; cities of over 200,000 should have a squad of several such officers, who should periodically visit the lodging houses, missions and religious shelters, and arrest inmates who cannot give a good account of themselves on charges of either drunkenness or vagrancy.

To illustrate: In the latter part of 1903 the police raided the lodging houses of Boston, including the Salvation Army shelter, and 104 men were taken. Forty-four were released, giving a satisfactory account of themselves; 21 were discharged by the court; 21 were committed to the State Farm; 9 were sent to jail; 4 were sent to the Massachusetts Reformatory; 3 were released to probation officers; 1 fugitive from justice was returned to the proper authority; 1 was a deserter from the Navy.

Boston lodging houses, moreover, have been more carefully supervised than those in most cities.

The mendicancy squad should see that the full term of sentence imposed is served. The mere act of applying for relief by an able-bodied man who cannot show that he has been legitimately employed within a reasonable time preceding, or prove that his lack of employment is not due to his own unfitness, should be sufficient grounds for sending him to a state farm as a vagrant and mendicant.

6. Campaign against indiscriminate alms-giving. After provision for all classes of beggars is made, a vigorous educational campaign should be conducted to show the injustice of indiscriminate alms-giving.

II. State reformatory measures.

1. Institutions to teach trades to the blind and crippled. Every state should maintain institutions similar to those advocated for the larger cities, in which blind and crippled children and adults should be taught a trade or occupation. Attendance should be compulsory.

2. State farms. Every state should have a State Farm, to which vagrants should be committed and compelled to work on the farm or at some trade. If their labor is profitable their net earnings should be sent to their families. The Massachusetts State Farm has not yet been able to meet expenses by the sale of produce.

Men should be committed on an indeterminate sentence and be entitled to release on probation after a period of time determined by the number of their commitments. The probationary release should be upon the condition (as provided in the rules relative to release of prisoners on probation from the Massachusetts State Farm) that the holder of the permit to be at liberty does not return to his former habits of vagrancy and dissipation. To be seen entering a saloon or disorderly house should be sufficient reason for recommitment to the State Farm.

Connected with the State Farm should be an institution for inebriates, to which confirmed drunkards should be committed and from which they should be discharged to the care of probation officers only upon certificate of the physician in charge. In addition, there should be provision for mendicant blind and cripples to be taught some trade.

3. Probation officers. A system of probation officers is essential in connection with a State Farm. The admirable system by which fifty-nine volunteer probation officers serve the State of Massachu-

setts provides that upon release on probation, the probationer report at once upon arrival at his destination to the probation officer of his district, who determines how often he shall report to him during the remainder of the time for which he was sentenced. Tickets to their destination are furnished probationers by the State.

That the State Farm and system of probation visitors tends to reduce the number of vagrants is evidenced by the experience of Massachusetts:

YEAR.	TOTAL AT STATE FARM.	NUMBER OF VAGRANTS.	PER CENT OF TOTAL.
1892	506	212	42 per cent.
1897	1528	502	33 "
1898	1343	316	25 "
1903	1960	304	16 "

Of the 59 vagrants released from the State Farm in 1903 to probation officers, only 13 were returned for violation of parole.

4. State vagrancy officer. To secure the largest benefit from a State Farm there must be at least one state vagrant officer as a member of the State Constabulary, preferably three or four, to co-operate with the local police and courts of small towns and the railroad police in securing the conviction of vagrants and trespassers and their commitment to the state institution.

The existence of a state farm encourages the courts to convict vagrants, as it abolishes the expense of additional prisoners to local authorities.

5. Incurrible vagrants. Many, if not all, of these have illegitimate children, and society in self-defense, demands that they be segregated for life.

III. Need of uniformity. The above program, if vigorously enforced, would in a comparatively short time rid one State of vagrants, but that would simply mean driving them to another State. The problem of eradicating vagrancy is pre-eminently a national one.

1. Bertillon measurement. A bill is now (March, 1904) before the Massachusetts State Legislature which provides that every prisoner under sentence as a vagrant shall be measured and described by the Bertillon method for the identification of criminals by proper persons in the service of the State. Such a law should be enacted in

every state, and the measurements and record of every vagrant sent to a central registration bureau, similar to the National Detective Bureau at Washington, so that his record may be secured at once in any part of the country.

2. Uniform sentences should be imposed in all states.

3. The establishment of the system of probation visitors in every state is vital to its complete success in any one state.

4. Social legislation. Laws affecting the treatment of the dependant should be unified in the states, and wife desertion made an offense and extraditable.

5. The co-operation of unions must be sought in developing thrift among their members. When they emphasize this virtue and extend their organization to lower grades of labor they will save many of their members from vagrancy.

Such methods of treatment, it may be claimed, do not make sufficient provision for the "unfortunates" who are compelled to wander. The problem of unemployment is not within the scope of this paper, nor a discussion of the economic conditions and the need for mobility of labor. It is sufficiently evident, however, that in normal industrial conditions vagrancy is not due in any appreciable measure to economic causes.

The plan outlined is largely the compilation of experiences and successful methods. It has been discussed with several representatives of each class of vagrants, and without essential exception they have agreed that it provides kind and just treatment for every vagrant and a sufficiently repressive program to have dissuaded them from a life of vagabondage, had it been in force when they began their career.

APPENDIX.

Data concerning 118 men interviewed at the Wayfarers' Lodge of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, 1902-1903:

I. Conjugal condition:

Single men	94
Deserting husbands	13
Deserted husbands	1
Widowers	8
Legally separated	1
Living apart from wife who remarried	1

II. Ages:

14 to 20 years	18
20 to 40 years	76
40 to 55 years	18
55 to 70 years	6

III. Early conditions:

- 8 had been in orphanages and asylums.
- 33 lost mother before they were 16.
- 24 lost father before they were 16.
- 8 left school under 12.
- 13 left school between 12 and 14.
- 30 left school between 14 and 16.
- 33 left school between 16 and 20.

Of this number, 62 left voluntarily, only 23 being obliged to work to help support the family. Only 10 had any technical education; 23 had served apprenticeship and learned a trade; 83 lived till 12 to 14 in cities of 10,000 or over, and 35 in cities of less size and in the country; 68 only did not have families and relatives in Philadelphia.

IV. Character:

- (a) 31 were given a good character by their relatives and references.
- 37 were given an unfavorable character by their relatives and references.
- (b) 10 had committed petty crimes and larceny.
- (c) 6 had been in prison.
- (d) 57 gave at least one false address.
- (e) 19 gave aliases.
- (f) 24 either had or had had means in their families.
- (g) 42 had homes to which they could return.
- 20 were wanted home by their relatives.
- (h) Family religious affiliations:

Roman Catholic	45
Methodist Episcopal	13
Presbyterian	13
Evangelical Lutheran	13
Baptist	12
Episcopalian	8
German Evangelical	2
Reformed	2
United Presbyterian	1
Congregational	1

110

All but eight were from families with religious inclinations, but the majority of the men attended only the Sunday Breakfast Association.

V. General physical condition:

112 good; 6 bad.

VI. Nativity:

United States: Both parents white, 88.
 One parent colored, 1.
 One parent foreign, 1.
 Great Britain: England 4, Scotland 1, Ireland 6—11.
 Germany, 11; Italy, 2.
 France, Belgium, Scandinavia and Russia, each 1.

VII. Literacy:

110 could read and write, and 2 read English and read and write German;
 6 could neither read nor write English.

VIII. Occupations:

34 occupations were represented.

Laborers	29
Factory hands	14
Machinists.....	10
Painters.....	6
Farm hands, iron moulders, printers, hostlers, each.....	4
Sailors, plumbers, cooks, bakers, each.....	3
Coopers, line riggers, boiler-makers, tinsmiths, peddlers, miners, each.....	2
Driller, porter, wall paperer, packer, jeweler, electrician's helper, telegrapher, carpenter, bell boy, railroad brakeman, shipbuilder, chemist, student, fireman, each.....	1

IX. Work records:

106 out of 118 had voluntarily given up employment once or more frequently during the six months previous to their interview. The average of the highest weekly wage earned by the men was \$13.93, an average brought up by the wages of a few skilled and formerly professional men.

The average of the longest time worked by 79 of the men at any one place during the preceding five years was 12.22 months, and the average number of employers of 87 of them during the preceding two years was 6.31.

References were secured from one or more employers of 75 men, 38 men were stated to be good, expert workmen, and 37 medium or inefficient. The employers of 27 stated they could get work at once if temperate, and 13 other men refused assistance to secure employment.

3 were members in regular standing of some union; 4 had been members, but their membership had lapsed.

45 left when they learned an effort was being made to secure them employment; 3 reported securing employment themselves; 12 were offered work upon our request by a previous employer.

31 men were secured employment in all; 11 of these dropped work in a short time, varying from a few days to a month; 6 were entirely satisfactory.

7 refused work when offered on the plea that it was too hard, or that as members of a union they would not accept the work.

Subjective Causes of Lack of Employment.

Intemperance, primary cause.....	33
Intemperance, secondary cause.....	16
	<hr/>
Total.....	49
Wanderlust.....	36
Lack of thrift and industry.....	76
Dishonesty and other moral defects.....	7
Licentiousness.....	18

Treatment Needed.

Commitment to State Farm.....	36
Commitment to Industrial School.....	24
Should be taken charge of by relatives.....	15
Should be imprisoned.....	6
Should be taught thrift by hardship.....	18
Should be given institutional treatment.....	4
Should be returned to native country under immigration laws.....	4
Should have been helped to employment.....	11

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PUBLIC SCHOOLS AS SOCIAL CENTRES

The belief appears to be gaining currency among students of education and among social workers and other observers of influences which affect human character, that many of the defects which characterize our social and industrial institutions, and many of the defects which so mar human character itself, are traceable to a mistaken concept as to what should be sought in life, implanted in us by our teachers and until recently emphasized quite universally in our educational systems. The schools of the past, and most of those of to-day, have devoted themselves to the task of giving children such knowledge as would enable them to engage successfully in the customary vocations, and personal success has been the goal ever held before the youthful mind.

Until recently it appears to have escaped public notice that this constant emphasis upon the importance of personal success, unless safeguarded by suitable ethical training, tends subtly to the development of selfish propensities that lead the individual to disregard or subordinate the interests of others, in the furtherance of personal ends; and that lead to unsocial attitudes, and to unfriendly rivalries and ill-feelings, and to wrong-doings of every kind. The constant encouragement given to personal ambition for personal triumph and personal reward tends to develop a desire similar to that possessed by the criminal offender who, in seeking his personal gratification, gives no proper regard or consideration to the relation of his acts or of his course to the welfare of others or to the welfare of the community.

To the desire for personal advantage or gratification, regardless of the welfare of others or regardless of the welfare of the social whole, nearly all, and perhaps all, evil is due; and for the development of this desire, in the form of purely self-centred ambitions, the teachers of children, whether in the schools, the homes, or the streets, have been in large measure responsible. The development of interest in one another is perhaps as important as the development of interest in self, if greed and injustice are to be prevented and if justice and fair-dealing are to prevail. It has become evident that the impor-

tance of developing the social nature of the child has been insufficiently considered. The development of selfish tendencies must be forestalled and prevented by the awakening of social interests, and of the spirit of fairness and right; and through awakening recognition on the part of each of the consideration due his neighbor. The development of these desirable attributes and attitudes can be furthered by developing wider friendships, and through the wider sharing of common pleasures, joys and occupations. As wholesome common interests arise, the social nature develops, and with it the spirit of fair-play and equity. When we enjoy things together, or co-operate gladly with one another, we, for the time being, share similar thoughts and emotions, and the more often we share similar thoughts and emotions the more unified in thought and feeling we become. As common interests arise and as the social nature awakens, the individual becomes unwilling to take unfair advantage of his neighbor, and personal ambitions become so developed or readjusted as to be conformable to the public welfare, and as to conduce to harmony and progress. It is when we think and feel by and for ourselves alone that injustice spreads, and with it the ill-feeling and bitterness that separate people from one another, and that develop group antagonisms that spread discord and disorder.

The opportunities which the public schools can provide for the awakening of social instincts and social interests, and for the arousing of social spirit and for the laying of foundations for healthy social relations, are so vast that in the leading cities of the country movements are already well advanced looking to the extension of the functions of the schools until they become educational institutions in a far broader sense than hitherto. The development of the social nature is no less important than the development of the intellectual faculties. Education of the head, in disregard of the moral or social sense, leads to the grossest crimes and to the most far-reaching injustice. There is, perhaps, no other form of immorality more disastrous in its effects upon the individual and upon the community than intellectual selfishness. Nearly every evil of which society and the individual are victims is traceable directly or indirectly to selfish acts that the mere intellect of the offender excuses. Intellect, divorced from the social nature is a dangerous tool. "The mind,

swayed by rambling passions, makes the soul as helpless as the boat which the wind leads astray upon the waters" (Bhagavad Gita II.). The social nature must be so developed as to avail of the mind for the furtherance of human welfare, and must not be driven backward by it.

Criminality has been instanced as a far too prevalent consequence of selfish desire, of desire for satisfaction or gratification regardless of the injuries entailed. Poverty is in large measure due to sickness or vicious habits, but in still larger measure to inequitable industrial conditions that have been brought about through the exercise of self-centred desires for personal wealth, regardless of the interests or of the welfare of many of those engaged in its production. Vice and vicious habits are but products of self-centred desires for immediate gratification, regardless of consequences whether to self or to others. Sickness can be traced in most cases either to unsanitary or otherwise defective environment, or to needlessly impoverished constitution, the latter being consequent either upon the environment or else upon ignorance of the laws of health and blind unhygienic striving for life and its gratification on the part of the individual or his progenitors. Even unhygienic environments are usually due to the selfishness of individuals, or to their indifference to the welfare of others. Individuals own the slums, and antagonize remedial legislation designed to secure better tenement conditions or to eliminate centres of physical or moral foulness and infection. It is individuals who perpetuate evil conditions and permit other individuals to suffer and die for the sake of the profits to be derived by self from the continuance of the conditions.

The perpetuation of bad environments, and the development of defective constitutions, and the development of the human selfishness or indifference that is responsible for both, can obviously be prevented by the development, through school influences, and otherwise, of social instincts, and of regard on the part of each for his fellow, and by proper social co-operation in support of remedial sanitary and industrial measures, and of measures designed to eliminate from our educational systems, or to bring under adequate control, those influences in the schools which tend to make the individual self-centred and predominantly self-seeking. To live and to produce and to enjoy, in ways conformable to the public welfare and conducive to

human progress, should be the aim of the individual; and the realization should be awakened in each that it is only through the social life and through personal service to others that the highest welfare of the individual himself can be attained.

In the interest of ordinary morality it is desirable that the social instincts of the people be given adequate opportunity for expression in wholesome ways. It is natural for people to desire recreation and pleasure; some degree of recreation and pleasure is, perhaps, essential to health and to character; and it is natural for men and women and for boys and girls to desire to associate together. In many districts and communities opportunities for harmless enjoyment are few and far between. Where opportunities for decent pleasures cannot be found, indecent pleasures will be had. It is neither reasonable nor just to denounce vice and its victims where opportunities for wholesome enjoyment and for wholesome relations between boys and girls and between young men and young women are altogether lacking. If we would forestall the development of vicious habits and of the unsocial attitudes that lead to wrong-doing of every kind, we must see to it that opportunities are provided that shall make possible the enjoyment of a wholesome social life.

The movement looking to the use of schools as social centres for their neighborhoods is of but a few years' growth. The movement in New York started, or first received concrete expression, about seven years ago. In 1897 Miss Winifred Buck, of the University Settlement, secured permission to open some boys' clubs in Public School No. 20, and in organizing and supervising the experiment had the co-operation of a number of the members of one of the older boys' clubs of the Settlement. Two years later similar clubs were opened in Public School No. 160, and gradually the movement has spread to various parts of the city, until at present twenty-one of the public school buildings are open after school hours, under suitable restrictions and supervision, for the use of boys' and girls' clubs and for other forms of youthful social life or recreation. In 128 of the buildings last year, frequent informal lectures on popular topics, illustrated with stereopticon views, were given to adults in the evenings; and in several schools very successful concerts and musicales were given also. The popularity of these features—which were both recreational and educational in nature—is attested by the very

large number of people who availed of them. The aggregate attendance at the informal lectures last year amounted to 1,204,211.

In one of the larger school buildings (P. S. No. 147) accommodations were provided last year for seventy-six boys' and young men's clubs; thirty-six of these giving considerable time on meeting nights to literary exercises or to discussions of topics of interest, the remaining forty being organized for purposes of social fellowship in athletics. In Public School No. 160, twenty-five clubs were in session, and there the exceedingly interesting experiment was successfully tried of organizing one of the regular evening school classes into a club, the members meeting as a school class four nights in the week, and as a club for social purposes the fifth night. (That school and various others were open but five nights a week.) It is to be hoped that similar experiments will be tried elsewhere. For, after all, mere instruction in the elementary branches of learning constitutes but a poor and defective kind of education. The mere inculcation of fragmentary knowledge does not necessarily develop the qualities that lead to good citizenship or to useful life. For the members of a school class to organize as a club, to meet one evening each week for games or wholesome recreation of any kind, and for the development of closer intimacies and sympathies than the formalities of the classroom usually allow, and for the common enjoyment of the thousand and one interests that such clubs arouse—all this tends wholesomely to the development of the social nature and to the favorable development of character.

From the standpoint of mere economy it is desirable that the school buildings be not left idle and unused throughout the majority of the day. It was found in New York last year that the amount of time during which the school buildings were in use daily averaged less than five hours. The vast capital invested in lands, buildings and equipments for educational purposes, lay idle and unproductive during more than two-thirds of the time between eight in the morning and ten at night. And, meanwhile, the settlements and various club buildings in many parts of the city were overwhelmed with requests from organized and unorganized groups of people for the use of their rooms for social and recreational purposes, and for meetings to discuss matters of special local interest. The University Settlement alone, with sixty or more clubs and similar organizations in its building,

was obliged last year to refuse requests from more than two hundred other groups for permission to use its rooms. The desire for social life, and for larger social relations, has arisen on every hand. Shall this desire be thwarted and discouraged and compelled to seek expression amid the demoralizing conditions that characterize cheap dance halls and saloons, or shall the school buildings that are idle and unused during the latter part of the afternoons and usually during the whole of the evenings, be made available after school hours for other social uses of the people?

It has been said that the structural arrangements in a school building are such as to render it, as a rule, unsuited for ordinary social uses. The desks and chairs are screwed to the floor, ugly blackboards cover much of the walls, furniture cannot easily be introduced that will be suitable for both school and informal social purposes. Doubtless the equipment of many schools is not of a kind to render the school-rooms convenient for any other than mere classroom use. But in other schools (and in some of the best and most successful) desks and chairs are being introduced of such patterns that they can easily be removed—pushed or carried to one side by the pupils themselves—and the floor cleared for games, or the seats rearranged for lectures, concerts or other forms of entertainment. Where floor space is very limited, and ordinary desks, even if moved to one side, occupy too much room to admit of large audiences or of convenient dancing or of such large gatherings as would sometimes be desired, the use of desks of the type devised by Colonel Parker, of the School of Education of Chicago, would often afford a simple way out of the difficulty. Desks of this type have flat tops (readily adjustable to any inclination desired) and broad bases, and suitable rubber-tired castors that permit sideways motion only; such desks can easily be placed one upon another, if necessary, in the rear of the room or elsewhere, out of the way. The pattern of much modern school furniture is so good that its retention in the class-room would seldom be found too objectionable, from the aesthetic standpoint, even though the desks were occasionally placed upon one another as suggested. Of course, for ordinary table games such as chess, cards, or many of the simple games that so delight children, the flat-top desk is as well suited as an ordinary small table. By combining the use of easily moved furniture with the use of the better types of

easily removed partitions, as is already done in numerous successful schools, a whole floor can be converted quickly and easily into a large assembly room. In many schools, one or more rooms could advantageously be set apart regularly, after school hours, for ordinary reading-room purposes, and supplied with newspapers, magazines and periodicals. The blackboard difficulty is easily overcome. Large sheets of ground glass affixed to the walls, the unground backs of the sheets painted any dark shade or tone desired, afford perfect substitutes for blackboards and are far more durable and no less serviceable. The judicious coloring of "blackboards" and walls, and the introduction of suitable pictures and inexpensive casts, and, perhaps, some plants or simple flowers, and the substitution of new for old type furniture, will make the rooms as attractive as ordinary social usage requires.

As school rooms become more attractive and as the school's functions broaden, and as the buildings become more largely social centres for their neighborhoods, the antagonisms so often existing between scholars and school diminish, and truancy lessens and the difficulty of interesting children in their school work becomes replaced by the far greater difficulty of providing adequate accommodations for all who eagerly seek admission. The modern school with its social features is eagerly sought both in winter and in summer, both for lessons and for play.

During the summer vacation last year it was no uncommon thing in one of the New York schools to see from 1,200 to 1,500 children swarming up six flights to the roof, in the evenings, to play their simple games there, or to dance to the simple music. And, frequently, mothers and fathers would trudge up the long stairs too, many of them carrying their babies, to watch the enjoyment of the children and to participate with them in their happiness. Surely it is a good thing when the parents and children of a neighborhood have opportunity to enjoy rest and recreation together. In the crowded districts, especially, such wholesome relations bring peace and happiness and good-will. The more widely such and similar opportunities are provided, the better will it be for the community, and for the harmony and welfare of all.

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FRESH AIR WORK

Last March the philanthropic agencies of New York, including the press and church, became very much agitated because of an attempt to appropriate portions of small parks and playgrounds for temporary school buildings. A delegation representing over 40 of these agencies appeared before a legislative committee to oppose the bill. They had labored for a generation to secure the recognition of playgrounds and health spaces as public necessities, and realized the insidiousness of an attack, admittedly sincere, coming in the name of popular education. At first they were tempted to minimize the part-time evil by showing that, even in its overcrowded condition, the city could give its 73,000 part-time primary pupils at least four hours a day. But, as the defenders of playgrounds became conscious of their united strength, they decided to meet the issue face to face. Boldly and convincingly they declared that the need for providing spaces and playgrounds in congested portions of the great metropolis is second to no other need whatsoever, not even that for schooling.

Quite naturally the conversation of delegates on the return trip drifted to the social significance of small parks, and thence to Fresh Air Work. Two of us were comparing summer plans for our two special interests—a social settlement and a relief agency. The settlement head worker lamented the great amount of interest and money expended upon Fresh Air Work, more particularly day excursions. “We could accomplish so much more with our money and our time if we provided fresh air and wholesome recreation within the congested districts themselves.” This argument, like that for temporary schools in parks, tempts one to evade the main challenge and to seek a foothold by minimizing the probability of spending Fresh Air money effectively within city limits. But so sound is the theory underlying the present method of using Fresh Air funds, and so far-reaching the results, that we gain force by meeting the challenge face to face. “As the playground is a greater educational force than the temporary school building, so the trip to seashore or country has a better effect upon city amusements and health than does the city playground. Furthermore, just as the permanent

playground creates a public sentiment in favor of adequate school facilities, so the summer outing educates public opinion to demand and support a complete system of breathing spaces and playgrounds."

If so broad a platform can properly be claimed for Fresh Air Work, it must assume in our minds greater significance as a factor in the social uplift, and the measure of its support should go beyond "summer's sweltering heat" to "winter's hardships," and thence to include "the need for structural changes in city conditions relating to health and recreation." In support of this claim, let us consider the scope of Fresh Air Work, the characteristics of its beneficiaries and the nature of its results.

Strictly speaking, Fresh Air Work should include self-centered as well as altruistic efforts to remove individuals from city conditions to those of seashore and country. In fact, the words themselves imply neither space limit nor time limit, and apply to either winter or summer work, as well as to all steps within city limits to substitute health-promoting atmosphere for the unsanitary conditions due to overcrowding. In its widest sense, therefore, the term comprehends trips to Nassau at Easter time, to Tuxedo in November and May, as well as to convalescent hospitals within or without city limits in January or in July. It applies likewise to the thousands of men and women who are now perfecting plans for next summer's outing. Fresh Air Work is done by "personal conductors" of tourists, by suburban parks which advertise world-wonder attractions, by railroad and steamship companies whose guide-books are now in great demand, by seaside resorts catering to summer appetites of clerks and shopgirls and professional men, and by the boys' and girls' clubs now negotiating for tents and camping sites or country boarding-houses. The capital invested in this sort of Fresh Air Work is constantly growing, and even savings banks are beginning to count upon substantial withdrawals during July and August to defray vacation expenses.

But the Fresh Air Work considered by this article has to do with self-centered efforts only so far as these reinforce the influence of altruistic Fresh Air Work upon city standards of fresh air and recreation. Technically, Fresh Air Work applies to those activities which enable such tenement residents as are known to themselves and others as poor to go for one day or more to seashore or country.

To the philanthropic organization those persons are poor who are willing to accept help in leaving town, and whose condition proves that, unaided, they can have no outing. It does not include those who are persuaded during the winter months to save (with others of their own group) in order to start and maintain a self-supporting summer camp. Praiseworthy as is the movement to encourage self-supporting Fresh Air camps, it is still in its infancy; while Fresh Air Work for the needy may be said to have reached maturity in most of our large cities.

During the summer of 1903, in that portion of Greater New York known as Manhattan and the Bronx, twenty-four agencies gave excursions up the river, to seashore or country to 35,195 mothers and 81,269 babies and older children; while twenty-two agencies gave "stays" of a week or more to 7,618 mothers and 26,543 babies and older children. Work of a similar character has been done in practically every community known to the census as a city. In other cities, as in New York, we regret to state that the need for Fresh Air Work in behalf of older boys and men has been overlooked.

Without undertaking to distinguish the different kinds of Fresh Air Work, or to enumerate the agencies conducting it, let us note the physical needs of the mothers and children who profit directly from these undertakings. I beg permission to choose for illustration those mothers and those children whom I have myself seen and known—guests for the summer of 1903 at Sea Breeze, the seaside home of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. They number over 20,000, a shrinkage of about 2,000 as compared with the year before, due to the rainy season. We entertained 17,700 day excursionists from 3,637 families, while 2,754 members of 900 families were kept at Sea Breeze an average of ten days each. Of the total term guests, 2,010 were children and 744 adult women. To care for and entertain these children and women we provided a city investigating staff of twenty visitors and an examining physician, and a seashore staff consisting of superintendent, three nurses, a kindergartner with two assistants, two swimming masters and a corps of cooks, waitresses, laundry women, etc.

We expect to keep Sea Breeze open this coming summer from May 17 to September 30, making a total of nineteen weeks.

The usual Fresh Air season is but eight weeks, beginning after the 4th of July and continuing through August. In deciding thus to lengthen our season, we have in mind our experience of last summer, when, after rejecting 5,000 applicants, we were compelled to close our doors to 1,500 mothers and children pronounced eligible because of physical need. We had not expected such a demand last summer, because the average temperature was very cool, and because during the three months, June, July and August, there were forty-eight rainy days. Starting with the supposition that the principal cause of Fresh Air Work was the sweltering heat of summer, it seemed that we should have a decrease in the number of applications. There was, in fact, the expected decrease in the number who cared to take day trips. The constant pressure for the week's rest and recreation proved that, independent of summer temperature, there is necessity for Fresh Air facilities, occasioned by winter's hardship, overwork, overcrowding and under-nutrition.

The past winter has been one of unusual hardships among the working classes in New York city. Funds that should have been used to nourish the sick and the weak have been diverted to supply coal and extra clothing and extra nourishment for the bread-winners of the family. Children's diseases, pneumonia, influenza, etc., have been very general. During the months of January and February over 6,500 names were added to our relief list, over half owing their distress to sickness. Courage and physical strength may have borne the strain during the bitter cold weather, but we know from many years' experience that the first hot spells will prove to many hundreds of mothers that they have reached or passed beyond their limit of endurance. We propose to extend our Fresh Air season, therefore, not only because we anticipate a summer of extreme heat, but because we want to renew the strength of mothers who have undertaken more than they should have undertaken during the past winter, and who need Sea Breeze if they are to carry next winter's burden. It is not extravagant to state that one fortnight in the country or at the seashore will accomplish more for a sick mother or sick child from the tenements than two months of dispensary care in the city. Motives of economy as well as humanity prompt to an extended Fresh Air season.

It is not meant to imply that summer discomforts and distress

are not of themselves justification for Fresh Air hospitals. It is, indeed, a misfortune to be compelled to spend an entire summer in a city like New York or Philadelphia, even though one may live on Fifth Avenue or Spruce Street. Those of us who have not ourselves tried to sleep in an over-crowded, badly lighted, noisy tenement when the temperature is at 100 degrees, cannot realize the discomforts which the tenement resident is forced to endure. If, to the stifling heat, and the noises, and the unpleasant odors, and the lack of privacy, we add the physical pain of being ill and uncared for, there would seem to be sufficient reason in the summer heat itself for establishing refuges without city limits. But it seems worth while to remind ourselves that tenement residents suffer during winter months as well as in summer from foul air, overcrowding, overwork, under-nutrition and exposure. Winter conditions breed summer distress. In other words, to a large percentage of our population summer would be one continual agony even though the temperature never rose above eighty degrees.

If the readers of *THE ANNALS* could visit Sea Breeze they would be surprised at the absence of any hospital atmosphere. From six in the morning until seven at night the swings are in constant motion, the delight of children of every age. After the children are put away for the night, the swings are kept in motion for an hour or two by the mothers, to whom swings are a luxury associated only with Sea Breeze. I remember one night last summer when there were five widowed mothers under thirty competing in a swinging contest. They forgot that only the week before they had been pronounced sick or worn-out by an examining physician; nor would an onlooker have imagined that these five prematurely aged women of thirty were the possessors of thirty children.

During the summer Sea Breeze entertained 243 widows, with 562 children under 16, and 462 under working-age. Notwithstanding the presence of nurses and the daily visits of a physician, the atmosphere is one of confidence, and is really very lonesome for a child or mother who persists in a desire to indulge in self-pity.

As I write I hold in my hand three pictures. One, a group of 200 mothers and children just entering the grounds after the long trolley ride. They have been passed upon by a physician, who has determined which families need two weeks, and which need the special

attention of nurses. It is true, the pictures do not show the dejected, worn-out expressions which we at the office associate with the Tuesday party; yet even a stranger would see that this group, especially the mothers, have been unaccustomed to freedom from care. If the reader would mingle with the mothers, he would be given detailed descriptions of ailments galore. In fact, on the outward journey, one might well imagine that the principal object of Sea Breeze was to furnish a clearing-house for the recounting of diseases and woes. But it just so happens that one half hour on the beach, within sound and sight of the surf, is generally sufficient to direct the eye and the mind away from disease and overwork toward health and vitality.

The second picture is of a little lad we called Wee Wee, after his only spoken word. Even in the picture, taken after his first week, he looks fragile. When he came to us he could not speak a word or take a step. Neither the mother nor the physician could more than hope that Wee Wee would be cured. He was with us three weeks. When his mother returned she wept, not only while she was saying good-bye, but during the entire homeward journey, out of sheer gratitude that Wee Wee was strong and bright. She brought him back a few weeks afterwards for Sunday, and he ran wildly around the porch and had already acquired a good working vocabulary.

The other picture is of a mother with seven children, all under working-age, the youngest a little baby named Dot. The children were at Sea Breeze last summer for two weeks, Dot being consigned to seven-year-old Charlotte. Day in and day out Charlotte refused to play. She must mind Dot. At last, however, out of desperation rather than any weakness, she yielded to invitations to try the swings. She had difficulty in bolstering Dot up in the sand, and every time, just as her experiment with the swing seemed about to begin, Dot would topple over. Finally, Charlotte grabbed the youngster, gave one or two vigorous shakes, and said;—"Dot, for God's sake, sit up; I do so want a swing."

These pictures illustrate what we can do for the beneficiaries of our Fresh Air Work. We can give them health. We can give them hope. We can give them a week or two weeks of unbroken pleasure; but these are only the minimum, the least that we may hope to do. We can teach mothers the value of regular meals for

their babies. We can show them how to prepare these meals and the danger of certain classes of foods. We can compel them to sleep in well ventilated rooms, and even in a fortnight make ventilation a part of their standard of living. We can also make bathing a pleasure and strict cleanliness of person and home a part of their minimum standard. Some of them can learn to sew. In a word, we can inspire desires which will in a great measure direct their efforts during the succeeding winter months. We cannot do this with all families, nor can we hope to do this with ninety per cent., but we are sure, from many years' experience, that, with a considerable proportion, impressions gained at Sea Breeze are permanent, and we are sure that, because of their acquaintance with Sea Breeze standards, they will appreciate, as never before, the appeals for tenement reform, free public baths and for other structural changes in those city conditions to which they owe their distress.

It is not customary to relate Fresh Air Work to the larger educational and moral forces upon which we rely for social betterment, but I venture to suggest that no other investment is so successful in attracting the attention of these thousands of mothers and children to the positive sides of governmental activity. In their tenement homes they are apt to associate government with restrictions. Even tenement reform itself is even yet too generally understood to mean inspection at inconvenient hours rather than positive benefits assured. How the boy in the congested districts is accustomed to regard open spaces may be shown by one incident when our larger boys built a park under the trees, known to the mothers as "scenery." The park was about fifteen feet wide and thirty feet long. Sea shells marked the boundaries, a policeman was stationed in each corner, and along the front sea shells spelled out the words:—"Keep Off." I am glad to report that a short time at Sea Breeze made such a park "too citified," and after considerable discussion it was decided to make a park of the entire beach, where every child could have a good time.

If the foregoing paragraphs would seem to minimize the sweltering heat of summer as a reason for Fresh Air Work, it is only because I would like to think of our Fresh Air homes as hospitals and schools rather than as refuges. We can never hope to restrict the summer temperature to eighty degrees and under. We can never hope to give an outing of a week or more to the entire city population, but

we can confidently look forward to a time when we can mitigate the distress due to summer heat by providing Fresh Air parks and playgrounds, by securing better ventilation in homes and by inculcating better standards of living, which will fight heat with cleanliness, fresh air and nourishing food. It would seem desirable to impress these larger purposes, not only upon the Fresh Air agencies, but also upon press and church and contributing public. When we secure the utmost possible co-operation among these various educational forces, we may hope to have our Fresh Air Work not only atone for extremes of heat and cold, exposure and arduous toils, but also raise up in the minds and souls of all beneficiaries standards which will react upon the conditions of city life. Thus will one dollar now invested in Fresh Air Work without city limits stimulate and guarantee the expenditure of one hundred or one thousand dollars to provide constant Fresh Air Work, refreshing baths and wholesome recreation within the city limits. And thus, perhaps, may we hope to secure the additional public interest required to finance the constantly growing summer Fresh Air Work.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York City.

CORRECTIONAL WORK IN MICHIGAN

Michigan's first State institution was a Penitentiary, which was established to take the place of the county "goals" of territorial days. Its first published report was issued in 1849. It contained this statement: "As there is room in the left wing cells to accommodate and secure 360 men, and as all concede the fact that such number will not be filled in less than fifty years, the whole plant will be extensive enough for the wants of the State for a century hence." In forty years, however, the prison population of Michigan has reached 1500. Two prisons have since been built: The Michigan Reformatory and the Branch of the State Prison in the Upper Peninsula. The methods of appointments of the wardens in the Michigan prisons were constantly changed until 1893, when it was finally vested in the Board of Control of each prison.

While only one of Michigan's prisons is termed a Reformatory, in each of them reformatory work is considered of first importance: Schools are maintained in each, covering nine grades, the sessions held four evenings each week. All prisoners under forty years of age who have not received a common school education are required to attend, except such as are excused by the prison physician, or by the superintendent of the school; promotions from lower to higher grades in the school are determined by the superintendent on written examinations. Libraries of well selected books are in each of the prisons; each prisoner is allowed one book, which he can retain four weeks if necessary, and on its return can draw another. The school superintendents report that the demand for the better class of reading is increasing. Regular Sunday preaching services are held each week in pleasant, well-appointed chapels, conducted by the chaplain, who is one of the recognized officers of the prison, at which all inmates are required to be present. Sunday bible schools are held, and also a prayer meeting one evening in each week, the attendance at which is voluntary. The grading of prisoners required in the Michigan penitentiaries, and the system of marking adopted, has proved beneficial. The

good results of these efforts to reform is witnessed by the fact that less than ten per cent. of all the prisoners paroled have forfeited their parole during the eight years in which the parole law has been in force.

Prison labor, as provided for in Michigan, has thus far proved less troublesome than in many of the States; the entire matter is left in the hands of the joint Prison Boards, they deciding what the prison industries shall be. The Boards are required to meet twice a year in joint session to consider them, which makes the difficult problem of prison labor very elastic. Strong efforts have been made in the legislature from time to time to circumscribe and limit these industries, but so far no change has been made since the law providing for them was enacted in 1893; what the future has in store for us through subservience to trades unions cannot be foretold; now the only limit placed on the joint Board is that it shall select diversified lines of industry, so as to interfere as little as possible with the lines carried on by the citizens of the State. After unsuccessful efforts in four successive legislatures for the submission to popular vote of an amendment to the constitution, to provide for an indeterminate sentence law, the legislature of 1901 finally adopted the necessary resolution. In November of 1902 the people by a majority vote of 68,000 so amended the constitution, and the legislature of 1903 enacted an indeterminate sentence law applicable to all convicts: The same legislature provided for placing on probation both adult criminals and juvenile offenders.

As early as 1855 it was thought necessary to make State provision for the incarceration and punishment of juvenile offenders in Michigan. The legislature of that year made an appropriation for a House of Correction for Juvenile Offenders: a name quite in harmony with theories then prevalent regarding the treatment of the embryo-criminals, for whom the institution was intended—and, too, quite in keeping with the architectural design of the buildings, which provided for small rooms or cells, in which the boy was to be confined, and from which, through narrow, grated windows, he was to look out upon his circumscribed world; the grounds surrounded by a high board fence to make them secure. Fifty-four embryonic criminals were committed to the institution the first year—three

of whom were girls; these were soon otherwise disposed of, however, and no more girls were sent there.

The experience in dealing with the problems of juvenile delinquency has resulted in many changes in this old State institution. The change of the name, which has twice occurred, clearly indicates the progress which has been made. The first change of name was to "The Reform School for Boys," and next to "The Industrial School for Boys." The modifications in the law relative to the ages of those committed and the terms of detention are also indications of progress. At first, all under fifteen years of age could be sentenced to this institution, with a proviso that, in the discretion of the court, boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one years might also be sentenced here, and that those committed should be held until they were twenty-one years of age. From time to time many changes were made in these respects, until now the law provides for the commitment of boys between the ages of ten and sixteen years, to be held until they are seventeen years of age, unless sooner discharged by order of the Board of Control. The average time the boys have remained in the institution is about two years, a large percentage being placed out in approved homes, under the supervision of the institution and the county agents of the State.

What emphasizes the upward progress made in this institution more, perhaps, than any other one thing, is its present architectural design. The prison-like buildings, with their narrow, barred windows, have all disappeared, and in their places are family cottages with bright school-rooms and cheerful dormitories, with pleasant apartments for a man and his wife, who constitute the "head of the family" of the boys who occupy the building. No fences shut from sight the fine State property, or stand a constant temptation to the boy to escape over. The whole manner of conducting this school is in harmony with its name and appearance. Beside the regular school-room work required each half day, industrial training is given in the printing office, the tailor, shoe, carpenter and paint shops, the engine and dining-rooms, in kitchen and dormitories, and on the farm and in the green-house. The boys form a very creditable battalion of ten infantry companies, with a fine brass band. All youthful sports are encouraged, and the

ample ground at the rear of each cottage gives space for enjoying them, while a large pond on the grounds supplies a skating park. Chapel services and Sunday school are conducted, and a well selected library is maintained.

It was not until 1879 that any definite steps were taken in Michigan to provide a State institution for female juvenile offenders. Its importance had been the subject of discussion since 1861, when the law was repealed which permitted the sending of girls to the Reformatory for Juveniles at Lansing. In its report of 1877-8 the State Board of Corrections and Charities calls attention to the subject in the following emphatic words: "A reform school or an industrial home for exposed or criminal young girls is a necessity that is so manifested by public opinion as to be almost mandatory in its expression". The legislature which immediately followed took heed and provided for a "Reform School for Girls," and made the necessary appropriation for the buildings and for the maintenance of the school. The cottage system of building was adopted from the first and has never been abandoned. The school was opened in August, 1881. Two years later the "Reform School for Girls" was re-christened the "Industrial Home for Girls." During the last decade over thirteen hundred girls have passed through this home, where every effort is made to fit the girls physically, mentally and morally, and by industrial training, to be good mothers. A graded school of seven grades is maintained, in which eight day school teachers are employed, where a half of each day school instruction is given. Industrial training in cooking, in house and laundry work, in plain sewing and dressmaking, in gardening, in lawn, greenhouse and light farm work is had. Sunday services are conducted, and Sunday-school instruction received. The spiritual welfare of the Roman Catholic Girls is cared for by the priest and Sisters at Adrian. The age at which girls could be committed to the Home has changed from time to time as experience dictated, until it is now over ten years and under seventeen years of age, and to be detained until twenty-one years old, with a proviso in the law which authorizes the Board of Guardians to reduce such length of sentence in its discretion. Girls are held only long enough to fit them to enter homes, and when an approved home is found for a girl she is assigned to the home if she is prepared to be placed out on indenture.

The Home has an orchestra of twenty-two girls, a brass band of eighteen pieces and a fife and drum corps for use at military drill, which is supervised by an officer of the city company. Girls are placed only in country homes; experience has taught that such rather than city or village homes are in every respect preferable. Two and a quarter years is the average time girls have been held in the Home.

Michigan's legislatures have, as a general rule, fostered her institutions, making appropriations, as a whole, without parsimony, while insisting on true economy; and her Governors have ever favored and forwarded wise progress in correctional work.

LUCIUS C. STORRS.

State Board of Corrections and Charities, Lansing, Mich.

SUPERVISION OF CHARITIES IN NEW YORK

Questions relating to the supervision and control of the charitable and reformatory institutions of New York are viewed, as doubtless they are in other States, from the standpoints of two widely differing schools of thought. One school believes that nothing of permanent worth can be accomplished toward the improvement of these institutions without the exercise of direct and positive powers of control by central authorities, while the other is confident that benefits of the most enduring character can be secured through the intelligent exercise of central supervisory powers falling far short of actual control.

A prominent exponent of the former school recently declared to me that it was folly to attempt to secure reforms in the charitable system of the State through moral suasion, meaning thereby supervisory power, and that the only practical method of bringing about desirable changes was through the unrestrained exercise of direct centralized power. He argued that, as a rule, volunteers intrusted with authority to manage charities could not or would not give sufficient time to such work, and further, that they were not infrequently ignorant of the duties imposed upon them and were obliged to leave to subordinates, oftentimes untrustworthy, the management of institutional affairs. Although not agreeing with the views thus expressed, it must be admitted that there is some truth in them as at times applied to particular institutions, perhaps, and that there is much to be said on this side of the question.

The suggestion that the better method of procedure might be to try to enlighten the present volunteer managers or to influence the selection of better ones, was not thought worthy of consideration by the exponent of the centralized plan of control, who considered it not only impracticable, but inexpedient, because a Board composed of a few men could be had who could do all the thinking and the directing that might be necessary. To him it seemed immaterial that this plan contemplated still deeper ignorance and greater inattention than he already attributed to them, on the part of the large body of people voluntarily engaged in the management of charities. That outcome was apparently a matter of no special moment so long as the central

Board could regulate matters at its pleasure. But at the same time it was not explained by what process, especially in these days of political exigencies, when high-salaried offices do not exactly go a-begging, it would be possible to select the limited number of members of the centralized authority, by whatever name known, so that they would be so well fitted for their duties, and so industrious that they could bring a direct personal influence to bear upon every part of a great and complicated system, requiring special knowledge, abundant time, and an eye single to the service.

It is my purpose to show something of what has been and of what can be accomplished through the exercise of the milder supervisory power, which contemplates the continuance of volunteer philanthropic service in all branches of charitable work. The reason for this retention of volunteer service was fittingly expressed by the State Board of Charities to the Legislature of 1901, when the subject was under consideration. The Board then said:

"The management and control of State charitable and reformatory institutions should be intrusted to individual Boards of Managers, composed of philanthropic citizens of the State. Men and women of character and intelligence, who have time and ability to give to the service of the State, should be encouraged, as they are in other States and countries where charitable and reform work has reached a high state of development, to devote themselves to the service of the State, by acting as members of the Boards of Managers of its institutions. This course not only greatly benefits the institutions through the enthusiasm, the special knowledge, and the disinterested and gratuitous service which such members bring to the work, but also keeps the management largely free from the semi-mechanical administration which a central Board of Control, having many institutions and diverse interests to care for, is able to give to each. Besides helping to keep the institutions out of the undesirable routine liable to follow the administration of a central Board of paid officials, it keeps their management in closer touch with the people.

This is not simply a commercial question. These institutions deal with men, women, and children, and are the embodiment of the loftiest philanthropic sentiment of the State. Their work should not be carried on in a mechanical way. Philanthropic service and business ability, combined in the management of these institutions, should produce the best results. Competent Boards of Managers can always be obtained, and their powers can be properly regulated by the legislature."

In this State we have the county almshouse system. This system has been in general existence here since 1824, although there

have been, and still are, a few town almshouses. The town almshouses are at present but two in number, both on Long Island. One of them is used by President Roosevelt's town of Oyster Bay and the adjoining town of North Hempstead, and is partially supported by an endowment fund, or "foundation," as it might be called, and for that reason, doubtless, has been continued. The other is at the near-by town of Hempstead, and is used in part for the poor of the county, which has at present no almshouse of its own.

While those familiar with the subject, either through direct personal knowledge or by reading official reports, readily recognize the ordinary evils incident to the almshouse system, it is commonly agreed, I think, that the county almshouse system is better adapted to improvement, than is the town almshouse system of Massachusetts and other New England States. For one thing, the county almshouse system is more readily inspected; and, for another, it is easier to secure improvements when the cost is distributed over the taxpayers of a whole county than when they must be borne by those of a small town.

Since 1867 the almshouse system of New York has been subject to the inspection of the State Board of Charities, and many improvements have been secured in that system through the visitation of its commissioners and officers; but it is only within recent years that the Board has been given the means to carry on the work in the thorough and systematic manner necessary to secure the best results. Six years ago the legislature gave the Board an appropriation to employ two inspectors to visit and inspect the almshouses, and they were selected through a rigid civil service examination held for that purpose. These inspectors were given careful instructions with relation to their duties and the Board's policy in dealing with the institutions. They were told to inspect the almshouses closely in every department and to state the exact facts, without either moralizing or making use of expressions likely to give offense. Their recommendations for improvements were to be conservative and along specified lines. The Poor Law of the State contains the following provision: "Sec. 118. * * It shall be the duty of such Board (the State Board of Charities) to call the attention, in writing or otherwise, of the Board of Supervisors and the Superintendent of the Poor, or other proper officer, in any county, of any abuses, defects or

evils, which on inspection it may find in the almshouse of such county, or in the administration thereof, and such county officer shall take proper action thereon, with a view to proper remedies, in accordance with the advice of such Board." The almshouse inspectors were accordingly directed to make special mention in their reports of any abuses, defects or evils they discovered in the institutions they examined.

The reports of the inspectors after they had been considered by the officers of the Board and its Committee on Almshouses, and such modifications made as seemed to be necessary, were by order of the Board sent to the respective County Boards of Supervisors and the County Superintendents of the Poor, with the request that they be given consideration and that the abuses, defects or evils, if any were specified, be remedied as soon as possible.

This was, of course, a very simple method of dealing with a great subject, for the almshouses of New York contain a large army, composed of nearly all classes and conditions among the dependent, but it has proved to be a very satisfactory and efficacious one. Not only have many valuable improvements and additions been made to present plants, but in three counties, greatly in need of them, complete new almshouses have been constructed throughout.

These are the counties of Dutchess, Fulton, and Schenectady, and in each case the almshouse has been constructed upon what is known as the "New York Cottage Plan," devised by Hon. William Pryor Letchworth, of Portage, while a Commissioner of the State Board of Charities. The new almshouse of Schenectady County was planned with an eye to the future needs of that rapidly growing locality, at an expense of over \$150,000, and is a model institution. The buildings replaced by these new almshouses were so old and dilapidated as to make their retention of inmates an abuse demanding correction. Largely through the reports of the Board's inspectors, and the co-operation of the county authorities, these very desirable changes were brought about.

At the third session of the State Conference of Charities and Correction, the President of the Conference, Hon. William R. Stewart, then also President of the State Board of Charities, summed up the recent great improvements in the almshouse system of the State by saying:

“Within a brief period, Dutchess, Fulton, Montgomery, and Schenectady Counties, and the City of Oswego, have erected new almshouses of approved and modern construction and equipment. Work has also begun on a new almshouse for Tioga County. Changes, which amount almost to reconstruction, have been made in the almshouse buildings of the following counties: Albany, Broome, Cayuga, Chautauqua, Chemung, Chenango, Erie, Lewis, Nassau, Onondaga, Orange, Schoharie, Steuben, Wayne, and Wyoming.

“Besides many other important improvements, new hospital buildings have been erected, or the older ones greatly improved, in the counties of Essex, Greene, Niagara, Oneida, St. Lawrence, Saratoga, Warren, Washington, and Westchester; also in Poughkeepsie City.

“In addition to these last named, where the feature of the building improvement is the hospital, in almost all of the first two groups of counties named, the hospital is a part of the new equipment. These counties, in connection with the four which compose the city of New York, are those in which the changes and improvements have been so extensive as to be of the first importance.

“In every other county in the State, with the exception of Hamilton and Schuyler, neither of which has an almshouse, improvements of many kinds have been made, all insuring greater comfort for the inmates, better sanitation and protection from fire, and more satisfactory administration. It may be safely stated that there is not a county in the State wherein the condition of the poor who are cared for in almshouses has not been changed for the better during the past five years.”

These are relatively but a small part of the beneficent results that have been obtained during the past few years through the judicious and conservative exercise of the supervisory, or “moral suasion” power, as it might fittingly be called. An examination of the Board’s records will show similar results obtained through a like system of inspecting and reporting upon the private charitable institutions of the State which are in receipt of public moneys. All these changes and improvements, involving expenditures of hundreds of thousands of dollars, have been secured with a minimum of friction, without any charge of meddling interference, and in but one case, that of an almshouse, the management of which had become thoroughly unsatisfactory, was anything approaching legal action made necessary. The results warrant the belief that this exercise of supervisory authority can and does produce valuable and enduring results in the administration of the charities, at the same time leaving abundant room for the continuance of the valuable philanthropic

service of the volunteer, which helps to rid public relief-giving of its cold and machine-like officialism.

ROBERT W. HEBBERD.

Secretary State Board of Charities of New York.

EDUCATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

The modern educational idea has been more fully developed and more consistently carried out in boarding schools for delinquent children than in any other educational institutions.

The questions of the treatment of juvenile delinquents has occupied the thoughts of humane people for several generations. The first efforts were primarily to save young offenders from the demoralizing effects of association with older criminals in jails and prisons. The earliest institutions for juvenile delinquents were organized under the dominance of the prison idea. It may be true that such was not the conscious intention on the part of the pioneers of this work, who took it up long before the States were sufficiently alive to its importance to enter into it. But, nevertheless, the fact remains that when looked upon as history, there was present in the earlier provisions for the detention and care of children committed for violation of law most of the characteristics of prison treatment of adults and few characteristics properly belonging to a *regimen* of education and development.

In all regards was this true; the establishments were distinctively prison enclosures, the dormitories were blocks of cells, the dining-rooms were chambers of silence with only the meagerest provision of the rudest table furniture, the earning capacity of those confined was exploited to its highest possible figure, and education in letters was only provided for during such hours as could not be profitably employed in work; and the greatest ambition and strongest claim for popular approval was a low per capita cost of maintenance.

The lack of public enlightenment and the state of the public conscience were responsible for this condition, and it is probable that if one had been sufficiently in advance of the common thought upon these subjects to have sought or demanded much more than was the actual practice, the whole effort would have been defeated.

With the change in social conditions incident to increased wealth, culture and general uplifting of ideals in the people, there was not for some time an equal progress within the high walls surrounding the unfortunate young. The very physical aspect of

these refuges warded off the general influences that were at work in the body of the people. So distinct were they that few considered the possibility of their being a part of the community to which the rising tide of better standards could bring as great changes as it was doing to the rest of the community. Consequently, very nearly the same standard of conduct persisted for a somewhat longer period than was entirely justifiable in some of these older institutions.

The public, and in a large degree those in charge of the establishments, looked upon them as workshops in which misshapen and faulty products of the social system were to be forced by special moral and more or less mechanical means into perfect condition. They were called *reform schools*, and were supposed to have at command some occult means of *reforming*; and even now it is not uncommon to hear erudite discussions as to the efficacy of this or that as a reformatory agency.

The advanced ideas on educational methods in the public schools for a long time had little influence in the schools for delinquents. The idea that whatever education was given was a favor bestowed, for which the young recipient should be properly thankful, and for which he should be willing to sacrifice every opportunity to gratify the natural impulses of childhood, was long dominant in practice, if never quite so baldly stated.

But within the last generation or two, mostly within the last, a very pronounced change has taken place in representative schools for delinquents. New men, with different standards concerning the obligation that the community owes to its children, and with different personal standards and attainments, have come into the active management and administration of these schools. Where, as formerly, the few hours spent in indifferently conducted school-rooms, mayhap before breakfast and after supper, were considered and spoken of as the time devoted to education, now every hour of the twenty-four is considered as important educationally as any particular hour.

The change from the walled schools to the more rational form of cottage organization made possible the realization of the more advanced ideas of education in these schools. As long as the psychological influence of prison conditions and prison ideas bore down upon

the young minds it was impossible for administrators even to conceive rational treatment of the young lives. The condition of the mind of the pupil so mirrored itself in his every resultant manifestation of character that optimistic, indeed, would have been the manager who could have freed himself from the old idea that he had a monstrous thing to deal with, which it was his duty to fuse with ardent heat and re-cast into some normal shape. The influence of the unwallied schools, however, penetrated even those still behind barriers, and conditions were very much ameliorated, so that when the real work of educational study and development began, there were few institutions that did not sooner or later enter into the scheme with more or less enthusiasm and zeal.

As was natural, these boarding-schools for delinquents, after awaking to the possibility and need, at first tried to copy and to conform rigidly to the public school grades and standards. In the public school no allowances are made for grades of capacity. Provision is made for a dead level of capacity of an arbitrarily determined pupil, and each pupil of the grade is furnished with a given amount of information in a given time. If the capacity of the pupil is in excess of the supply furnished by the grade it is his misfortune, as failure to work to the top of his bent is sure to prevent increase of capacity to work, and is likely to decrease it. If the pupil lacks capacity to assimilate the amount of information required by his grade, constant failure to accomplish what is expected of him and the periodical shocks from demotion or failure of promotion numb his courage and really decrease his capacity. Indeed, in spite of all of the honest effort to use those methods of teaching which shall result in the best mental development of the child, the real work of the public school is imparting the amount of knowledge necessary to pass to the next grade in the educational scheme when the annual or semi-annual promotion takes place. This statement is not made in criticism of the public school system, but it is only given to indicate that the development of the education of delinquents should be differentiated from what is, perhaps, the necessary conditions of the common schools.

In the later and present stage of educational development, it has been recognized that the opportunities offered at the boarding-schools are far in advance of those possessed by the day schools;

and, as the schools for delinquents are boarding-schools, their educational system has been evolved upon the basis of twenty-four hours in the day being considered as the time devoted to the purpose. In other words, the whole life of the pupil, even his time of rest, is directed and utilized in developing all the possibilities of his nature.

The first formulated conclusion reached concerning the pupils of the school for delinquents was that the large majority of them were backward in mental education. One of three causes was assignable for this condition. Lack of capacity, lack of opportunity, or lack of application under the previous conditions of education.

Supposing the defectives to be eliminated from those classed as lacking capacity, it was necessary to discover the cause of, and the remedy for, this seeming deficiency. In many cases it was found that what had been called lack of capacity was only a degree of power to apprehend and retain instruction somewhat below the arbitrary, average standard set up by the public school system. In other cases, it was found that the mind had been dwarfed by unfavorable physical or psychological influences. In other cases perfectly average powers were possessed in some faculties, while there was lack in others.

When a study was made of those classed as having lacked opportunity, it was found that the failure to apply the mind to systematic study had begotten a mental state very similar to that of those who had been considered as lacking capacity, but that there was greater constitutional power of mentation if the same could only be developed.

Those who were supposed to have had good ability and favoring opportunities appeared, when closely considered, to have failed in application because of a mental attitude of indifference to results of slothfulness, very properly attributable to low standards of life acquired in the home or in the daily associations outside of the home. This attitude, persisted in, notwithstanding the efforts of home and school government, showed the absence of discipline and reverence for authority which should be found in the child, and which it is absolutely essential should be present in every child's mind who is even reasonably educated. The result had been that the same condition of mind had grown up as in the preceding class.

When the laborious inquiry, classification and consideration had.

been completed it was discovered that the initial treatment indicated for all classes was practically the same. First, the physical condition was considered, as it must be the basis for all future work of child development. It was found that all of the three classes of delinquents had much in common. Bad, irregular, improper or scanty meals had resulted in badly nourished bodies; while lack of proper physical exercise and due and regular amounts of sleep had resulted in low physical condition—not necessarily famished or emaciated bodies—but lack of strength, sluggish circulation and bad mental and physical correlation. Mental activity was also discovered to be sluggish. Apart from a certain animal acumen, perception was found slow, determination slower, and motor response quite tardy. Indeed, the whole study of the subject led to a fixed conclusion that any true education of the class to be dealt with would involve systematic treatment of the whole life of the patients, as the subjects may be properly called.

Physical occupation must take a new place in the institution curriculum. It is necessary that the brain be in the best physical condition, as a part of a buoyant body, fed by rich blood circulating evenly through every organ. To realize this, the body must receive first and careful attention. The old policy that work, if hard enough, is good exercise, was first attacked, and the newer notion that, in order to give full exercise, systematic and carefully planned work was necessary, was given the standing of an axiom. Inasmuch as no productive work could be found which fulfilled the requirements, some form or other of physical training which was body building in its nature was found or devised. Dismissing the inane, lifeless, calisthenics, called exercise in some places, as a mere continuity breaker, many schools turned to military drill with the regulation setting-up exercise. Indeed, nothing better could well be found, as far as they go. In them there is no grinding work done as exercise, but physical occupation, with an object in view other than the work itself; hence giving the surest promise of the desired result primary in the mind of the guiding intelligence but entirely unrecognized in the mind of the pupil. In the mind of the careful observer, however, there remained something to be desired in perfecting the physical treatment of the children, and regular gymnastic drills, under competent instruction and oversight, have been turned to as

the best fulfillment of the end desired. There should not be long periods of monotonous class-drills, but also apparatus work, in which the character of play is instilled by the strife to excel. These means, and the stimulation of a morning shower bath, are relied upon to give a physical buoyancy and health to every part of the body, including the brain, that will insure the highest effort and the best attainment in the struggle for development. The results now obtained where this system is fully carried out have not been disappointing in any respect, but have so impressed some observers that the question, whether it would not be profitable to devote a few weeks to this physical drill before attempting anything in the line of avowedly mental training, has been raised. The word avowedly is used advisedly, as what is called mere physical exercise has been found to have the highest value as mental and moral training.

The first pronounced mental characteristic of delinquent children is comparative slowness of apprehension and corresponding slowness of physical response in action. From the first day in the awkward squad, or the gymnasium class, the beginner is drilled in quickness of perception and promptness of decision and action. One need not be a skilled observer to note the fact first stated, or to be surprised by the results every day demonstrated. Neither can it be claimed that these are only the automatic exhibition of habit, because the requirements are too numerous, too varied and too variously grouped to be complied with without concentration of attention and conscious mental action in nearly every case. And when the drills are ordered and conducted by bugle calls and to music, a third element requiring further mental alertness, and one more step of interpretation between perception and the completed notion and its realization in action, is introduced. In addition, that highly moral obligation of obedience to a superior authority without question, and that other social virtue in which the individual is sunk in the whole and shines as part of the whole, are constantly making their impress upon the child's mind without either his knowledge or protest. Then, too, as a responsible part of a great whole, while the individual is learning his relative unimportance, he may suddenly be shocked to learn how vitally important to the whole is every component part; how the performance of each individual affects the performance of the whole by seeing the coveted

honor of carrying a regiment's flag, for which companies are competing, sacrificed by the wandering thought of some comrade who has allowed his attention to be distracted for a moment. Every one of his mates will at once become a lecturer on the subject, and for all the time he remains in the school he may hear new pupils exhorted to attention by the story of how the culprit "lost the flag," by having one finger too few or too many on the certain part of his piece at a given time.

In the scheme of this physical toning-up, with incidental effects upon the mind, play and physical relaxation are not forgotten. For in the careless excitement of vigorous sports a degree of strenuous exertion, calling into play the last ounce of physical power and mental alertness that is being developed under the physical training of the system above outlined, is called forth, and results are obtained, both physical and mental, not otherwise obtainable.

It will be evident to any one familiar with the best systems in vogue in the best boarding-schools that the special study of this special class of pupils has resulted in the adoption of a system precisely similar to, if not exactly the same as, that in these most widely separated classes of schools. Hence, if it be claimed that the characteristics of the delinquent pupils upon which the system has been declared are of determining importance, nevertheless the value of the method of development for any pupil is proven by its general use under the most eminent educators of normal youth.

We now pass from a class of things that are not done for their own sake, nor for their direct influence upon the mental operations of the pupils, to a class of efforts performed for their own sakes, and particularly for the effects that they may have upon the minds of the subjects as regards mental and moral activity.

All now agree that commercial work can have no place in the scheme, but there is an apparent difference of opinion as to whether the work should be entirely constructive or, for those of suitable age, instructive also. But as the difference of opinion is more theoretical than practical, it need not swerve us from our statement of the present practice in the education of delinquents. Little is heard now of the work done simply for the purpose of teaching habits of industry, as that is an inevitable result of occupation that excites interest; any other only engenders a distaste for work.

For those who are old enough to acquire knowledge of some mechanical trade, the custom is now all but universal to teach building trades and printing, and where there is an estate large enough to require many draught animals and vehicles, blacksmithing. In the first place, the trades are selected because no greater mental preparation is required than the pupils generally have; in the second place, because actual work of a useful kind can be furnished, and only such work can be of any possible interest to the learner; in the third place, because in prosecuting any of these trades, a certain amount of mental concentration and reasoning is in constant play with stimulating pride and satisfaction arising from the useful results being accomplished; and finally, because the instruction received is an asset available in after years when the struggle for existence is undertaken. Other trades might be equally well adapted to the purposes intended so far as the mental stimulus given by, and the manual dexterity required for, their prosecution.

For those that are younger, Sloyd, or some modification of it, furnishes the same means of mental stimulation through manual training. And for occupation, light outside work that brings the worker into contact with nature fills the need. There is, of course, occasionally a class so young that it requires no occupation other than care-free childish sport.

The scheme of education so far outlined has aimed at the development of a healthy brain condition, so as to make normal mental action possible, and also at exciting mental activity, right conception and proper correlation of ideas, while at the same time giving useful information and skill to use it. The next step in the education is the school of letters. While it is common to consider all that has gone before in the light of its bearing upon the work in letters, and while it is true that all that has preceded affects this work most pronouncedly, the physical and manual training have been of the highest value in themselves, as has been indicated.

The school of letters should be as unique as the school of physical and manual training. The first step to be taken is to put into separate classes pupils of the same grade differing widely in age and physical development. Boys who have reached considerable size and maturity of mind cannot be advantageously taught in the same classes with small and immature children, even when they all are

equally advanced in school studies. The older student, because of greater maturity, can acquire knowledge much faster than the younger when attention and application are once secured, provided, of course, there is the same approach to the normal in their mental capacity. It is a disadvantageous embarrassment also for a child to find himself associated in work with those very much younger and smaller than himself.

The conduct of the grade when formed is such that individual effort will result in advancement and promotion just as rapidly as the pupil's ability will permit, regardless of any set periods determined by time in the particular grade or season of the year, as in a school organized on the usual basis. This involves observation of the individual and attention to the individual. It results in saving of time to those who can least afford to waste a minute. To make the school of letters perfect, instruction in music, nature studies, and elementary agriculture, with some work in literature, is necessary. One of the features of such a school is the perfection of its equipment in every department. The result of grades conducted as described is more rapid advancement than is the rule in the common school; and that, too, in spite of the fact that no studying is done out of school hours and all pupils are untrained when received.

When the ground already covered has been traversed, one is accustomed to think that the end has been reached, so far as education is concerned. But if education is the development of the child, as we are now accustomed to proclaim, we are very far from the end of the route; for the every-day life and the atmosphere and spirit that envelops and controls it are more potent in bringing out what is best and developing proper standards of conduct than any set tasks. Groups of pupils of the same approximate age and physical development are associated in life in the cottage homes. The fact of their being of the same size frees the groups of the influence of the ideas that children have: that larger children are entitled to reverent imitation and obedience; and so the teaching of absolute social equality is possible. Individual rights, as well as individual limitations, and community rights and duties, are the daily food of out-of-doors and indoors experience. There can be no carrying of the family by storm, as it is too often the case "at home;" but, in place of that, there is found to exist an inexorable reign of law pro-

tecting each as much as the other and making life tolerable. The proper reverence for law and the limitations of the individual by social conditions are thus firmly established in the pupil's mind. Then, again, everything is conducted under the rule of doing the right thing in the right way. Play must be fair play, work must be honestly done, results must prove the correctness of the processes and processes must be commensurate with results sought. Effort alone cannot acquit the worker, and one's own approval, honest or assumed, does not acquit of responsibility. These are moral truths, and it is character building to impress them on a young mind. In the kind of school that we are considering, these truths are being concretely taught every day—yes, every hour.

Proper devotional observance at meals and at the beginning and close of the day, as well as appropriate services for moral instruction on Sunday, and whatever sectarian religious services may be possible, keep alive the appreciation of those higher obligations that most normal minds recognize as binding upon men.

What is to be said of those who are not backward in their studies and who have not suffered from irregular habits and associations? If they have reached the age of adolescence, it may be freely admitted that they are not juvenile delinquents, but juvenile criminals, as they have chosen their course of life deliberately after reaching an age of sufficient understanding to make intelligent choice.

Concerning the failure of the educational system to establish right character in a certain proportion of those who are subjected to its influence, it is hardly necessary to speak. For a certain proportion of abnormal, degenerate, or already fixed characters, are always found among those who belong to the non-social, or anti-social classes, whether they be adults or children. For them the term of their tuition in these schools is all too short to accomplish much permanent good, if, indeed, real betterment can ever be hoped for.

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RECENT TENDENCIES IN AMERICAN CRIMINAL LEGISLATION

No question is more frequently put to penologists than this: "Is crime increasing in the United States?" The uniform response from those who do not depend upon their imagination, but upon facts for their conclusions, is that there are no reliable statistics covering the entire country, upon which to base an answer. Two elements enter into the question of the nature and volume of crime in any country. First, what is the character of the laws constituting crimes and offences? Secondly, in what manner and to what extent are they executed? Police, judicial, and prison statistics are of small value in showing the amount of crime in a community, and its movement and fluctuation, unless we know the character of the laws chosen in different communities for comparison, and whether arrests are stimulated by a premium on police vigilance, or by the fee system of recompensing sheriffs. The fact, that in one community laws are vigilantly executed may make it compare very unfavorably, if statistics alone are consulted, with a community where the same laws are not enforced. A single change of law, by which sheriffs are paid salaries, instead of fees, has reduced materially the prison population in many counties. Except in a few States where statistics are carefully prepared, and as carefully analysed, we are not in a condition to draw inferences as to the fluctuations of crime with reference to the population.

With reference, however, to the sentiment of the community as to the ethical and legal value of different offences, and the weight of penalties attached to them, we are in a much better position to form judgments. American States are no longer dependent upon traditions, embodied in the common law, as to their moral estimates of different offences. In the Federal Courts, the common law is not recognized as authoritative with reference to offences, and in most of our States, statute law has taken its place. The development of our civilization has been so rapid and complex, and so many new relations have been created, that early categories of offences do not fit modern conditions. The stealing of a box of

candles, which could easily be dealt with a hundred years ago, is a different problem from stealing the same amount of light from an electric wire. The march of invention, the introduction of new elements, involving both value and danger to society, whether they be automobiles or explosives, anæsthetics or nickel-in-the-slot machines, are registered as certainly in the statutes of the forty-five States, as they are in the patent office, or in the annals of discovery. Life and property assume new aspects, and, in the opinion of legislators, require new protection. The multitude of laws enacted annually or biennially illustrates barometrically, the fluctuations of public sentiment as to the nature and ethical value of offences. Many of these laws relate to matters which are purely civil in their character, but the habit of attaching penalties for neglect or omission, or to deter from commission of unlawful acts, has largely obliterated the distinction between the civil and penal code. As the distinction between a felony and a misdemeanor has been so far removed, that the difference between them in most States is determined simply by the place in which the punishment is endured—for a felony in an institution under the State, and for a misdemeanor, in an institution administered by a city or county—so the only practical distinction that remains between the civil and criminal code must be found, not in the definition of the offence, but in the penalties that are attached to them. Even States which have formal penal codes, in which every criminal offence is supposed to be catalogued, have been unable logically and symmetrically, to carry out this idea. In the State of New York, a large number of offences created by the Legislature, for example, those against the sanitary code, have not been incorporated in the penal code.

Though we cannot say that the volume of crime is increasing in the United States, we have evidence in bulky volumes of statutes that the categories of crimes and offences are constantly multiplied. In 1898, I prepared for the International Prison Commission, a volume on "New Legislation Concerning Crimes, Misdemeanors, and Penalties." This report embraced only the State and Federal legislation for the years 1897-1898. But laws and penalties multiply so rapidly that only consecutive annual reviews enable the penological student to observe the movement, morally or geographically,

of current legislation. The material for such an annual review is now furnished by the New York State Library, of which Mr. Melvil Dewey is the director, in the form of a comparative summary and index of State legislation of each year, edited by Robert H. Whitten, sociology librarian. There are few places in the country where a reader, consulting this index, can find the session laws of all the States; but the value of the index is much enhanced by a review of legislation, in a separate volume, by experts in different departments, who have before them the full text of all the laws embraced in their subjects. When the Federal laws are finally included, we shall have a very complete conspectus of the movement of legislation in this country.

With such material at his command, it is now possible for the student of comparative legislation to discover the genesis and development of the laws, whether they are local or general, and the direction in which they move from State to State. Most Legislatures in this country are fairly representative of the constituencies which create them, and the body of legislation may be said to represent likewise the public sentiment of the country as to standards of action, conduct, and responsibility. The subsequent history of these laws cannot so easily be determined. Sometimes reactions and protests of public opinion can be promptly seen in amendments and repeals, but many a law is doomed to die on the day of its birth. The silent indifference of the public as effectually smothers it as if it had been buried in a coffin under the Statue of Liberty.

The most obvious tendency of criminal, as of all other, legislation in this country, is the tendency to "increase and multiply." We speak of an epoch of law-breaking, may we not speak of an epidemic of law-making? Governor Pennypacker, of Pennsylvania, in his message of January, 1903, calls attention to this tendency:

"The modern tendency to invent new crimes ought to be curbed. To obliterate the marked line which distinguished between mere breaches of contract and crimes, is to bring the law itself into disrepute. To threaten with imprisonment him who has filled a bottle entrusted to him, the contents of which he has bought, or him who sells a railroad ticket, the evidence of a right of transportation, for which he has paid, is no doubt a convenience to corporations and others in enforcing their contracts, but it takes from the prison much of its effect as a restraint on those who do evil. Juries refuse to convict where they

believe the charge ought not to be sustained, even though the facts come within the terms of a statute, and thus men are taught to disregard the law. . . .”

While Governor Pennypacker regrets the excess of legislative zeal in imposing penalties for trifling offences, five Governors of States called attention, last year, in their messages to the Legislature to the failure of their States to leave the punishment of crime to the regular and orderly processes of the law, and to the further neglect to apprehend and punish the leaders of mob violence. Governor Jelks, of Alabama, spoke with great vigor:

“The excuse urged for lynching, for crimes which are common in the South, is no excuse at all. The man who criminally assaults a woman in this State, if allowed to be tried, will certainly get his just deserts at the hands of the law. Other classes of citizens, for other crimes, escape the just penalty for the violation of the law, but the negro, and for the gravest of all crimes, never escapes. There have been quite a number of lynchings since you met here. In the last year and a half, or during my official incumbency of this office, I recall five such crimes. One of these lynchings was for the crime of criminal assault. So easy was it for the mob spirit to get away from the original cause for provoking that spirit, that three of the latest of these crimes were for other offences, and two for no offence at all. In one county, near the Capital City, a lot of self-constituted guardians of the peace and honor of their homes, in an attempt to mob a negro, who had committed an offence, which, under the law, could not have called for a sentence of more than two years, took his brother, innocent of any offence at all, and hanged him. I am glad to be able to say to you that there was a just judge and a sufficient number of law-abiding citizens to give these men, or some of them, a term in the penitentiary. I believe these are the first like offenders to serve the State since the great war. No man had heretofore gone to the penitentiary for lynching a negro. It is our shame! Now that the law has begun to act, let law-abiding citizens and just judges see to it that other murderers go not unwhipped of justice hereafter. Following this case, a mob in Pike County took a negro away from a constable—I know not with what difficulty—and lynched him. His offence was probably swearing contrary to one of his white neighbors in a justice trial on a proof of character. This was a cold-blooded murder, and without excuse at all. The murderers go about. None of them will be hanged as they should be. Another case grew out of an assault to murder, and still another in a hunt for a rapist, the murderous mob found the wrong man. The man the outlaws killed in this last case had never seen the rapist’s victim or heard of her. Human life is about as cheap in Alabama as it is anywhere. One or two Southern States vie with us, and may overreach us, in the low price we put on it, but we are shamefully near the bad eminence. And sheriffs can prevent this lawlessness in most cases.”

Governor Aycock, of North Carolina, informed the Legislature that “during the past two years there have been eight lynchings”

in the State; three for murder, one for attempting to poison, three for rape, and one for assault with intent to rape. The resort to this practice is neither justified by reason, nor do the results attained by it show its efficacy. The crimes for which this summary punishment is meted out do not decrease. The safety of every citizen is better guaranteed by the orderly execution of the laws of the land." Governor Aycock asked for legislative relief in the direction of "some means for the efficient, certain, and speedy trial of crimes, and at the same time to make such provision as will protect every citizen, however humble, however vicious, however guilty, against trial by the mob."

Governor White, of West Virginia, said: "Lynching is a cowardly crime, subversive of social order, productive of no good result, and leads to other crimes, by making criminals of those who heretofore have been law-abiding citizens. It was no surprise to those who saw the spirit with which the Brooks lynching was regarded by the good people of Elkins and surrounding country, that a second horrible lynching took place a year later in the same county. There was involved in neither of these lynchings the honor of womanhood, which is so often urged as an excuse for lynching. They were simply cold-blooded lynchings for the sake of lynching."

Governor White was not prepared to suggest the form of remedial legislation, but called attention to the need of conferring additional powers upon the Governor, such as the right to remove sheriffs or prosecuting attorneys who fail to fulfill their duties. Governor Sayers, of Texas, likewise pointed out the powerlessness of the Governor when local officials are weak.

The only legislative response to these messages, during the last year, has been in the State of West Virginia, which adopted a joint resolution reflecting the spirit of the Governor's message and saying: "It is the sense of this body that the rights of our citizens should be held inviolate, and that every man accused of crime should have a fair and impartial trial by a jury of his peers, and that those who would recklessly and grossly deny this right, should be brought to swift and speedy justice." The resolution empowers the Governor, with the aid of the attorney-general, to take such means as in his judgment are necessary to bring the guilty parties to justice.

Connecticut passed a law making cities or boroughs liable for

injuries caused by mobs. Kansas has fixed the penalty for lynching from 5 years to life imprisonment, accessories after the fact to be imprisoned from 2 to 21 years, the sheriff's office to be vacant after lynching, but the Governor may reinstate him.

Passing now to offences classified as "Crimes against the Government," we may still trace the influence of the assassination of President McKinley, in laws against anarchy and for the protection of the President and other executive officers. In 1901, no laws were passed on either of these subjects, but in 1902, the death of the President was promptly reflected in the mirror of legislation. Iowa, New Jersey, New York, and Ohio, all passed laws growing out of this event, and in 1903, California, Connecticut, Washington, and Wisconsin. The New York law, of 1902, has served as a model for the States of Californian, Washington, and Wisconsin. It is made a felony to commit any crime against the person of the President or Vice-President of the United States, the Governor of any State or Territory, any United States Judge, or the secretaries of any of the executive departments of the United States. It is likewise, as in New York, made unlawful to teach or spread such doctrine. Criminal anarchy is defined to be "the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence." Connecticut has a new and independent law of its own, limited to three lines. "Every person who shall wilfully and maliciously attempt to cause the death of the President of the United States or of any foreign ambassador, accredited to the United States shall suffer death."

Bribery is an insidious offence, which changes its form as often as "the old man of the sea," and provisions against it are found very frequently in the legislation of the last three years. The new Nevada law, declaring all forms of felony, is interesting, because of the great pains taken to define and to hunt down the offence under whatever disguise it may assume. Any form of remuneration, whether a money gift or payment, release of debt, payment of board, lodging or transportation, the furnishing of food or clothing, the powers of giving employment, the increasing or maintaining of wages, the promise of appointment to any public office or position, either for the voter, or for any other person, the swapping of votes for candidates, may constitute bribery, and the voter, delegate, or member of the Legislature, who accepts any such consideration, is con-

sidered guilty of bribery together with the person taking the offer. It is likewise made bribery for a candidate for United States Senator to pay the campaign expenses of a candidate for the Legislature, or for a candidate to accept such payment, or for an employer to threaten an employe with loss of employment if he votes or fails to vote for a certain candidate or measure. The penalty for these various forms of bribery, is imprisonment from one to eleven years and forfeiture of office. It would be interesting to know why the maximum is made eleven instead of ten years, in usual deference to the decimal system.

That the American people are not devoid of symbolic reverence and patriotic sentiment, is seen in the crusade against the use of the United States flag for advertising purposes. In 1901, nine States passed such laws; in 1902, three States; in 1903, five States. There are also laws requiring it to be raised over school houses and over polls and election places.

Passing now to crime against public order and security, we find that an endeavor to extend the area of prevention as to offences resulting from the use of weapons, is the subject of two Governors' Messages, and of laws in seven States during the past year. All the laws on this subject within the last three years have been passed in Southern or Western States, an indication that habits and customs which have long been familiar in frontier life, in which the individual carried his protection with him, must give way to the social protection furnished in well-organized communities.

Vagrancy is an affliction which has prompted legislation in six States in 1903. Evidently, it is getting more and more apparent in certain States, that methods of dealing with this offence, heretofore in use, have been inadequate, especially under merely municipal and county regulations. Most of these laws provide for fuller and more accurate definition of vagrancy, and in Vermont, the definition is made to cover train-riding, but the punishment in both cases is still a brief term of imprisonment in the county jail. Arkansas has found that imprisonment in the county jail from thirty to ninety days has been ineffectual in dealing with vagrancy even though the law required them to be fed on bread and water alone during half of their imprisonment. It is now planning to work them upon the public roads of the counties or cities in which

they are convicted. New Jersey has passed a law that magistrates may commit disorderly persons to the State penitentiary as well as to a county jail. This applies also to tramps. If the New Jersey penitentiaries provide sufficient work for such offenders, they will be less likely to wander into that State.

Turning now to crimes against persons, I called attention, in a review of criminal legislation for 1901, to the significant fact that a single crime committed in the State of Nebraska, namely the kidnapping of a boy, to obtain a ransom from his wealthy father, had given an impulse to legislation over the whole country. In 1901, twenty-four States passed laws relating to kidnapping and abduction. In 1902, five States passed similar laws, all traceable to the same event. The alarm and indignation occasioned by this crime seems to have subsided. No laws were passed on the subject of kidnapping in 1903. Kansas has declared blackmail to be deemed felony, punishable by imprisonment from one to five years and a fine not exceeding a thousand dollars. In the criminal code of Alaska, adopted by the United States in 1899, the punishment for blackmail ranges from three months to one year in the county jail, or six months to five years in the penitentiary.

As to homicide, New Hampshire, in 1903, abolished the death penalty for murder in the first degree, unless the jury affixed the same to the verdict; otherwise the sentence is for life imprisonment. In Washington, the penalty for murder in the second degree, which formerly ranged from ten to twenty years, now has a life maximum.

As to crimes against property, the student of comparative legislation in the United States is impressed with the multitude of laws in recent years to prevent the theft of electricity, or interference with electric lines or instruments. In 1897 and 1898, laws for the protection for this new form of property were passed in thirteen States. In 1901, laws were passed in ten States. In 1902, the off-year in legislation, five laws were passed, and in 1903, fourteen.

The advent of a new form of industry, that of the raising of ginseng for the Chinese market, where it has a religious as well as a therapeutic value, was signalized in Kentucky, in 1892, by the passage of a severe law against trespass upon ginseng gardens, making the offense a felony, with penalty of from one to three years imprisonment in the penitentiary. New York now follows in the

wake of Kentucky by defining the word "building" in the chapter of the penal code relating to burglary, so as to include enclosed ginseng gardens. As thus defined, the stealing of ginseng would constitute burglary in the third degree, and the penalty imprisonment not exceeding five years.

A vast number of penalties are attached to laws, which in the new State Library Index to Legislation, are not entered under "Crimes and Offenses." These cover miscellaneous police regulations, the regulation of gambling, bucket shops, horse racing, prize fighting, shows, and exhibitions. The growth of the humane sentiment is seen in laws passed for the protection of animals and children. Sixteen States passed laws regulating automobiles. A characteristic feature of modern legislation is numerous laws prohibiting the sale of liquor or cigarettes to minors. Many laws have been passed for the regulation of the practice of medicine, eight of which relate to osteopathy. Twenty-one laws relate to the adulteration of food, with penalties attached.

The most marked feature of the correctional legislation of the year is the impulse given to probation and to the establishment of Juvenile Courts. Laws establishing such courts or amending existing legislation, were passed in Colorado, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Several other States have passed laws relating to juvenile offenders in different forms. Probation laws have been passed in seven States. It is gratifying to note the progressive tendency of legislation, with reference to conditional liberation, both before and after imprisonment.

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THE PUBLIC CHARITIES OF PORTO RICO

The first attempt at public charity in Porto Rico dates back to the year 1810 when a royal order was promulgated establishing a charity asylum and announcing that a contribution of 14,818 pesos, equivalent to about \$8,000, had been made by General Montes, who was then the Governor-General of the Island. Nothing was done, however, to utilize this contribution until the year 1821, when Father Ruiz, a Catholic priest, organized a plan for raising funds for the benefit of the city poor of San Juan and founded a home in that city where shelter was provided for some fifteen indigent women. The following year the city of San Juan organized a Board of Charities with the Mayor of the city as its President, and this Board within a short time acquired control of the home for indigent women and also of a hospital formerly managed by the Roman Catholic Church and had at its disposal a fund of some 40,000 pesos, yielding an annual income of 2,125 pesos, devoted largely to the equipment and maintenance of the hospital. The hospital was formally opened in 1823, but encountered vigorous opposition on the part of the clergy, who brought pressure to bear upon the authorities in Madrid and ultimately succeeded in having the Board of Charities disbanded. Nothing further was done until the year 1838, when the Governor General called attention to the defects in the management of the penitentiary and asked the Municipal Council of San Juan to make some provision for the separation of male and female prisoners in the penitentiary and also asked for the establishment of an asylum for a house of correction. It was decided to construct a new building, and plans and specifications were approved in February, 1840; and during the same year a new Board of Charities was organized for the purpose of raising the necessary funds. Additional taxes were levied and private subscriptions solicited. The construction of a large building to be used for charitable purposes was begun in 1841 and the building completed in 1848.

This building was known as the "Beneficencia" and is located on a prominent hill-top in the city near the military barracks. It is now used partly as an insane asylum and partly as a high and

graded school. The total proceeds of taxes and private contributions used in the construction of this building amounted to 247,048 pesos, of which 232,343 pesos were expended and the balance of 14,705 pesos turned over to the Treasurer of the Institution. No particular plan for the utilization of this building was adopted. All sorts of persons who were public charges were admitted. The insane seem to have been given first place, but the building was also used to furnish a home for destitute orphans, widows, chronic indigents, and persons who were properly inmates of a house of correction. At times it seems the building was used as a soldier's school and also as a school of midwifery. Reports indicate that the entire management was very unsatisfactory until the year 1863, when it was placed in the hands of sisters of charity sent from Spain for the purpose. A contract was entered into between the representatives of the Governor-General of the Island and the head of the order to which the sisters belonged, fixing the terms by which the sisters were placed in charge. Regulations were adopted and frequently amended and considerable friction seems to have occurred between the Government and the sisters in charge. Complaint was made from time to time of the many defects in the institution and its management. In the year 1898, a school of arts and trades was established in this institution and in addition to the insane and the indigent adults there were admitted to the institution 266 boys and 188 girls, many of whom received instruction in the shops and in the class-rooms of the school of arts and trades. The day-school showed a registration of 87 inmates and 70 private pupils residing outside of the institution. There was also a night class of over 150 boys and girls. With the beginning of the war in 1898 the orphans in the institution were removed to the country, and during the bombardment in the month of May the insane were also removed and the building suffered some damage.

In September, 1898, after hostilities had ceased, the Spanish authorities attempted to reopen the institution. In October of the same year, when the Spanish authorities turned over the Insular Government to the military authorities of the United States, a commission was appointed to settle the affairs of the institution and this commission took charge of the orphan and insane asylums. No new inmates were admitted and many, considered unworthy,

were discharged. The workshops of the school of arts and trades were closed. The administration of the insane asylum was placed under the Superior Board of Health and the orphan asylum was placed under the Board of Education. The Military Governor appointed a Board of Charities in August, 1899, after the disastrous hurricane which occurred in the early part of that month. To this Board was committed the entire charge of "all matters respecting charitable institutions, including homes and asylums for the succor of the poor, sick, or incurables, supported by insular expenditures, together with matters relating to the assistance of the sufferers by the recent hurricane." At that time there were but three charitable institutions supported by the Insular Government: the orphan and insane asylums, both located in the Beneficencia Building already referred to, and the leper institution situated on the outskirts of the city of San Juan.

The history of the leper colony may be given very briefly. Prior to the year 1880 little attention seems to have been paid to this disease, which existed, however, in the Island from the earliest days of the importation of slaves from Africa. In the year 1880 the provincial "deputacion," an administrative body, recommended the establishment of a leper hospital. No action was taken, however, until 1890, when the municipality of San Juan built a so-called leper hospital in the rear of the city jail located in a suburb of the city and known as *Puerta de Tierra*. In the succeeding years various recommendations were made for a more suitable location of this leper hospital, but nothing was done and the building in which the lepers were placed was in such bad repair that the number of inmates was finally reduced to two, and many lepers were at large in the Island. In February, 1899, General Henry placed the leper asylum under the charge of the Board of Health and it became an insular institution. The municipalities were notified that the Board was prepared to care for all lepers living in the Island, and a general search for lepers was instituted, which resulted in finding eleven cases, which, with one sent from Ponce, and the two already in the asylum, increased the number to fourteen. The institution has since been removed to an island in the harbor of San Juan. It now has nineteen inmates, which are practically all the lepers in the Island, great care having been exercised to institute a search and

to segregate them on the Leper Island, formerly known as Goat Island in the harbor of San Juan. The Leper Island is now under the charge of the Director of Public Health, Charities, and Correction, and it is a well-managed institution providing all necessary care and comforts for sufferers of this class. It is supported by insular funds and administered under the Director and the Executive Council of the Island.

Under the Military Government an attempt was made to separate the orphan and insane asylums. Two suitable buildings were found for the orphan asylum, and the boys placed in one of them, the girls in the other. The insane were left in the old Beneficencia Building, half of which was vacated and turned over to the Department of Education which now uses it as a high and graded school. It is a fine large structure, built around interior courts or gardens, known as "patios," and furnishes a picturesque illustration of the old Spanish architecture. The two buildings to which the orphans were sent are well located in a residence suburb of San Juan. One of them was formerly known as the "Instituto". It is a fine old building of Spanish renaissance architecture with about a hundred acres of land surrounding it and in this building the boys are placed. The other was known formerly as the "Seminario." It is a similar building, but with very little ground surrounding it, and was formerly occupied by the Mothers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, a religious order of nuns, who conducted therein a school for the higher social classes. Both buildings were insular property and were turned over by the Military Governor on January 1, 1900, to the Board of Charities. These institutions are now conducted under the direction of the Director of Public Health, Charities, and Correction, subject to certain supervisory control by the Executive Council of Porto Rico.

The insular charities, therefore, comprise at the present time an insane asylum, which contained on June 30, 1903, 194 patients; the Girls' Charity School, managed by an American lady superintendent, with 160 inmates; the Boys' Charity School, with 259 inmates; and the Leper Colony, with 19 inmates. These four institutions are managed by 120 employees at a total annual cost of \$108,000. They have been until recently under the direction of a Director of Charities, appointed by the Governor, and

subject to the control of the Executive Council; but at the last session of the Legislature the office of Director of Charities was consolidated with the office of the Director of Health and the Director of Prisons into the office of Public Health, Charities, and Correction, under the charge of a Director of Public Health, Charities, and Correction, who is a native Porto Rican and a member of the Executive Council, appointed by the Governor and subject to removal by the Governor. These institutions have all been well equipped and thoroughly modernized. Provision has been made for the addition of a blind asylum and a suitable building has been turned over to this Department by the Insular Government and will be opened within a few months for the reception of the indigent blind of the Island. Also special provision has been made by the recent Legislative Assembly for the admission to the Boys' and Girls' Charity Schools of indigent deaf and dumb children, of whom it is estimated there are about sixty in the Island. A special wing of each of these schools will be devoted to this purpose and special instruction will be provided. In both the Boys' and the Girls' Charity Schools instruction is given to the inmates following the regular curriculum of the public schools and also instruction is given to the boys in the various trades and industries and to the girls in house-keeping, dress-making, cooking, hat-weaving, and other industries. Many of these pupils are placed out in families under the supervision of the officers of the institution. The inmates admitted are received from the several municipalities in proportion to their population and there are many more applicants than vacancies.

Municipal charities are confined almost entirely to a few unimportant hospitals. Each municipality is supposed to have a hospital under the direction of the local health officer, but as a matter of fact, outside of two or three of the larger cities none of these hospitals are equipped with modern appliances nor housed in suitable buildings. There is the greatest need for the establishment of a properly equipped insular hospital with authority vested in the Superior Board of Health for the establishment of branch hospitals in the various municipalities and for the central administration and control of all municipal hospitals. Until this is done it is not possible to hope for adequate provision for medical relief, nor will it be possible to cope with the urgent necessity for medical assistance, especially

in the rural districts. An insular hospital could probably be best maintained in connection with a medical school which is also greatly needed. At the present time persons desiring to study medicine are compelled to do so outside of the Island, but the University Law, passed in 1903, organizing the University of Porto Rico contemplates the organization of a medical department and of a university hospital. As the resources of the Government are taxed to their utmost in support of the public school system, and of the Normal Department of the University for the training of teachers for public schools, private endowments must be secured before the University hospital or medical department can be established. To anyone who knows the actual conditions in Porto Rico to-day, no more promising field for private philanthropy could be presented than the opportunity to endow a medical department and hospital for the University of Porto Rico. This hospital could be the central insular hospital of the Island and would include an experiment station for the study of tropical diseases which would be of value to the entire scientific world and to which medical men in the United States and foreign countries would undoubtedly be willing to come to pursue medical research and at the same time to give the aid of their own labors to the faculty of the school. The land is available, the University is chartered and established, the local organization is provided for, and the Insular Government stands ready and willing to co-operate in every way in such a movement. A comparatively small endowment would yield results of the greatest importance.

The Superior Board of Health has accomplished a great work in the formulation and enforcement of general sanitary regulations. It has succeeded in practically exterminating the more serious diseases of the tropics. No yellow fever has broken out in Porto Rico since the American occupation, and smallpox is practically unknown, although a few cases of varioloid from time to time make their appearance. Practically every inhabitant of the Island has been vaccinated and the regulations of the Superior Board of Health on this subject are very strict. All forms of contagious disease are well under control. The most serious problem with which the Board of Health has to cope is the disease known as tropical anemia, and thanks to the earnest and active efforts of Dr. Bailey K. Ashford,, Captain and Assistant Surgeon of the United States Army, and to

Dr. King, of the United States Navy, a careful study of this disease has been made, and practical remedies have been proposed. In November, 1899, while in charge of a provisional field hospital for the indigent sick who flocked to the City of Ponce at the time of the hurricane of August 10, 1899, Dr. Ashford discovered that three months of the most varied and excellent feeding failed to influence in any way the profound anemia from which nearly all were suffering. While it was supposed that anemia was due to the lack of proper food, these patients who were cared for in the best possible manner became paler as time went on. Dr. Ashford therefore became convinced that neither diet nor climate would account for their condition and that malaria played no prominent part in the real causes of their distress. He made a careful study of the blood and found that the persistent use of iron and quinine produced no effect, and observing the high increase in certain forms of the white corpuscles, he was led to examine the feces, and, as a result, he demonstrated the existence of the eggs of uncinaria in nineteen out of twenty cases. He telegraphed this information to the Chief Surgeon of the United States Army who made public the fact that the prevalence of anemia in the Island was due to infection by this parasite. I quote Dr. Ashford's exact words in describing the results of his experiments. In speaking of the parasite he says:

"It is a small bloodsucking worm from one-half to three-quarters of an inch long and in addition to its abstraction of blood it produces a toxin which absorbed dissolves out the hemoglobin from the red blood cells producing a severe and fatal form of "chloroanemia." This parasite attaches itself to the mucous membrane of the small intestines below the stomach. It lives about six years and produces an enormous number of eggs which only go on to maturity when deposited on the humid earth. As the vast majority of the laboring classes deposit their excrement on the ground where they work, or in the immediate environment of their homes, it will be seen why the disease has increased to its present huge proportions. Each egg, if not dried by too much sun becomes an infective larva, too small to be noticed. This stage of development is reached about five weeks from the time the excrement was deposited on the ground, and at this time the fecal matter has been either washed away by rains or has been appropriated by the organized life found in all earth

so that the ground presents no evidence to repel the unwary laborer. This infected mud, laden with young and infective larvæ, is taken upon the hands in the inevitable soiling of the person of him who labors in it, and thus infection occurs. Not only in this way is infection produced: it has been proven beyond all shadow of a doubt that the young larvæ penetrate the skin of bare feet and legs and thus cause infection.

“The results of infection are most disastrous for the host of ‘*uncinaria americana*.’ He rapidly loses color and strength and finally is completely unable to do work of any kind. His heart dilates, his legs swell with water, dropsy supervenes, his intellect becomes dulled, and he dies of complete exhaustion.

“In 1890, 13 per cent. of all deaths on the Island were due to anemia; in 1900, about 30 per cent. died of this condition, or 12,000 or more people. The disease is entirely curable in its earlier and middle stages and often so in its worst forms. The only measure needful is the administration of an adequate dose of thymol, the only vermifuge of real value. The results of treatment are generally a rapid return to health if the disease is not too far advanced or if complications do not retard recovery.”

The attention of the Legislative Assembly, at its last session, in January, 1904, was called to the need for preventive measures and to the possibility of conducting further experiments along these lines. A bill was passed appropriating \$5,000 to be expended as may be authorized by the Governor, to encourage the study and cure of the disease known as tropical anemia. The co-operation of the Federal Government of the United States was solicited and the War Department has detailed Dr. Ashford, one of its surgeons, to take part in the work. A site was selected in the town of Bayamon, and in addition to Dr. Ashford, who was detailed by the War Department, Dr. Pedro Gutierrez, a well-known and energetic Porto Rican physician, was appointed on the anemia commission. The Navy Department has been asked to detail Dr. W. W. King to assist in this work. Ten hospital tents have been erected to receive patients in the worst stages of the disease and provision has been made to treat out-patients. The Secretary of War has authorized the use of the tents, beds and supplies that can be spared from the storerooms of the military hospitals, so that the work can be carried on at very little expense.

I had the pleasure of visiting this hospital after it had been opened about two weeks. Two hundred and twenty-four persons had been under treatment, many of whom rapidly recovered, and no deaths were reported. With the proper education of the medical fraternity, after the results of this investigation are brought to their attention, there is every prospect that the progress of this disease can be successfully checked and that the large numbers of deaths now due to anemia can be greatly reduced.

With the improvement in public sanitation and the provision that has already been made for the care of the defective classes, the problems of public charity in Porto Rico narrow themselves down to the necessity for some vigorous measures for dealing with the vagrant classes by repressive legislation and to the need for the establishment of municipal or district almshouses for the care of the aged poor. The poor farm as found in the United States is practically unknown in Porto Rico. This can be established as a municipal institution, and at very little public expense can be made to take care of the aged poor. This is especially true in a country where agriculture is the main industry and where the soil is so productive. Public out-door relief is given to some extent in all of the municipalities of the Island. But where poverty produces none of the distress incident to conditions in colder climates, the absence of adequate provision for the aged poor is not so serious at the present time as might be supposed. The greatest need is for more adequate medical relief. The municipal health officers are for the most part underpaid and not supplied with sufficient resources for the purchase of medicines and for the proper care of the sick poor who need institutional care. This can be brought about only through the extension of the central or insular organization of hospital facilities. In a country where a large proportion of the medical profession have had very little hospital experience, it is not surprising that there should be a great deal of suffering among the sick poor, for whom there is no adequate provision made. This defect will probably be remedied in the near future as a direct result of the recent consolidation of the public service in the Office of Public Health, Charities, and Correction. The new director of this department of the Insular Government entered upon his duties on the first of April, 1904, and it is expected that he will not only reorganize the administration of the four insular

institutions under his care, effecting considerable economies and improving the character of the public service, but that he will also be able to devise ways and means for the more comprehensive treatment of the problems of public health, public charity, and corrections.

At the last session of the Legislative Assembly, just adjourned, steps were taken looking to the construction of a new penitentiary. An act was passed to provide for the appointment of a Board of Trustees, consisting of five members appointed by the Governor of Porto Rico to serve without compensation and to hold office at the pleasure of the Governor. This Board is authorized to select and purchase a site for the penitentiary, and to procure plans, specifications and estimates for the cost of the construction of the penitentiary to be built from the proceeds of the new insular loan, which is now being negotiated.

Now, for the first time in the history of the Island, these important branches of the public service are organized in a way that promises to bring home to the people a realization of the importance of public charity, as a function of a modern civilized government. The impression made at the present time on the traveler from the United States is a very unfortunate one and a very misleading one, as he sees the great amount of poverty and the results of disease in the emaciated and deformed bodies of so many people he encounters on every hand. Thanks to the results of the good work of Dr. Ashford, and others to which reference has already been made, the idea that the population of the Island is dying of starvation is entirely disproven. Labor is more abundant to-day, at wages fifty to one hundred per cent. higher than they were prior to the American occupation, than it has been at any time within the last fifteen years. The cost of living in the rural districts, and in the small towns, throughout the entire Island, for the laboring population, is but little higher for the same standard of living than it was previously. The standard of living, however, has been raised gradually since the beginning of American occupation and even in the poorer coffee districts, which were so disastrously affected by the hurricane of 1899, there is now a chance for the ordinary laborer to earn a decent living according to his present standards. The relief that he needs, from the point of view of charity, is medical relief and agricultural educa-

tion, which will enable him to combat disease successfully and to utilize his present opportunities.

It is not within the scope of this brief article to treat of private charities. Prior to the time of American occupation these were few and unimportant; almost entirely confined to a few hospitals and asylums belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. During the past six years many private charities have been established. The Protestant missions have undertaken various forms of charitable relief. The Presbyterian Church has established in the city of San Juan a well equipped and modern hospital with a free dispensary service and accommodations for probably twenty-five private or pay patients and in a separate building accommodations for probably forty free or charity patients. The Woman's Aid Society of San Juan, organized by the wife of General Henry, has extended a great deal of practical relief in the form of sewing given to poor women, and under the direction of its present able President, Mrs. Henley Luce, with the co-operation of Mrs. William H. Hunt, the wife of the present Civil Governor, and several Porto Rican ladies, this Association has built and equipped and is now maintaining a women's and children's hospital situated in the city of San Juan and with accommodations for probably thirty patients. This hospital was built and equipped at a cost of about fifteen thousand dollars, being approximately the same sum as the Presbyterian Hospital has cost, including the price of the land. Both of these hospitals are sustained by private contributions, and are doing a splendid and much needed work. Corresponding to the Woman's Aid Society of San Juan there is in the city of Ponce a women's organization known as the Benevolent Society of Ponce, which was organized in September, 1899, at the call of Mr. Robert A. Miller, who was the Chairman of the Relief Committee for the District of Ponce, appointed to care for the sufferers from the hurricane of August of that year. Mrs. Robert A. Miller has been President of this society from the beginning, and to her earnest and self-sacrificing efforts are due in large measure the remarkable results accomplished by this organization. Over fifty thousand dollars have been expended in work, chiefly sewing and drawn- and lace-work, which the society has been able to sell to American tourists and to some extent in the United States. The society has established an industrial school where boys and girls are given instruction of the most practical

character and are taken at youthful ages and prepared for more advanced work in the common schools and in the industrial school of the Department of Education. The school has now over 100 pupils and is affiliated with the public school system, but is sustained with the exception of one teacher, who is supplied by the Department of Education, by contributions and funds of the society. Besides the large work of these two general organizations there are many other efforts on the part of private individuals, both in the cities of San Juan and Ponce and also in the other larger cities of the Island to provide for the relief of distress and for the uplift of the people.

Under the earnest and wise administration of the American Bishop of the Catholic Church, Bishop Blenk, the Roman Catholic Church is struggling with a rather serious financial condition and is making progress in all of its charitable enterprises. It has a number of small, but well managed, hospitals and asylums in different parts of the Island, and the Protestant mission churches are also carrying on considerable charitable work of one kind or another. With the larger organization of the work of public charity, for which provision has just been made, it is probable that the work of private societies can be still further co-ordinated and rendered more productive, and as a result that the forces now at work, both public and private, will be able to cope successfully with the important problems before them, and will ultimately ameliorate the general social condition of the population. Systematic effort in this direction is a matter of so recent occurrence that it is difficult to measure the results or predict the outcome. It is but one of the many profound changes taking place in the life history of a neglected people whose affairs were managed in the interests of others, but who are now awakening to a sense of responsibility and to the joys of initiative in the great work of carving out and shaping their own destiny.

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THE LICENSING QUESTION IN ENGLAND

After the fiscal controversy, there is probably no matter of keener dispute in England at the present day than the licensing question. The law on that subject has, unfortunately, not been codified, and is embedded in a great multitude of Acts of Parliament, commencing with the Ale-house Act of 1828 and ending with the Licensing Act of 1902. It would be impossible to go through the provisions of these different statutes in a small space or to describe the differences which exist in the incidents of the various classes of premises in which intoxicating liquor is permitted to be sold; to explain how an "on-license" differs from an "off-license," or an ale-house license from a beer-house license, or a grocer's license from that of a refreshment-house keeper. It must suffice to give the broad features of the system, so far as it concerns the licensing of public houses (or "saloons," as they are called in America) for the sale of drink for consumption on the premises.

There is no such thing as local option in England, nor has the municipality any powers of licensing or any control over licensed premises; and, although suggestions have occasionally been heard that such powers should be given to them, the feeling of the country is undoubtedly against any step which would give them the power of regulating the drink traffic—still more against permitting them to trade in it themselves. In order to open a public house the first requisite is a justice's license; the second, which follows, as of course, is an excise license. Only the second has to be paid for, and it costs no considerable sum. The licensing authority, which grants or refuses to grant licenses, and which transfers, renews or refuses to renew them, and before which prosecutions for infringement of the licensing laws are brought, is the petty sessional court, consisting of the justices of the peace for each division of the county. The licensee enters into no recognizance for the proper management of his house, but he holds his license subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions, for the breach of which he is liable to severe penalties on summary conviction. There is a right of appeal in most cases from the justices to the court of quarter sessions. The hours during which a licensed house must be closed are fixed by the Licensing Act of 1874, and they vary according as the house is situated within the metropolitan district, in a town or populous district, or within a non-populous district. They are as follows:

Metropolitan District.	Town or Populous District.	Non-Populous District.
	SATURDAY NIGHT	
Midnight—1.00 p. m. Sunday.	11.00 p. m.—12.30 or 1.00 p. m. Sunday.	10.00 p. m.—12.30 or 1.00 p. m. Sunday.
	SUNDAY	
3.00 p. m.—6.00 p. m. and 11.00 p. m.—5.00 a. m. Monday.	2.30 or 3.00 p. m.—6.00 p. m. 10.00 p. m.—6.00 a. m. Monday.	2.30 or 3.00 p. m.—6.00 p. m. 10.00 p. m.—6.00 a. m. Monday.
	OTHER NIGHTS	
12.30 p. m.—5.00 a. m.	11.00 p. m.—6.00 a. m.	10.00 p. m.—6.00 a. m.

The alternative times for closing on Sunday afternoons in districts outside London are left to be fixed by the justices, so that they may be accommodated to the hours of church service. Wales, however, is in a different position; for, some twenty-three years ago, an act was passed which made Sunday closing compulsory. During any closing hours, *bona fide* travelers and lodgers in the house may be served, by the former term being meant persons who have lodged for the preceding night in a place at least three miles distant by the nearest thoroughfare. Early-closing licenses and six-day licenses also exist, and can be obtained from the justices instead of ordinary licenses. They were introduced under the belief, since shown to be mistaken, that a license-holder must keep his premises open during all except closing hours. Early-closing houses close an hour before others at night, and six-day houses are closed on Sundays. A remission of a sixth of the excise duty is allowed in each case.

The legislature has taken steps to prevent drinking amongst children. The sale of spirits to children apparently under the age of sixteen has long been prohibited, and now, by the Intoxicating Liquors (sale to children) Act of 1901—commonly known as the “Child Messenger Act”—the sale of any intoxicating liquor to a child under fourteen is prohibited, except in corked and sealed bottle containing not less than a pint.

A Royal Commission was appointed in 1896 to investigate and report upon the working and administration of the law relating to the supply of intoxicants. The evidence taken before it fills nine large blue books, and the final report was not presented until 1899; the value of its recommendations was seriously diminished by the division of opinion which it disclosed amongst its members. It resulted, however, in the introduction by the Right Hon. C. T. Ritchie (formerly Home Secretary and afterward Chancellor of the Exchequer) of a bill which was passed as the Licensing Act of 1902. The act is concerned with a large number of points, only a few of which can here be mentioned. Part I. deals with the amendment of the laws as to drunkenness. A person found drunk and incapable in a highway or other public place, or in any licensed premises, or found drunk and having in his charge a child under the age of seven years, may be apprehended and punished. Husband or wife can obtain a judicial separation for habitual drunkenness in the other. A drunken wife may also, if she consents to such a course, be confined in an inebriate retreat. License-holders may not for three years serve any person convicted of habitual drunkenness, and both they and the police have to keep a list of such persons. This “black list” section of the Act has been the object of a good deal of ridicule, and it cannot be said to have proved of much use in reducing drunkenness. Part II. makes certain minor alterations in the licensing law. Part III. deals with clubs, its object being to obtain some control over the many “bogus” clubs which exist merely for the purpose of supplying drink without the supervision of the authorities. It provides for the registration of clubs where intoxicating liquor is sold, and requires various particulars to be sent periodically by their secretary to the clerk of the petty sessional division within which they are situated.

The question of the moment is, however, one apart from these matters. The

justices have a complete discretion in granting or refusing new licenses, but until recently they were thought to possess a more restricted authority so far as concerns their refusal to the continuation of existing licenses. Decisions, however, such as that of *Sharp v. Wakefield* (1891) A. C. 173 and *Boulter v. Kent Justices* (1897) A. C. 569, which went up to the House of Lords, and that of *Rex v. Licensing Justices of Farnham*, decided in the Court of Appeal, have shown that the discretion of the justices is almost as large in the latter case as in the former. A growing determination has manifested itself amongst the justices throughout the country to check drunkenness by cutting down the number of licensed houses, and the matter has come to a head owing to the strong expressions of opinion which have come from some of them, and in particular from Mr. Arthur Chamberlain (the brother of the ex-Secretary for the Colonies), who advocates reducing licenses by abolishing them even where there has been no mismanagement of the house. The trade is, naturally, filled with apprehension at the prospect of losing valuable rights which they have come to look upon—rightly or wrongly—as permanent assets. Moreover, the great majority of public houses in England are not free, but are “tied,” that is to say, their holders are bound by contract to buy their beer from a particular firm or company of brewers. Very often they are “tied” as to spirits as well, and sometimes as to everything in the house except the sawdust on the floor. The influence of the brewers and others in the country is great enough to make it capable of turning the scale one way or the other at a general election. There is little doubt that the government will introduce a licensing bill this session to deal with the question. Forecasts of this legislation have appeared in the *Birmingham Daily Post* and in the *Yorkshire Post*, but it is difficult to say how far they are correct, or, indeed, whether the government has yet formulated any definite plan. The general impression appears to be that the bill will provide that no new license shall be granted except in exchange for one, or possibly two, old licenses; and that, so far as the abolition of existing licenses is concerned, no compensation is to be given to the holder, but the trade is to be left to make some arrangement for mutual insurance against forfeiture of the license. And, in order that it may have sufficient time to do so, it is to be provided that for five years no license shall be taken away except for gross misconduct.

The refusal of compensation is based upon the ground that the trade as a whole would suffer no loss, since the result would only be that a man who was used to drinking his pint of ale at one public house, would have it at another. But, as Sir Edward Clarke recently pointed out in a speech delivered at the Constitutional Club, this involves the dilemma that either the trade has money taken from its pocket, or there is no reduction of drinking. His scheme, which has found many supporters, is this:

1. After the Act, no new “on-license” is to be granted for a public house or beer-house.
2. No renewal or transfer is to be refused merely on the ground that the house is not required for the convenience of the district.
3. The grounds of any refusal to renew are to be stated by the justices in

writing and a copy given to the applicant, with a view to an appeal to Quarter Sessions.

4. The justices may remove a license to any house within their division, provided that the justices of the division from which it is transferred do not consider that the removal would cause serious inconvenience within their own district.

Whatever be the other features of a licensing bill, it is to be hoped that it will prohibit an increase in the number of licensed houses. That step alone would very greatly diminish the evil of giving the man addicted to drink unwise facilities and over-great temptations to gratify his inclination. In the last fifty years the population of the country has increased by 40 per cent. If it grows at the same rate in the future, and if the number of licenses remains at its present figure, the proportion of inhabitants to each public house will soon be materially diminished.

It has been suggested that the best course for the government to adopt is to bring in a strong licensing bill and then at once to dissolve, so that their party may go to the poll with all the influence of the trade at their back. Such a step would justify Mr. Arthur Chamberlain's remark that the government's only policy was an electioneering one. It would be an unfortunate step to take. It is unfortunate, as it is, that the question should have become a party one, and that the Conservative party should, at least in appearance, be joined in a holy alliance with the liquor trade. It is clear that the Liberals, too, intend to make the matter a test of party strength. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, their leader in the House of Commons, has already given the call to his adherents to oppose the foreshadowed bill, as imposing fetters upon magisterial discretion. Perhaps the best hope for the future is that the new measure may provide a final solution to the question by definitely laying down the system which is to be adopted throughout the country for the reduction of licenses, and that, by withdrawing from the justices their wide administrative discretion in granting or refusing renewals, and by leaving them with purely judicial powers in this respect, the security of the trade may be restored, a constant source of friction may be removed, and the door at length closed upon local bickerings and party prejudice.

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THE MEANING OF TOTEMISM—AN ESSAY UPON SOCIAL ORIGINS

Since the classic theory which found in the rule of the father the original principle of government, and regarded the State as an outgrowth of the household, broke down under the weight of adverse evidence, there has been a disposition to leave problems of origin to sociology. This is not at all surprising, as laborers in the field of political science naturally desire firm ground upon which to build, and the whole subject of social origins has fallen into such a welter of conjecture that the outlook in that direction is repellant. Hence there is at present a marked tendency towards such definition of the terms of political science as will limit its scope to the particular organization of public authority exhibited by the civilized state. The sociologists are quite ready to accept this apportionment, and, in recent works, society is treated as the genus and the State as a particular species, which alone is the province of political science. According to this classification, political science ceases to be a general science having for its subject the nature and institutions of public authority, but becomes a department of sociology, having for its subject that particular species of public authority embodied in the State formed by the accidents of European development.

Whatever may be the convenience of treatment gained by this apportionment, it will be found upon consideration that it is really destructive to political science. Comprehension of the origin of authority is essential to the position of political science as such. Take, for instance, the doctrine of the original contract: Is it possible to avoid the problems which it raises by saying that they belong to sociology and not to political science? They are of tremendous importance in any system of political science, involving its whole character and teaching. It is impossible to withdraw political science from consideration of the question of origins, nor is it done, but the attitude assumed is simply dictatorial. The doctrine of the original contract is condemned, but the condemnation has come through disastrous experience rather than through scientific appreciation.

On the other hand, the study of primitive institutions has been much the loser by being out of touch with political science. The customs, usages and myths of primitive peoples have been studied too exclusively with regard to their cultural significance, and the relation between the polity of native races and their ideas has not been properly appreciated. Considered as political arrangements incident to the life of the community as a whole, savage customs and ideas might conceivably appear in a light which would render them more intelligible than when regarded as incident to individual activities. Discussing the effect of aggregate life upon individual units, Mivart remarks: "It is obvious that, if we were to take any single ant, we could not comprehend the true nature of the creature itself, however perfectly we might become acquainted with every detail of its anatomy and physiology. In order to comprehend its true nature we should require to know its various complex relations to the other individuals and classes"

of individuals of that community of which it was a member."¹ The comparison illustrates the difference between anthropology and political science in the mental states they tend to produce. The anthropologist reaches conclusions from the study of individual activities, while the attitude of mind which looks to the nature and functional activities of the community as a whole for the interpretation of individual characteristics, is that to which students of political science are accustomed.

An enormous mass of data has been accumulated in regard to primitive customs and myths, but, as Agassiz used to say, "facts are stupid things until brought into connection with some general law." I purpose in this article to examine, from the standpoint of political science, some recent discoveries made by anthropological research, to see if the method will let in any light upon the obscure problem of social origins. I shall also endeavor to direct attention to the bearing of such considerations upon political science, particularly the beginnings of authority.

The question of origins is at present the great stumbling-block of sociology. Etymologically, the term "society" suggests a synthesis of individuality, but studies of ancient law and investigation of the structure of savage society have demonstrated that the primitive social unit is the group and not the individual. The probability is that even to-day the idea of group personality, rather than that of individual personality, dominates by far the greater portion of humanity. It is, however, unnecessary to adduce evidence upon this point, as it is conceded in recent treatises on sociology². Stuckenberg remarks that "man was socialized before he was individualized."³ How, then, did society originate? The answer now given is that it was through the influence of consanguinity. Stuckenberg says: "He (man) learns from his consanguine companions, is restrained by them, adapts himself to them, makes signs which become accepted means of communication, develops language, institutes various forms and regulations of social life and lays the basis for the future development of society."⁴

It sounds plausible, but it is not borne out by the facts. Anthropological research has shown that the Totemic organization of society is anterior to organization upon the grounds of consanguinity. Primarily, Totemism is not a scheme of relationship between human beings, but between the group and its environment. A conception of kinship with beasts, plants, wind, water, stocks and stones appears to have preceded any conception of human kinship. There are people still existing—such as some native tribes of Australia—among whom perceptions of consanguinity are still imperfect. They have no words indicating individual kinship, and all their terms of relationship are collective, implying that the fundamental relation of the individual was to the group as a whole and not to the parents of the individual. Stuckenberg tries to save his theory by remarking that "the social life finds its condition, not its cause, in the blood relationship; the cause is found in the notions, the feelings and the volitions

¹"Poverty, A Study of Town Life," by B. Seebohm Rowntree.

²Burdett's "Hospitals and Charities." London, 1903.

³"Americans in Process—A Settlement Study." Boston, 1902.

⁴"The Dispensary Problem in Philadelphia—A Report made to the Hospital Association of Philadelphia, October 28, 1903."

occasioned by the biological consanguinity." But primitive conditions of social life may traverse the biological consanguinity. A feud may array against one another the nearest blood relations, even son against father. Among numerous savage and barbarous peoples the social system makes various requirements of avoidance separating those who, according to the classifications of civilized society, are considered members of the same household.

Upon *a priori* grounds, there is no reason why the proto-human species should have been any more subject to social influence, from the fact of consanguinity, than other animal species. That there are "notions, feelings and volitions occasioned by the biological consanguinity" is an assumption of which there is no proof. Adult animals do not behave differently towards blood kin than towards others of their species, and it would hardly be contended that even in the human species consanguinity exerts a specific influence except as it is recognized. Social groups, however established, would tend to become consanguineous from propinquity, but such consanguinity would be a result of sociality and not the cause. It is obvious that some sort of propinquity must have been antecedent to the formation of society, but habitual propinquity among individuals has been produced by natural selection in numerous animal species. The special problem to be solved as regards the human species is how gregariousness was converted into society—that is to say, how the voluntary association of independent individuals was converted into a permanent relation of mutual dependence and reciprocal service conditioning the lives of the individual members. The assumption that it was due to the influence of consanguinity is as devoid of historical basis as the doctrine of the original contract. The evidence indicates the operation of some principle of union independent of consanguinity, so that organized society existed before there was any conception of degrees of consanguinity or any corresponding definition of the family. The theory that society originated as a synthesis of kindred is as untenable as that it originated as a synthesis of individuality. Sociology is unable to give a satisfactory account of its fundamental concept.

But, while anthropology has traced society to a period anterior to family relations founded upon consanguinity, it has found its own stumbling-block in the origin of Totemism and the nature of the tremendous authority it provides. The regulations of savage society founded upon Totemism has a coercive force far surpassing that of law among civilized peoples. Totem injunctions and prohibitions seem to grasp savage nature by the roots of being, producing anxious and scrupulous observance of customs, many of which, to civilized man, appear to be extremely absurd and irrational. When the Totemic organization of society is found to be an aboriginal characteristic in such widely separated parts of the world as the continents of America and Australia, the inference is unavoidable that it must have arisen from the operation of some general cause founded in the psychical constitution of human nature. Vestiges of Totemism have been descried among peoples in advanced stages of social organization,—Semites, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. Mr. Lang, in summarizing the evidence, remarks: "On the whole, I regard it as more probable than not, that in the

education of mankind, Totemism has played a part everywhere."⁵ We are forced to conclude that however mysterious it appears to us, Totemism must have presented itself to the savage mind as a matter of the most simple and obvious suggestion, and yet after many years of study it still remains the desperate puzzle of anthropology. As Mr. Lang states the problem: "How did the early groups come to be named after the plants and animals, the name suggesting the idea of connection, and the idea of connection involving the duties of the Totemist to the Totem, and of the Totem to the Totemist?"⁶

Mr. Lang states various theories which have been advanced in explanation—dreams, metaphor, disease of language, folk etymology, nicknames—all unsatisfactory. Mr. Lang himself inclines to the nickname theory. It is a way people have, to nickname other groups or communities in an opprobrious way. Englishmen call Frenchmen frogs—to use one of Mr. Lang's instances—and with some effort of the imagination it is conceivable that an unlettered savage tribe called frogs for many generations might accept the title and call themselves frogs, but why should willingness to answer to the name suggest the idea of connection with frogs, involving obligations of comity and relations of mutual service?

It may seem ridiculous to think that there can be any gain to political science in such speculations, and yet the problem is really important to political science, for in Totemism the primary strata in the formation of society appear to have been reached, and in Totemic obligations we are confronted with the beginnings of authority.

Let us now turn aside from the theories of sociologists and the conjectures of anthropologists to examine the problem of social origins in the light of a theory propounded by an historian.⁷ In accounting for the indigenous origin of American language groups and culture stages, Payne advances the theory that a sense of group personality was the primary phase of human consciousness. Payne says: "The fundamental personal conception is an 'our' or 'we' in which 'my' and 'I' are involved but not distinguished. It is collective; it regards certain human beings as forming a group, and this group as including the members. . . . Language, we cannot doubt, arose in the group. Its first efforts, then, would probably express the relations of things and thought common to all members of the group at the same time; and these would be conceived by each member as affecting not merely himself, but all his co-members. Differential relations must in time supervene, resulting in the discrimination of personalities; but, in general, the personality of languages may be regarded as originally collective, and its original expression, as a collective 'we' or 'our.' The social group is obviously divisible not only into individuals, but into small aggregates. The business of life, primarily the quest of food, has a tendency so to divide it in practice; and the 'we,' or personality of the group, tends to divide itself accordingly."⁸

The evidence upon which this theory is based is too voluminous and technical

⁵"Dispensary Law Effective." Stephen Smith, M. D., *Charities*, August 29, 1903.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁷"History of the New World Called America." By Edward John Payne. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1899.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 201.

to be summarized. The subject occupies 185 pages of the second volume of Payne's work, and he traces the operation of the process in detail, by its means accounting step by step for the development of grammatical structure. The full weight of the argument can hardly be appreciated save by philologists, but anyone can see how the theory elucidates a widely diffused grammatical peculiarity of tribal languages. In the Australian and Melanesian languages, in the Dravidian languages of India, in the Malay group, and in the various languages of Asia classed as Turanian, also in extensive language groups of the Indian tribes of North and South America, the first person plural possesses two distinct forms which are usually denominated by grammarians "Inclusive" and "Exclusive." The idiom requires from missionaries attention to some niceties of expression, for when the formula "we have sinned" occurs in prayer, unless the exclusive form of the plural pronoun be used, the applicant would be including the Almighty among those to whom sin was imputed. On the other hand, the same expression occurring in a sermon should take the inclusive form, or else the audience would be excluded from the category of sinners, and the sense conveyed would be: "We, the clergy, have sinned, but not you, the people." As Payne points out, this idiom becomes at once intelligible when it is perceived that the inclusive form is the collective "we" of group personality, while the exclusive form is selective, referring to an aggregate within the group.

The theory indicates, as the parent of human society, an anthropoid animal pack, constituting an undivided entity in its relations to external things, and developing speech as the organ of this group personality, thus creating a psychical unity differentiating the pack from the gregarious animals and causing the divergence in evolutionary process which resulted in the formation of the human species, as distinguished from other animal species. Upon *a priori* grounds, and apart from direct evidence, it seems to me that the nature of language characterizes it as the organ of group personality. Animals express ideas by sounds, and have at command a great variety of sounds amply sufficient for the expression of all states of individual sensation. The combination of sounds so as to express combinations of ideas, thus adapting vocal communication to the expression of reflection as well as of sensation, is not comprehensible save as a process initiated by the vital necessities of the group as an organic whole.

Payne finds his theory upon linguistic considerations, but what we know of ancient law and archaic society tallies with it. Maine has made familiar the fact that ancient law takes no account of individuals, but deals only with groups. The facts collected by anthropological research in regard to savage customs also harmonize with the theory, as for instance, the existence of group terms for family relationship, as among the aborigines of Australia. This inference is confirmed by the fact that while the individual is now connected with a father group and a mother group, and may belong to a husband or a wife group as sex may determine, there are ceremonial practices indicating that a wider collectivity previously existed. The theory is also consistent with the fact that the discrimination of individual rights and relations is among the latest refinements of speech and is still imperfectly accomplished over the greater area of the world*

to-day, even among peoples who have made such great attainments in culture as the Chinese and Japanese. Moreover, support to it is given by the physical characteristics of man as an animal. He has not developed upon lines of individual competency, for he is conspicuously deficient in physical weapons of individual attack or defense. Instead of fangs, he has teeth; instead of claws, a flat nail, and his whole body is weak, soft and sensitive as compared with that of any other mammal. The reasonable explanation is that in his case evolution passed from a physical to a psychical plane, established by the substitution of social conditions of development for individual conditions.⁹

The hypothesis implies that the formation of group personality was anterior to the development of human individuality and that the primary motives and interests of human nature were derived from the collective life of the group and its instincts of self-preservation. It follows that social arrangements were originally devised solely with regard to the welfare of the group; that is to say, they were essentially political arrangements. This fact must be accepted as an invariable principle of interpretation in seeking to account for the primitive structure of society. Let us now apply this principle to the elucidation of the mystery of Totemism. In the first place, it should be noted that the conception of group personality originates, not as a distinction between man and nature, but as a distinction between the group personality and external personality. When reflection begins, man imputes as much intention and purpose to natural phenomena as belong to the acts of his own group. He sees personality and evidence of its volition in all nature. Every language, even the most civilized, bears stamped upon it this imputation of personality to nature. As Payne points out, this conception had a prominent place in the physical science of the middle ages. Even Kepler, who laid the foundation of modern cosmic theory, believed that the lungs and gills through which the earth respired, together with other soft parts of its organism, would some day be discovered at the bottom of the sea.¹⁰ If natural phenomena made such a suggestion to a man of the highest scientific attainments in the seventeenth century, how powerful must have been like suggestions innumerable millenniums ago, when the proto-human species was in as raw contact with natural conditions as any other animal species?

Savage man regards his own tribe as but one among other animal tribes, with whose policy he must reckon. This is a state of mind still surviving among our Indian aborigines. As I am writing this article I find the following in Stewart Edward White's story of travel in Northern Canada, entitled: "The Forest," published as a serial in the *Outlook*

"The Woods Indian never kills wastefully. The mere presence of game does not breed in him a lust to slaughter something. Moderation you learn of him first of all. Later, provided you are with him long enough and your mind is open

⁹ A convenient summary of the characteristics of man, considered simply as an animal, is given by Professor N. S. Shaler in "The Natural History of War." *International Quarterly* for September, 1903. The considerations with which we are dealing indicate that man's physical characteristics as an individual do not afford an adequate basis for the particular conclusions at which Professor Shaler arrives.

¹⁰ Vol. I, p. 526.

to mystic influence, you will feel the strong impress of his idea—that the animals of the forest are not lower than man, but only different. Man is an animal living the life of the forest, the beasts are also a body politic, speaking a different language and with different view-points. Amik, the beaver, has certain ideas as to the conduct of life, certain habits of body, and certain bias of thought. His scheme of things is totally at variance with that held by Me-en-gan, the wolf, but even to us whites the two are on a parity. Man has still another system. One is no better than another. They are merely different. And just as Me-en-gan preys on Amik, so does man kill for his own uses.”

“Thence are curious customs. A Rupert River Cree will not kill a bear unless he, the hunter, is in gala attire, and then not until he has made a short speech, in which he assures his victim that the affair is not one of personal enmity, but of expedience, and that, anyway, he, the bear, will be better off in the Hereafter. And then the skull is cleaned and set on a pole near running water, there to remain during twelve moons. Also, at the tail-root of a newly deceased beaver is tied a thong braided of red wood and deerskin. And many other curious habitudes which would be of slight interest here.”¹¹

Bearing in mind that there must have been a period when the proto-human group had no more appreciation of the physical consequences of the gratification of the sexual instincts than any other animal pack, what explanation of the arrival of children would then appear to be so logical as that, like many other things happening to the group, it was due to the agency of that external personality whose tremendous powers and whose continual transformations were a matter of constant experience? Involved in this external personality were the animals, the plants, the sun, moon, stars, clouds, winds, hills, springs, rivers and all other natural individuality. Thus, children would receive Totem names just as our children receive family names, and by the same process of reasoning, different conclusions being reached only because of different premises. In other words, Totemism is simply a primitive conception of family pedigree. The “close and essential connection” between a man and his Totem, which puzzles anthropologists, is due to the fact that the Totem is regarded as his progenitor, so that the Totem name system is no more mysterious than our own system of giving children the same family name as their parents.

If it be said that the actual facts of human reproduction are too simple and obvious to be misapprehended even by such mental powers as existed in the primordial group, the fact may be adduced that such misapprehension still exists among some peoples who preserve the primitive pattern of social organization. Spencer and Gillen, in their account of the native tribes of Central Australia, state emphatically that they have no notion of the connection between sexual intercourse and the birth of children, and even when the idea is suggested to them they steadfastly reject it as incredible. Pregnancy is accounted for as being the incarnation of the Totem within whose sphere of influence it is experienced. Spencer and Gillen give some curious accounts of the precautions taken

¹¹ *The Outlook*, July 11, 1903.

by the women to keep the Totem spirit from slipping into them.¹² Here we have Totemism exposed in its actual nature. It is the initial surmise in a course of speculation as to human origins which culminated in Darwinism. It is a far cry from the primordial group to Darwin, but both agree that man is the progeny of nature. Totemism is the theory of primitive philosophy; evolution is the theory of the modern philosopher, and the last word has not been spoken.¹³

While Totemism originates as the primitive theory of the Descent of Man, usages based upon that theory are shaped by considerations of public welfare, and hence admit of variation in accordance with public policy. The relation of Totemism to primitive law is, therefore, incidental, and the direct cause of any particular obligation is to be sought for in political intention. For lack of this rule of interpretation, anthropological research has missed the significance of the native ideas about childbirth which have been cited. Anthropologists are pretty well agreed that exogamy—the obligation to marry out of one's own group—is connected with Totemism. It may have originated as a law inspired by dread of the horrible risk incurred by making too free with one's Totem, whose goodwill is regarded as being of such vital importance to the welfare of the community that the only safe thing to do is to go outside of one's own Totem group in mating. But it does not follow that circumstances might not arise under which connubium within the Totem group might be considered allowable or even desirable by virtue of special arrangements for direct propitiation of the Totem. Thus, varieties of usage would occur in accordance with different conceptions of public policy. Such variation is, in fact, found among contiguous tribes in Central Australia.

The native tribes of Australia have strict divisions, maintaining connubium between themselves, but prohibiting connubium within their own membership. Anthropologists incline to the belief that these exogamic divisions were originally Totem groups, although the Totemic significance of the names now borne by the divisions has been lost in the lapse of ages. Among most tribes, each division now includes known Totem groups which are not found in any other division; so that the law of exogamy operates to prevent one from having marital relations with one's own Totem. The tribes whose ideas about childbirth have been cited are peculiar in that Totem groups are now distributed indifferently among the exogamic divisions; so that one may mate in one's own Totem group provided one goes outside of one's own division in doing so. For this reason, Mr. Lang concludes that the usages of these tribes represent "a local variation from the central stream of Totemism, and not Totemism in its earliest known form."¹⁴ But, when the rule of political interpretation is applied, the mystery is cleared up, and the conclusion is suggested that we have in this group a reversion to type, and that, in fact, we are confronted with Totemism in its original form—a scheme of relationship with external personality.

¹² "The Native Tribes of Central Australia." By Spencer and Gillen. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899. Pp. 202, 228, 265.

¹³ This explanation of the origin of Totemism was suggested to me by facts given in Spencer and Gillen's work, and was set forth in a communication published in *THE ANNALS* for March, 1901, p. 179.

¹⁴ "Social Origins," p. 72.

In the tribes in which exogamy precludes marital relations with one's own Totem, descent is reckoned in the female line, and the children are assigned to the mother's tribal division and particular Totem group. Assuming that the exogamic division of the tribe was originally Totemic, it is obvious that, as new Totems arose, the rule of reckoning children's status by mother's status would fix Totemic exogamy in the structure of tribal organization. If an Emu man marries a Pelican woman the children belong to the Pelican Totem of the division of the tribe to which the mother belongs, and so with the children of her daughters and granddaughters. But when the boys grow up and marry, they mate with the Emu girls, and their children are Emus; so that the Totem groups are permanently identified with the exogamic division in which they originate, and Totemic exogamy is perpetuated as part of the social system, underlying the whole economy of tribal organization, and fortified by the mass of established interests. But among the tribes in which Totemic exogamy has disappeared, although the exogamous tribal division remains, descent is reckoned in the male line, and children are assigned to the father's group. In this case it is plain that maternal ideas of Totem progenitorship are now outside of the structure of tribal organization, and maternal imagination may have free course without social disturbance. If a woman of a tribe in which descent is reckoned in the female line should have a notion that one of her children was not really a Pelican, but was a Wild Duck, a Totem not belonging to her tribal division, membership in which by a child of hers would transgress immemorial law, the elders of the tribe would let her know that she was sadly mistaken, and if she made any fuss about the matter, her husband would be apt to purify her imagination with a club. In tribes reckoning descent in the male line, it would make no difference whatever as regards the tribal organization. Thus, the Totem would tend to become an individual affair, like the personal Manitu among the aborigines of our own country, and the relations with external personality thus created would open new political resources. Thus, it is found that in these tribes, the Totem groups are organized as magic-working societies, who periodically go through an elaborate dramatic ritual to propitiate their respective Totems for the general welfare of the tribe. The variation has arisen, not in the nature of Totemism, but in the application made of Totem ideas, as a result of a change in tribal polity. This change, although immensely important in its consequences, could have been easily accomplished, since among the Australian aborigines there are no property interests to complicate the problem, and the family relations are not yet individualized; so that it makes little or no immediate difference whether descent is reckoned in the male or female line. Natives sometimes pass from one system to the other in ming adopted into a tribe. The savage tendency to adhere to established forms with unreasoning acquiescence is, however, so persistent that any variation must have been initiated by some accidental displacement of routine, but this might readily occur through the vicissitudes of savage life. A tribe wasted by some calamity might have its organization shattered so that the remnant might have difficulty in reconstituting itself by the rule of maternal status, and might adopt the rule of father status under compulsion of circumstances. It would

then be perpetuated by the social inertia which is the leading characteristic of all primitive races. This view of the case is corroborated by the fact that the evidence in regard to the tribes reckoning descent in the male line indicates that they have a common ancestry.

If the anthropologists are correct in holding that Totemism constituted the primeval pattern of social structure, introducing classifications from which systems of consanguinity arose and the various types of the family were developed, then the interpretation of Totemism affords insight into the nature of authority. It is generally admitted that physical force serves but does not create authority, which cannot exist apart from social sanctions. The explanation of the origin of Totemism leads straight to the conclusion that authority is an outgrowth of religion; that is to say, consciousness of external personality and conception of obligation to it. Man is born a religious being just as truly as that he is born a political being, and the one involves the other.

The theory of group personality which has been applied to the elucidation of the problem of Totemism has profound implications affecting the character of political science. It extricates the Aristotelian theory of the State from the paradox in which that theory was left, from which political science has suffered ever since. Aristotle held that, in its logical order, the State is anterior to society. "It is clearly evident that the State is a creation of nature and that man is by nature a political animal. The State is by nature clearly prior to the family and the individual, since the whole is of necessity prior to the part."¹⁵ At the same time he argued that, in its historical order, the State is an outgrowth of the household; but, if that be true, then society is really anterior to the State. If, however, the theory of group personality be accepted, and the primitive group be regarded as the primordial form of the State, then the historical order exactly corresponds with the logical order, and we have, as the fundamental proposition of political science: Man did not create the State; the State created man.

The hypothesis to which political science now shows a marked inclination to submit, is that society is a relation which grew out of brute gregariousness, and that modifications of this relation through physical, cultural, economic, ethical and political influences have produced the various forms of social organization, one of which is the State. Hence, society is the generic term, and sociology claims rank as the general science of society, comprehending history, politics, economics, and ethics as sub-sciences. In opposition to this view, the theory of group personality suggests the hypothesis that, in the line of animal development ancestral to humanity, individual activities became subordinate to the life of the group, thus forming the State, whose life activities developed individual human beings and conditioned their nature. The State is, therefore, the permanent, universal and absolute condition of human existence, anterior not only to society and government, but to humanity itself.

The unscientific character of attempts to arrange different peoples in a serial order of advancement, according to a classification of culture stages, has long been recognized, but the method has maintained itself for lack of a better.

¹⁵ "Politics," Book I, Chap. 2, Jowett's translation.

Acceptance of the hypothesis under consideration would introduce other principles of classification, tending to connect political science with the natural sciences, for the hypothesis implies that all institutions are attributes of the State, their development being the result of the continual effort which every living thing makes to adapt itself to its environment, different institutional types being the effect of the variation of State species. It is a familiar principle of development that variations, unimportant in their beginnings, under changed conditions may lead to the formation of new species, different orders of species being the result of radical divergence in lines of development. The divergence in Totemic usage among the native tribes of Australia, to which attention has been called, is from this point of view the initial stage of a process of variation whose expansion under changing conditions would produce massive growths of myths, ritual, ideas, and beliefs, with co-ordinate social organization, such as are exhibited historically by races which have undergone great changes of environment. Such considerations, however, lie beyond the purpose of this essay, which is to call attention to the bearing of anthropological research upon political theory, and to suggest the possibility that anthropological data may eventually furnish the basis of an inductive system of political science.

HENRY JONES FORD.

Pittsburg, Pa.

PERSONAL NOTES

Clark College.—Dr. George Hubbard Blakeslee has been advanced from Instructor to Assistant Professor in History in Clark College. Dr. Blakeslee was born at Geneseo, New York, August 27, 1871; educated in the East Greenwich Academy, Rhode Island. He has received the degrees of A. B., Wesleyan, 1893; A. M., Wesleyan, 1897; A. M., Harvard, 1899; Ph. D., Harvard, 1903. The years 1893-4 were spent in graduate work at Johns Hopkins University; 1898-1901, at Harvard; 1901-02, in Berlin and Leipzig; 1902-03, at Oxford and Harvard. Dr. Blakeslee's thesis was upon "The History of Anti-Masonic Party."

Harvard University.—Dr. Augustus Hunt Shearer has been appointed Assistant in History in Harvard University. Dr. Shearer was born in Philadelphia, February 21, 1878; graduated from William Penn Charter School, and from Rutgers College in 1899; received the degrees of A. M. and Ph. D. from Harvard in 1901 and 1903. The remainder of the year, 1903, was spent in foreign travel. Dr. Shearer is a member of the American Historical Association.

Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas.—Dr. David Yancey Thomas has been appointed Professor in History and Political Science and also Vice-President of Hendrix College. Dr. Thomas was born January 19, 1872, in Fulton County, Kentucky; prepared for college at Clinton, Kentucky, and received the degree of B. A. at Emory College at Oxford, Georgia, in 1894. After two years at Vanderbilt University he received the degree of A. M. in 1898, and spent the following two summer semesters at Chicago and a year at Columbia as Fellow in History, with Ph. D., in 1903. Dr. Thomas is a member of the American Historical Association and the Arkansas Historical Society. He has published the following:

"*Graduate Work in the South.*" Bachelor of Arts, May, 1897.

"*Humanism and the College of the Future.*" In Methodist Review, July and August, 1901.

"*The Simplifying of the College Degree.*" Dial, July, 1901.

"*The South and Her History.*" Review of Reviews, October, 1902.

"*A History of Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States.*" In press.

University of Nebraska.—Dr. Charles Creswell Arbutnot has been appointed Instructor in Political Economy in the University of Nebraska. Dr. Arbutnot was born in Pittsburg, Pa., May 30, 1876, and educated in the public schools there and at Beaver Falls, Pa., and at Geneva College. After receiving the B. S. there in 1899, he was assistant in history for one year, and graduate student in Chicago, 1900-1903, receiving the Ph. D. in 1903.

University of Texas.—Dr. Charles Henry Huberich has been advanced from an instructorship which he has held for four years to the position of Ad-

junct Professor of Political Science and Law in the University of Texas. [¶] He was born in Toledo, Ohio, February 18, 1877, and received his early education in the private schools and at the hands of private tutors. From the University of Texas he received the degree of LL. B. in 1897, of LL. M. in 1898, and from the Yale Law School, D. C. L. in 1899. The following year was spent at the Universities of Berlin and Heidelberg. He is a member of the American Political Science Association, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, American Economic Association, Société de législation comparée, Internationale Vereinigung für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, Société d'histoire diplomatique, Société d'études législatives, Texas State Historical Association.

Dr. Huberich has published numerous articles in foreign publications, including *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*, *Mitteilungen der Internationale Vereinigung*, *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, *Revue du droit et de la science politique*, and the following in American publications:

"*Paternal Power in Slavonic Law*," *Juridical Review*, September, 1902.

"*Paternal Power in Japanese Law*." *Yale Law Journal*, November, 1902.

"*Paternal Power in Chinese Law*." *Juridical Review*, December, 1902.

"*Paternal Power in Mohammedan Law*." *Yale Law Journal*, December, 1902.

"*The Trans-Isthmian Canal: A Study in American Diplomatic History (1825-1904)*." *University of Texas Record*, March, 1904.

Yankton College, Yankton, S. D.—Dr. Elmer Cunningham Griffith has been appointed Professor of History and Political Science in Yankton College. Dr. Griffith was born at Mt. Carroll, Ill., October 16, 1869, and educated in the local high school, at Beloit (Wisconsin) Academy and Beloit College, receiving A. B. in 1895, and A. M., 1898. Post-graduate studies were pursued in the University of Berlin, 1900, and University of Chicago, 1900-02, with the degree of Ph. D. in the latter year.

Dr. Griffith was instructor in Greek in Cedar Valley Seminary at Osage, Iowa, 1895-6, and principal of Warren Academy, Warren, Ill., 1896-99.

He has published:

"*Congressional Representation in South Dakota*." *Nation*, October 30, 1902.

A book on "*Rise and Development of the Gerrymander*" is expected to appear in the Fall.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES

THE TARIFF PROBLEM, by Professor W. J. Ashley, of the University of Birmingham, is an excellent little book¹ in which may be found a clear analysis of the principles of State control, of the policy of free imports, and of the present industrial and commercial position of the United Kingdom. The first fifty pages of the volume contain a most admirable survey of the trade doctrines of Adam Smith, and of those who brought about the establishment of free imports. Professor Ashley thinks the United Kingdom must change from free trade to a policy of industrial defence, or her industries will be undermined by foreign competition. He believes, moreover, that the British Empire will disintegrate unless imperial interdependence is fostered by means of tariffs, in which the colonies are given a preference over other countries. The special merit of Professor Ashley's book is the impartial and scientific tone which characterizes the entire discussion.

IN A LITTLE VOLUME entitled "Ten Years of Colonial Policy,"² Monsieur Chailley-Bert gives an outline of what France has accomplished in the administration of her colonial empire, and sketches the changes, especially the economic changes, which have taken place in her African and her Asiatic possessions. While the author himself admits that there were, originally, no urgent reasons why France should have built up a vast colonial empire, declaring that "we took what we could take, being attracted by the facility of conquest rather than its utility," he believes that the colonial expansion of France should continue. In this opinion he differs, of course, from Mr. Bodley and other careful students of French economic and political conditions. Indeed, it is difficult to perceive how a nation with an almost stationary population can ever obtain—or rather *retain*—control of the scattered possessions of France. It must be admitted, however, that the author has so extensive a knowledge of French colonies that his opinions are entitled to careful consideration. They are moreover, likely to exert a perceptible influence on his compatriots.

STUDENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY will welcome a new edition of "Cooke's History of Virginia," in the American Commonwealth series³ with a valuable supplementary chapter on Virginia Since the Civil War, by William Garrott Brown. The Reconstruction period and the movement for negro disfranchise-

¹Pp. 210. Price, 2s. 6d. P. S. King & Son, London, 1903.

²*Dix Années de Politique coloniale.* By J. Chailley-Bert. Pp. 174. Price, 2 fr. Paris: Armand Colin, publisher, 1903.

³Pp. xxi, 533. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903.

ment culminating in the adoption of the Constitution of 1901, are dispassionately and intelligently reviewed.

A DISTINCT SERVICE has been rendered to students of constitutional law by Professor Victor H. Lane, of the University of Michigan, in the preparation of a new edition of Judge Cooley's standard treatise on "Constitutional Limitations."⁴ Fourteen years have elapsed since the appearance of the previous edition, during which period many important decisions on constitutional questions have been rendered by the State and Federal courts. Citations from more than two thousand such cases have been added to the new edition, making over twelve thousand cases now cited. Nearly one-half the new cases cited have arisen under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and relate to the police power, due process of law, privileges and immunities of citizens, equal protection of the laws and the powers of State Legislatures and Municipal Corporations. In the present edition the old text has been allowed to stand unchanged, and wherever the addition of new matter seemed necessary, it was incorporated in the notes. No effort has been made to cite all the cases reported, but a careful and discriminating selection has been made of the more important ones.

The highest tribute that can be paid to Judge Cooley's work is to say that it has held an undisputed position in the literature of Constitutional law for a period of thirty-five years, and that during this period it has gone through seven editions. At the present time there is no work occupying the same position of unquestioned authority.

THERE SEEMS TO BE, among French writers on sociology, a pronounced tendency to return to Auguste Comte, and to examine that author's writings with more benevolence, and, above all, with more care, than they have received at the hands of most modern sociologists in Europe. Monsieur Defourny's book,⁵ in which the author aims to give us, first, a careful summary of Comte's scientific and philosophical views and a conscientious outline of his social theories; and second, a critique of the data and conclusions of Comte's sociology, is probably a result of this tendency.

The author reaches the conclusion that Comte's lasting contributions to social science consist of the notion of sociology, a few general ideas concerning the scope and nature of the science, and the bare outline of some of its parts. Many authors before him had studied certain particular aspects of social life, but Comte enlarged the scope of these investigations and brought them under the common angle and perspective of a single science. "Comte's merit con-

⁴A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations which rest upon the Legislative Powers of the States of the American Union. By Thomas M. Cooley, LL. D. Seventh edition, with large additions, giving the results of the recent cases. By Victor Lane, Professor of Law in the University of Michigan. Pp. 1036. Price, \$6.00. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1903.

⁵*La Sociologie positiviste. Auguste Comte.* By Maurice Defourny. Pp. ii, 371. Price 6 fr. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1903.

sists in having brought into a system a mass of scattered ideas familiar to the thinkers of his epoch. He succeeded in uniting them into a perfectly coherent synthesis. He was an arranger, not a creator. But although his work is coherent, it is not scientific, for his supposed laws are rarely a faithful expression of the reality. By the method which he advocates, he belongs to the nineteenth century; by the deductive rigor of his system, he belongs to the eighteenth century. He was a Rousseau with the outward appearance of a Taine,—marking a transition between the century of deduction and the century of observation.”

AFTER THE RESTORATION IN ENGLAND, many accounts of the escape of Charles II were written under the titles “The King’s Narrative,” “Boscobel,” by Blount, the “Narrative” of Whitgreave, etc. These various tracts have been brought together by Allen Fea under the title “After Worcester Fight,”⁶ which is a companion volume to the “Flight of the King” by the same author. The first of these tracts, the King’s own story, as told to Pepys, is of considerable interest.

IT IS PERHAPS less remarkable that Gregorovius’s *Lucretia Borgia* should have been translated more than a generation from the time of its publication, than that it should not have been translated before.⁷ The authority of the name of Gregorovius, and the attraction of that of its illustrious heroine, should in themselves have been guarantee of the success of the enterprise. But since we have waited so long, it is a satisfaction to see that its English dress is well and carefully fitted, and that both translator and publisher have justified themselves so far as their tasks go. The text is English, and constructions of the original do not shine through, a merit to be noted in these days of hasty translations.

As the book is intended for those unacquainted with the original, it may be well to state that Gregorovius set to work on the life of *Lucretia Borgia* from the strictly scientific point of view. In his biography he analysed all the sources that bear directly on her life, and cut through the web of myth that had grown up about her name. In doing so he came to the conclusion that *Lucretia* was “the most unfortunate woman of modern history,” that she was guiltless of those black crimes which rumor fastened upon her, even in her own day, or which were attributed to her by later writers, and that at worst she was but a thoughtless girl living in a pagan environment. She does not stand out in these pages as a saint, or even as a strong woman, but no character could appear more thoroughly human. The author succeeded in keeping the impartiality of a judge while sorting his evidence before our eyes.

The first part of the book is the least interesting, as it is the most important. It depicts the degradation of the Papacy at the court of Alexander VI. In this

⁶Pp. liv., 270. New York and London: John Lane.

⁷Translated from the Third German Edition by JOHN LESLIE GARNER. Pp. xxiii, 378. Price, \$2.25. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

setting Lucretia appears as a sort of foil for the splendid trickery of her father and brother. The second part of the book, her life at Ferrara, is brighter, and the author has furnished us with a picture of another center of the Renaissance, in some ways not less famous than the court at Rome. But even there the gruesome story of the death of Alexander intrudes, and we are bound to say that it dwarfs the rest of the story. Yet one is doubly grateful for the description, at the close, of that girlish face which was able to retain its simple attractiveness amid so much crime.⁸

AN INTERESTING "detail study" of Germany's commercial and industrial development,—a subject of more than mere academic interest to Great Britain and the United States,—is given by Dr. Heinrich Haacke in his essay⁹ on the *Commerce and Industry of the Prussian Province of Saxony during the Decade between 1889 and 1899*. In his study of this period the author keeps constantly in view the foreign commercial policy of the German Empire, and discovers a close causal connection between the commercial treaties of the middle of this decade and the remarkable progress of industry and commerce in the succeeding years. Whence he formulates the wish that the conclusion of commercial treaties with foreign nations may continue to be prompted by a desire to retain and extend the foreign market for German goods.

"THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORLD," by Carolyn Norris Horwitz¹⁰ is a convenient and useful chronology of the history of the world, from the earliest times to the year 1903. It reveals at a glance evidence of indefatigable research and careful discrimination, both in the verification of dates and in the arrangement of the material. A feature which distinguishes it from most chronologies is an alphabetical index of names, battles, inventions, etc., together with explanatory notes, all of which add much to its usefulness. Tables of kings and rulers, besides many valuable engravings, likewise increase its value and attractiveness. A noteworthy feature of the general plan is an arrangement of the dates in parallel columns according to the Julian, Gregorian, Jewish, and other calendars.

IN A PAMPHLET entitled "The Essentials of a Written Constitution"¹¹ Professor Harry Pratt Judson discusses the nature of organic law, develops the distinction between what he calls the political state and the social state and attempts to point out the essentials of a complete Constitution. The modern tendency to inject into the State Constitution, matter heretofore con-

⁸ Contributed by James T. Shotwell, Columbia University.

⁹ *Handel und Industrie in der Provinz Sachsen, 1889-1899, unter dem Einfluss der Deutschen Handelspolitik*. By Dr. Heinrich Haacke. Pp. x, 152. Price, 4 marks. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta. (Muenchener volkswirtschaftliche Studien, No. 45.)

¹⁰ Pp. 557. Price, \$5.00. New York: The Grafton Press, 1903.

¹¹ The University of Chicago Decennial Publications. First series. Vol. iv. Pp. 42. Price, 55 cents. The University of Chicago Press.

sidered as more properly fitted for the statutes he does not regard as an evil, especially if the extraneous matter is intended to place restrictions upon the Legislature.

LANZONI'S "MANUELE DI GEOGRAFIA COMMERCIALE—(Firenze, 1902), bears the stamp of approval of the Royal Venetian Institute of Sciences, Letters and Arts. It is a thorough, painstaking piece of work, as can be perceived at a glance. In its construction it is not essentially different from other treatises on the subject, including the lately republished Chisholm. It does not attempt even the perfunctory sketch of physiographical conditions given in the volume of Adams. A general description of the main products of commerce and their places of origin, is followed by a treatment of the subject by countries, all of which is made accessible and useful by a detailed index. The paragraphs are terse and to the point. And yet, after all, we have here another of those almanac-like books of facts and statistics that merely pass for commercial geography. It is hard to see how the author lives up to his definition, when he declares commercial geography to be "the systematic and rational exposition of all the manifestations of economic life in relation to the physical and political life of the various countries."

When one reflects upon it, it is a curious thing to see universities and schools enthused over the name "commercial geography," which seems to be endowed with a series of attractive connotations; and yet at the same time corresponding eagerly to find out exactly what this discipline is. Augmenting interest is, however, linked with a certain half-admitted disappointment in what the text books give. This popular apprehension of the importance of the subject, and of the inadequacy of its treatment, is well founded; not only has commercial geography, correctly understood, an absorbing interest in itself, but it forms the logical ground for all work in economics and allied subjects that has to do with trade. The trouble with the present treatment of the subject is that not enough influence is accorded to the inevitable, conditioning forces of nature; for instance, to physiographical conditions as both favoring, modifying, and strictly defining the areas of growth of plants and animals, and, among the latter, of men. Description is well, but not enough; explanation is better; "Das was bedenke, mehr bedenke Wie." And, as for the works on commercial geography which attempt to do justice to this aspect of the case, they fail because their authors are not enough at home in two hitherto separated, but truly cognate fields, those of the natural and the social sciences. Under present conditions it would be well for a commercial geography to be the collaborated work of two men, one of them a physical geographer or geologist and the other an economist or sociologist. Books of trade statistics are of great value—such is the one before us—but they are not commercial geographies and cannot meet the demand for a treatise upon that subject.¹²

¹² Contributed by A. G. Keller, New Haven.

PROBABLY NO MEMBER of the French ministry of M. Waldeck-Rousseau has given rise to more discussion,—discussion frequently bordering on vituperation,—than M. Millerand,¹³ a Socialist, who accepted the portfolio of commerce when Waldeck-Rousseau became prime minister in June, 1899. Many of the Socialists maintained that a member of their party should not enter into any “compromising alliance” with other parties. For a Socialist to enter a “bourgeois” ministry was, they held, nothing short of treason, especially when that ministry contained, as was the case with Waldeck-Rousseau’s composite, almost heterogeneous aggregation, men whose records showed nothing but antipathy for the cause of communism.

Millerand, however, appears to have been little disturbed by the acrimonious criticism heaped upon him. His sublime,—almost ridiculous,—confidence in himself prevented his conceiving any thought of dissatisfaction with himself or his conduct. Even his critics, however, must admit that during his period of service, exceptionally long for a French minister, several important reforms were accomplished in the Department of Commerce,—the functions of which are not altogether unlike those of our own newly-created Department of Commerce and Labor. M. Lavy’s recent book on Millerand’s work is a glorification of the Socialist’s conduct of his office, written largely for electioneering purposes. For the student of social problems the chief interest of Millerand’s career lies in the fact that a leading French Socialist finds our present social system not so bad but that it can be vastly improved without destroying the fundamental institution of private property.

THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Guy Carlton Lee,¹⁴ impresses critical readers as being a first draft of a history of politics in the United States. The tone of the book is impressionistic and inclines towards the sensational. The method of the author seems to have been first to conjure up a dozen or two salient and novel impressions which had seldom or never occurred to the historians. In building his historical structure, it appears that he set up these impressions as pillars, at certain intervals, and then filled the intervening spaces with concrete from the handy reference books.

Where Dr. Lee deals with matters which are not strictly politics or military history, he touches with a light hand, and even at times shows misinformation. On page 104, he intimates that the Southern planters were out of touch with the economic world at large, and states that the slaves upon each plantation produced almost everything which was needed for consumption on the place. But in fact it was only the farmers in the remote districts who endeavored to supply their own wants in detail, whereas the plantations, far from being self-sufficient, were almost exclusively devoted to the production of the great staple crops for export, and depended upon the outside world for all their manufactures, and, indeed, for a large part of their breadstuffs, etc. Among the other hasty

¹³ *L'Oeuvre de Millerand. Un Ministre socialiste. Faits et Documents.* By A. Lavy. Pp. xii, 443. Price, 3.50. fr. Paris: Société nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition.

¹⁴ Pp. 421. 24 illustrations and maps. Price, \$2.00. Phila. and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1903.

and unwarranted statements, the remark is found, page 18, that the Abolition sentiment of the eighteenth century in America was born of the French Revolution. It is unnecessary to be told that a child is older than its mother.

The handling of references in this work is peculiar. Several new and interesting facts are stated, but with never a clue to the source whence came the knowledge of them. The general tone of the book is fairly impartial, with something of a bias for the Southern side which is more noticeable in the later chapters. At times the author indulges in a facetious style, with sad results. Witness the following from page 366, treating of Sherman's march through Georgia: "The Federal troops had a great respect for the goods of the people whose homes they invaded. They preserved everything they could carry with them."

In spite of its numerous faults, the book may prove useful to persons who wish to spend a few hours reading American history and who do not care for accuracy of detail. In scope the book includes anything, and a little of everything, which may have to do with the causes, the course, and the results of the Civil War.¹⁵

SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE'S well known "Story of the Revolution,"¹⁶ in two volumes, which was reviewed in the *Annals* for May, 1899, has appeared in a new and handsome edition of one volume, with all the illustrations, nearly two hundred in number, including maps and facsimiles of rare documents. In this more convenient form its usefulness to the general public has been greatly increased.

"THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FOUNDERS," by Edwin D. Mead,¹⁷ is a strong, though exaggerated plea against the imperialism and militarism of to-day, and an attack upon certain popular political theories and practices, such as the Monroe Doctrine, the Philippine Policy, and the commonly accepted dicta, "might makes right" and "my country right or wrong." By many interesting quotations from the writings of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and other patriots, the author shows that the prevalent ideas are contrary to the humane and peace-loving principles of the founders of the Republic.

WILFRED MEYNELL'S so-called "Biography of Disraeli,"¹⁸ is most attractively gotten up in binding, printing and illustrations, and it promises a treat for those interested in the life of England's great statesman. It is, however, well named an "unconventional" biography, for the author has adopted an unusual plan. Book I., entitled "His Talk from Youth to Old Age" consists of quotations from Disraeli's conversation, upon which the author comments, introducing at times more quotations from Disraeli's writings, letters or talk, and adding details of his life, descriptions of his friends, or accounts of his work.

¹⁵ Contributed by Ulrich B. Phillips, Ph. D.

¹⁶ Pp. xvii, 604. Price, \$3.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903.

Pp. 73. Price, 50 cents. Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1903.

¹⁸ *Benjamin Disraeli—An Unconventional Biography.* By Wilfred Meynell. Pp. xxi, 520. Price, \$3.00. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1903.

This treatment reminds the reader of disconnected notes, and, while casting many side lights upon Disraeli's life, it is of little interest to one who is not making an extensive study of his career.

Book II.—“His Letters, Books, and Public Life” follows the same method. For example, “I think the situation will suit” introduces paragraphs on his foreign tour with the Austens. Much space is given to the Post-Disraeli antagonism, and to his Entrance into Parliament—“the Scramble for a Seat,” as it is called. Some parts of the book are in the form of selected and annotated material.

AUSTRIA IS PROBABLY ONE of the most conservative countries in Europe with regard to the opportunities offered to women for legitimate employment. Yet, as Mr. Hans Nawiasky shows in a recently published volume,¹⁹ the number of women employed in government positions has rapidly increased in that country during the past thirty years. The first step in this direction took place in 1869, when women were admitted to serve in certain classes of post offices. A little later in the same year, they were admitted to the position of telegraphic operator in certain smaller localities. Their work in these positions proving both cheap and satisfactory, women began to be employed in similar positions in larger towns. When in the early eighties the government began to acquire the railroads, women were among the employees appointed by the government, many of them having already served under the system of private ownership. The establishment of postal savings banks, at about the same time, led to an additional influx of women in public service. Thus the number of women employed in 1869,—169,—was gradually increased until in 1900 there were nearly 9,000 of them.

The problem of the productive employment of women is particularly acute in the countries of Central Europe, for one reason which the present author seems to have overlooked,—namely, the numerical preponderance of females over males. Where there are many hundred thousand more women than men, it is somewhat illogical to assert that women should be excluded from industrial careers and confine themselves to the “higher duties and functions of wife and mother.”

PROFESSOR SOLEY'S “ADMIRAL PORTER,”²⁰ the latest volume of the “Great Commanders” series, is a welcome contribution to naval history. The author has had unusual opportunities for writing an authoritative book, and has used them to advantage, though he seldom quotes his sources specifically. The stagnation of the service just before the Civil War is well told, as is the almost accidental way in which the future Admiral secured his first real command. On the controverted points of the New Orleans expedition, Professor Soley is very clear and removes many popular misconceptions, particularly regarding the relations between Porter and Farragut. The ability of Admiral Porter to make

¹⁹ *Die Frauen im oesterreichischen Staatsdienst*. By Hans Nawiasky. Pp. 246. Wien & Leipzig: Franz Deuticke, 1903.

²⁰ Admiral Porter. By James Russell Soley. Pp. 440. Price, \$1.50. New York: D Appleton & Company, 1905.

use of unusual expedients is shown to be responsible for much of the success of the operations of the Mississippi squadron. Due importance is attached to the capture of Fort Fisher, though perhaps sufficient credit is not given to the garrison.²¹

ONE APPARENT PRODUCT of the recently awakened interest in Renaissance study is the very attractive and interesting little volume on "Napoleon and Machiavelli," by Frank Preston Stearns.²² It is not a literary study, as is the author's "Modern English Prose Writers," but a collection of essays on the political theories and teachings of Machiavelli, Goethe, and Dante, and of the political principles prompting the acts of Napoleon.

The study of Napoleon, comprising one-half the book, is highly sympathetic and in parts even eulogistic. Even his much debated treatment of the Duc d'Enghien is, to Mr. Stearns, as well justified as is the court-martial and execution of the associates of Booth for the murder of Lincoln. The harsh and repulsive political theories of Machiavelli's "Prince" are of course condemned; yet the author contends that it is unfair to Machiavelli to think that he would have applied these principles to government in general, or to any other government than the corrupt and extremely localized one of Florence, for whose ruler the memoranda of Machiavelli were intended.²³

STUDENTS OF THE PROBLEMS OF CHARITY ORGANIZATION will welcome Paul Strauss's new volume²⁴ on the "Poor and Mendicant Population of France," even though it is largely a historical work, rather than a discussion of present problems. The author is a recognized authority on the questions which he treats. After a statement of the case in favor of the principle of poor relief in general, in which the theories of Malthus and of Herbert Spencer are subjected to a searching criticism, M. Strauss sketches the history of the English poor laws, which "have given rise to the most important contributions to the subject of poor relief, as well as to the most remarkable theories concerning the same." The author believes that England's long experience with diverse schemes on legal poor relief proves that the individualistic opposition to government relief is as foolish and as economically unjustifiable as it is cruel. Then follow several chapters dealing with the evolution of public charity in France. Of especial interest is the chapter on public relief during the French Revolution, when very sweeping principles of social responsibility for all the dependent or defective classes of society were adopted, for a time at least. There is also a detailed discussion of the methods now employed in France for succoring the needy, and a chapter on the Elberfeld system.

²¹ Contributed by Holland Thompson.

²² Pp. 124. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1903.

²³ Contributed by Paul F. Peck, Ph. D.

²⁴ *Assistance sociale. Pauvres et mendiants.* By Paul Strauss, member of the French Senate. Pp. 304. Price, 6 fr. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1903.

IN "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THOMAS JEFFERSON" Mr. Thomas E. Watson²⁵ deprecates the tendency on the part of many historians in the North to "write at" the South and of Southern historians to "write back at" the North. He finds that many Northern books are so offensive that a Southern man cannot read them, and that many Southern books are equally repulsive to men of the North. He then declares that his purpose is to deal fairly with all sections, and give New England her dues, which are great (especially in her treasonable conduct in the War of 1812!) but a perusal of the book inclines the reader to wonder if its chief *raison d'être* was not that the author might have his little thrust. However, it is a highly entertaining performance,—at least to one who enjoys seeing the victims squirm.

And how they must squirm, from Mr. Curtis, whose "True Thomas Jefferson" might be truer, through the whole list, including Hildreth, Channing (the "collegiate bull in the china shop of history"), President Roosevelt, and others too numerous to mention, to Daniel Webster, who committed the sin of delivering a eulogy on Hamilton. But not all of the book is given up to criticism of other writers. The author has performed a real service to history in giving due emphasis to the part played by the South in bringing on the Revolution by her brave stand against the obnoxious measures of the British Parliament, a stand taken before the "Boston street row" ever occurred. In the prosecution of the War also the South was at the front. Here facts and figures are given from the records (not, however, first looked up by Mr. Watson), showing that the South not only furnished more troops than the North in proportion to population, but also in actual numbers. The character of Patrick Henry also is somewhat rehabilitated. According to Mr. Watson, Jefferson stood a better chance for a third term than any other President ever has,—Legislatures representing seventy-nine electoral votes asked him to become a candidate,—but he firmly declined from a sense of duty to the State. To him rather than to Washington, our author thinks, is due the present unwritten law on the subject. The Monroe Doctrine now has another father, Thomas Jefferson. One is surprised that the author did not here make a cut at Mr. Charles Francis Adams instead of Professor McMaster, who only claims that John Adams added a clause.

Perhaps the chief value of the book, and it has some, lies in its destructive work. Sometimes such work is very necessary, but it is unfortunate that this particular task did not fall into more scholarly hands. After reading his book, the reader can easily understand Mr. Watson's contempt for scholarship. Much has been said about the lack of historical writers in the South, but the writing of history by men who do not at least possess the scholarly instinct is a service of doubtful value.²⁶

²⁵ Pp. xxii, 534. Price, \$2.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

²⁶ Contributed by David Y. Thomas, Ph. D.

REVIEWS

De la Responsabilité en matière d'Accidents du Travail. Commentaire de la loi du 9 avril, 1898, et des lois et décrets subsequents. By MAURICE BELLOM. Second edition. Pp. viii and 1008. Price 15 fr. Paris, 1903. Publisher: Arthur Rousseau.

The purpose of this bulky volume is to present a systematic exposition of the legislative provisions which in France govern the subject of accidents to employees. During the past few years France has enacted a system of labor laws which carry her far away from the old regime of *laissez faire*.

Under the *Code Civil* the workman who is injured while at work had to prove that the employer is to blame for the accident. The employer, in other words, was not responsible, and could not be held to pay damages if the accident was due to the fault of any laborer, or to simple hazard, or to the normal risks of the trade. The burden of proof thus rested upon the injured party as against the employer. The inadequacy, not to say the flagrant injustice, of this arrangement is, under present industrial conditions, perfectly manifest. German statistics show that of every 100 accidents to employees, the employer is to blame for 20, the laborer for 25, both together or outside parties for 8, and pure hazard or indeterminable causes for 47. That is to say, in nearly half the cases of accident under modern conditions of production, the workman cannot possibly shift upon the employer the responsibility for mishaps resulting in the loss of health, life, or limb. There was little hope, under the Civil Code, of obtaining an indemnity.

The desire among laborers to increase their productivity, however, leads them to dispense with the care and precaution that would make accidents less frequent and less disastrous. Even in those instances where, as a matter of fact, the employer was clearly to blame, the burden of proof fell upon the injured, and thus placed him in an unpleasantly offensive attitude toward his employer. It is always difficult for the victim of an accident to recall all the circumstances preceding and accompanying the mishap. It is next to impossible to prove the precise conditions under which it took place. Fellow-employees who witnessed the occurrence are not anxious to displease their employers by testifying truthfully and without restraint. The proverbial "delays of the law," moreover, are apt to make the indemnity so distant a prospect at best that the workman who is fortunate enough to win his case is unlikely to be greatly helped; for he most needs assistance immediately after the accident.

The existence of these conditions in France, and the recognized insufficiency of the Civil Code, led to frequent efforts to reform the legal régime established by the Code. Of these efforts, which have resulted in the gradual establishment of a more just and more adequate legal regulation of employers' liability for accidents, M. Bellom gives a clear and complete account.

In July, 1888, the Chamber of Deputies accepted a bill introducing the concept of "professional risk." This concept is based on the idea that industrial production exposes the laborer to certain risks; that as these risks are inherent in productive activity, the person who reaps the advantage of this activity

should also be held responsible for whatever accidents may occur, regardless of the question whether or not the employer is to blame personally. Accidents to laborers, in other words, should be looked upon by the employer in very much the same light as accidents to machinery. Whenever a machine breaks, the employer must pay the loss; and in the management of his business he regards such an occurrence as constituting one of the risks of trade, against which provision must be made. So also, in the sense of the French law, the employer should make provision against the possible necessity of paying an indemnity to injured employees. This bill, which also provided for a system of mutual insurance under government control, was not passed, because certain amendments made by the Senate did not meet with the approval of the government. Various other bills were introduced both by the Chamber and the Senate, some of them closely approaching the German system of obligatory insurance under State management. In the compromise bill which finally passed both houses in 1898, however, the idea of obligatory governmental insurance was abandoned, but that of professional risk was retained. The law thus enacted was incomplete, and particularly unfavorable to small producers. Shortly after its enactment, private insurance companies proceeded to exploit the situation to their own gain; and the vehement protests of employers led to the passage of another law, May 24, 1899, providing for a national "caisse d'assurance" against accidents, into which employers may pay premiums determined by the number of their employees and the hazardousness of their work. The government, in other words, undertook to provide insurance for employers, against the losses they might encounter by accidents to employees. The private companies still continued for the same purpose, but the government became a formidable competitor to these companies.

The provisions of the law of 1898, and of the numerous subsequent measures which have amended or completed it, or extended its provisions to new categories of laborers, are too many and too complex for summary here. It should be noted, however, that the law prescribes the amount of the indemnity to which the victim of an accident is entitled. This is an acceptance of the German principle governing this point, and has the advantage of eliminating controversies on the score of the monetary equivalent of the harm done the employee.

The first criticism which naturally occurs to the student of these elaborate accident insurance laws is their arbitrary character. Little or nothing is left to the discretion and judgment of the court. The legislator assumes, or appears to assume, that there must be no room for differences or distinctions save those laid down by law. If, however, the only alternative is between cut-and-dried regulation, on the one hand, and complete dependence on the precarious generosity of the employer, on the other, no lover of social justice can long hesitate in his choice.

C. WILLIAM A. VEDITZ.

Bates College, Lewiston, Me.

Reminiscences of the Civil War. By GENERAL JOHN B. GORDON of the Confederate Army. With portraits. Pp. xiii, 474. Price \$3.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903.

Written a few months before his death by the last of Lee's great generals, these reminiscences form one of the most valuable contributions to the literature of the Civil War that has yet appeared. The book is confessedly written to help to a better understanding between the people of the two sections. The author believes that neither side can claim to have been "wholly and eternally right," and that it is "wholly and eternally wrong" to teach one-sided and prejudiced history to the youths of either section, since bravery, self-sacrifice, and patriotism were not confined to either side. General Gordon was a gentleman and made war like a gentleman, and it is his pleasure to relate the incidents of the war of the "brave against the brave," forgetting the unseemly things that occurred during the strife and remembering only the splendid acts of heroic men struggling for their country. He believed that the Civil War was a great school for development of character, and that the men who passed through that school were permanently benefited by their experiences; that the true soldier was not demoralized, but made a better man by privations, self-sacrifice and devotion to duty; and that the war aroused in the people of the sections a respect for each other that had not before existed. The manhood and the magnanimity of the American soldier are illustrated by incidents related on every page. No one knew the common soldier better than Gordon; no commander except Lee was more loved by his men. His promotion came swiftly, but always unsought; he enlisted at the age of twenty-eight as captain of the "Raccoon Roughs" from North Alabama, and was paroled at Appomatox as lieutenant-general. The reminiscences begin with the outbreak of the war and the uprising of the Southern people. The "latent unionism" of North Alabama and North Georgia, of which we have heard so much, is shown by Gordon's account not to have existed. His "Raccoon Roughs" were fair types of those who were supposed to be devoted to the Union. The short account given of political and social conditions at the time of secession is valuable because it gives the popular belief, not that of the lawyer or the later historian. Gordon was thoroughly at home on a battle-field and understood the psychology of armies, hence the descriptions of battles are clear to the lay reader without the aid of maps, of which fortunately there are none. Like nearly all soldiers, Gordon believed in a soldier's premonitions of approaching death. Great importance is ascribed to the influence of religion in holding the Southern soldiers to duty after most discouraging reverses, the revivals in the army, especially in 1863 and 1864, having affected thousands of the men. As the war wore on, personal hatred between the combatants declined and a spirit of good fellowship between the contending armies was shown on occasions when actual hostilities were not in progress. It is of the brave and generous aspects of war that Gordon likes to write. From his usual rule he departs only to criticise Generals Hunter and Sheridan for their acts of vandalism in laying waste the Valley of Virginia, contrasting their conduct unfavorably with that of the Confederates under Lee, when invading the

North. In his most important military operations Gordon was handicapped by an incapable superior officer. Three great opportunities came to him and the same inefficient superior in each case prevented success: (1) On the first day at Gettysburg, Gordon was driving a broken enemy before him, yet was ordered by Early to halt, and the Federals then secured the heights. Gordon, however, is of the opinion that Lee would have won on both the second and third days had Longstreet obeyed orders. (2) At the Battle of the Wilderness on May 6, 1864, Early refused to accept Gordon's statement as to the disposition of the enemy in his front, restraining him from making a flank attack until General Lee interfered. (3) At Cedar Creek Gordon was again pursuing a fugitive army before him, when Early stopped the pursuit, thus enabling Sheridan to make his famous ride and completely rout Early, who then laid the blame on his soldiers, accusing them of straggling and looting in the Federal camp. This accusation is flatly denied by Gordon. Few other controversial questions are touched upon. He thinks that Bragg was not fitted to exercise command. In regard to the Davis-Johnston question, he believes that the similarity in character between the two men prevented them from working well together, Johnston not fully meeting his duty to the President, and the latter not sufficiently trusting Johnston. The greater part of the book is devoted, not to the rising, but to the falling fortunes of the Confederacy, the slow battering, and strangling and starving of the South. The "magnanimity of Appomattox" would have extended through reconstruction, Gordon believes, had the soldiers and not the politicians been in control of public policy. The "ineffable littleness" of President Johnson and the vindictiveness of Johnson, Stanton, and Halleck are contrasted with the conduct of the great soldiers on the Federal side.

WALTER L. FLEMING.

West Virginia University.

Parliamentary England. By EDWARD JENKS, M. A. Pp. xix, 441. Price \$1.35.

New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. The Story of the Nations Series, 1903.

"Parliamentary England" deals with the century and a half which elapses between the time of Cromwell and the Reform Bill of 1832. The author chooses for his subject the evolution of the Cabinet System. "It is the business of this book," he says, "to explain how that system of government which came into force in England with the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660 was changed, in the course of one hundred and seventy years, into the system which was in force at the passing of the Reform Bill, and which, with some modifications, is in force at the present day. In the first place, therefore, it is necessary to explain how England was governed in the years which follow the return of the Stuarts." With this brief introduction, he plunges into a discussion of the system maintained under the Restoration. But inasmuch as the volume is supposedly written for a popular circulation, and not primarily for students of constitutional history, this brief introduction to the subject seems inadequate. The average reader, with little or no knowledge of constitutional history, after reading the

final chapter on "History and Criticism," will feel that he ought to go back and re-read the book from the view-point of that chapter. This may be an excellent frame of mind into which to get the reader, but unfortunately, the majority will not find time for a second perusal of the work. A brief introductory pre-view indicating some of the "points of interest" to be looked for along the way, would have been invaluable to inexperienced readers.

Lack of space makes it impossible to follow the author as he threads his way through the politics of one hundred and fifty years. But his final chapter, in which he summarizes the causes which have produced, and the consequences which have flowed from, the Cabinet System calls for notice. The book is written in an interesting way, and brings out the leading points clearly. From it, as from a hill-top, any intelligent reader may look back and get a fair conception of the country through which he has passed. The author shows that the statesmen of the late seventeenth century were animated neither by an abstract passion for republicanism nor for social equality, but by a "conviction of the practical dangers of a *jure divino* monarchy." They met the loyal maxim,—the King can do no wrong (which they were not ready to set aside),—with its complement,—"royal commands are no excuse for wrong doing." Thus ministers who leaned on the reed-like favor of the King, were made to feel their responsibility. But Charles II.—the *roi faineant*—gave an opportunity to men of ambition, and they were not long in finding a more solid bulwark than royal favor in *political connection*. With this as a shield, they plunged once more into the race for power. The reign of James II. and the Glorious Revolution strengthened this tendency, and thus the great Whig party, at first an organization for defence, became an active power in the conduct of affairs. The accession of the Hanoverians carried the process so far that England was in danger of falling under the control of a permanent bureaucracy. But the Cabinet, having established its power against the crown, finds it has to face the criticism of Parliament. A law which prevented the creation of new offices for the benefit of members of the House of Commons widened the breach between Cabinet and Commons, and led Walpole to use an organized system of bribery to beat down opposition. The reappearance of the Tory party in Parliament, at first unfavorable to the new system, soon added to it the final principle, viz., "that the supreme arbitrament of politics belongs, neither to the Crown, nor to the Cabinet, nor to Parliament, but to the constituencies."

In conclusion the author calls attention to the "extraordinary, unconscious character of the whole process which has resulted in the establishment of the system. Each step has been the consequence, not of any matured scheme for the reform of the Constitution, but of the practical exigencies of a particular situation." Out of this process has grown something which is rather "a means of disguising the machinery of government, than the machinery of government itself. It is politics in solution."

CHARLES T. WYCKOFF.

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Organized Labor. By JOHN MITCHELL. Pp. li, 436. Price \$1.75. Philadelphia: American Book and Bible House, 1903.

Organized Labor: Its Problems, Purposes and Ideals, and the Present and Future of American Wage Earners (to give its full title) is not an ordinary book. This is due primarily to its being the product of two widely and differently trained intellects. The one is represented in John Mitchell, the President of the United Mine Workers of America, a man of the plain people, whose "schooling" was meagre, but whose intellect has been trained in that most difficult of schools—the Great University of Experience. The other is Walter E. Weyl, a Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania, a product of our public school and higher educational systems—an intellect trained along what some are prone to call scientific lines. Continuing, to be impersonal a moment longer, it might be said that this combination is "the happy medium" when found in the same person, which rarely occurs. The next best thing, perhaps, is for the possessors of these different kinds of training to unite in a joint production, such as the one under review. Notwithstanding the assistance rendered by Dr. Weyl,—and this undoubtedly has been of great value in many ways,—the book is to be regarded, as written by Mr. Mitchell, and he alone is to be held responsible for its statements both of facts and opinion.

Organized Labor is made up largely of Mr. Mitchell's views on the problems of Trade Unionism. To know these the book must be read in its entirety, as no abstract or review of them is here possible, owing to the variety and extent of the subjects discussed. To mention only a few of these, it may be stated that the author reviews briefly the history of organized labor in Great Britain and America, and treats of the factory system, modern trade unionism, unorganized labor, the American standard of wages, the work of women and children, the immigrant, organized capital, the relation of the trade union to the State, to the law and to politics; incorporation of unions, the machine, restriction of output, the apprentice, the non-unionist, the label and the boycott, the injunction, compulsory arbitration, the trade agreement, and the anthracite coal strike of 1902. As the beliefs and views of a labor leader, nearly all of whose thinking and working life has been in the midst of the industrial forces whose operation and tendencies he endeavors to make clear, these opinions possess a high value to students of economic questions. The value of the book is also to be measured by the effect it is likely to have upon the rank and file composing the labor movement in America. Among these it will have a large class of readers who will take the statements therein as gospel truth. The effect should be to solidify and unite more closely the American workingmen. So far the result cannot be other than good to American institutions.

If we measure the book by the standard of an impartial presentation of facts with logical deductions it comes short of the measurement. The author is a partisan in the discussion of nearly every subject and this, too, despite indications here and there that he strives to be fair-minded and unbiased. Facts presented through colored glasses are similarly interpreted. In not a few cases the impression is given that evidence was collected to support a position

already determined upon. By these statements I do not question the author's honesty of purpose; it is his point of view that is open to criticism.

There is much in Mr. Mitchell's book to condemn; much to praise. It is not possible otherwise to judge it fairly in its entirety, nor is the space allotted to this review sufficient to criticise its parts in detail. There is one thing, however, that must be said of the book. It holds high ideals before the laboring class in the United States,—ideals worth the striving after, the attaining of which will repay a thousand-fold all the trials and tribulations that must be passed through in the present-day struggle to have them made real. Mr. Mitchell believes that as much of this promised land as can now be clearly discerned by those leading the movement is to be reached by trade unionism, through the joint agreement between employers and employees.

FRANK JULIAN WARNE.

Philadelphia.

The Story of New Zealand. By FRANK PARSONS, Ph. D. Pp. xxii, 836. Price, \$3.00. Philadelphia: C. F. Taylor, 1903.

The recent works on New Zealand, notably those of Henry D. Lloyd and William P. Reeves, have aroused considerable interest in the condition of that colony. These works, however, like most of the available literature on New Zealand, are devoted to particular phases of the country's political or economic life. Professor Parsons aims, in the work before us, to present a comprehensive account of all those peculiar institutions—political, social and economic—which have come to vary so widely from conditions in other parts of the world. The general distribution of wealth, the method of organizing industry, the great success attending experiments usually called socialistic, the progressiveness of the people, and the high state of civilization reached, all demand an explanation. The author, therefore, has not been content with describing these conditions, but has sought to explain them. The book contains an immense amount of historical and descriptive data taken from both primary and secondary sources.

The American reader will be particularly interested in Professor Parsons' able discussion of the liberal economic policy which has been pursued with more or less continuity since 1870. The public services of the colonial government have been extended to a point that would be considered highly dangerous in the United States. The telegraph and telephone have almost from the outset been government property and under government management. The postal savings bank, established in 1865, has developed great public usefulness, nearly all the money order post offices of the colony being open for the transaction of savings bank business. There are but five private savings banks. This great convenience may be more fully appreciated when it is realized that there is one place of bank deposit for each 1,800 people in New Zealand, whereas in the United States the rate is one for each 7,650. The postal savings system has also furnished the government with large amounts of capital which were required for its policy of public works. In 1870, Sir Julius Vogel, a member of the Colonial Cabinet, gave the first impetus to the extension of public works by his project

for the development of railways and roads. Since that time the government has acquired the possession and management of the railway system. In the same year the Government Life Insurance Department was established. This department in 1901 had 42,570 policies covering \$51,000,000 worth of insurance, about half the total insurance business of the colony. In 1872, the government entered the business of public trusts, that is, it established a department under an official known as the "Public Trustee," to administer estates, act as guardian, executor or trustee. The additional safety arising from the greater responsibility of the government has attracted a large amount of business for this department. In 1885, the Forests Act was passed, to provide for the reservation of State forests and government control and management of these tracts.

In 1890, the progressive tendencies in politics increased so strongly as to result in a great victory for the Liberal party, which brought into power the Ballance ministry. The advent of this cabinet marked the adoption of a more radical policy, particularly in the relation of the State to large landholdings. The first step taken was the establishment of a progressive land and income tax, with important exemptions for small holders and with lower rates for improved lands. Inheritance taxes were also made a feature of the new system. In 1892 provision was made for the purchase by the State of large landholdings; the estates so acquired were divided and leased to small tenants, preference being given to married men and to those who had no land. A later act provided for the government purchase of suburban tracts to be sold to workingmen in order to cheapen the cost of living near the large cities and to encourage a more healthful suburban life. These policies were strenuously opposed by the large landholders, but were steadily carried through by the Liberal party and have not only resulted in an increase of over sixty per cent. in the number of holdings of land, thus bringing the small holders into prominence, but have also, through wise and careful administration, netted a handsome profit to the State over and above the interest charges on capital investment. This surprising outcome of the New Zealand land policy may well afford food for thought to the politicians of other countries.

In 1894, the colony undertook to make loans at low interest to farmers, merchants, workingmen, and others, on first mortgage of land and improvements. The loans run from \$125 to \$15,000 in amount, and bear interest at four and one-half per cent. The result of this system has also been eminently satisfactory. The taxpayers have not been burdened and the small borrower has been greatly benefited by a reduction in rates of interest.

The labor policy of the colony presents two features of special interest, the factory legislation and industrial arbitration. The hours for females and boys under sixteen are forty-five a week, with a maximum of eight and a quarter in any one day, and with a few specified exceptions for men, are forty-eight a week, with a maximum of eight and three-quarters in any one day. The sweating system is attacked by the requirement that a label shall be attached to all goods made outside of factories. A system of careful inspection is maintained. The government also supports a bureau of employment. The method of indus-

trial arbitration, in successful operation since 1894, provides for an appeal to a local Board of Conciliation on demand of either disputant. From these local Boards an appeal may be taken to the central Board of Arbitration and a final and binding decision rendered. Since 1901, the State has purchased and operated a number of coal mines, thereby causing a material reduction in the price of fuel, which had formerly risen as high as ten dollars a ton. An equal suffrage, allowing the full enfranchisement of women, and the extensive use of the referendum are two important political consequences of the prevailing liberalism.

Important as these departures are from the traditional sphere of the State in other parts of the world, Professor Parsons tells us that a further development of public activity is about to take place. There is a demand for State fire insurance, the nationalization of steamship lines, the zone system of railway tariffs, the popular election of Senators, a six hour labor day, a more thorough control of industrial combinations, prohibition of the liquor traffic, abolition of the more burdensome court fees and the increase of land and income taxes.

An original feature of the book is the part dealing with "New Zealand's place among the Nations," in which Professor Parsons has given free rein to his well-known fondness for comparative statistics. He presents a somewhat extended series of "civilization tables," giving the density of population, urban population, literacy and illiteracy, per capita wealth, per capita income, per capita use of post and telegraph, telephone, and railway, savings banks deposits, life insurance, wages, consumption of food and intoxicants, pauperism, crime, etc., in New Zealand and the principal countries of the world. These tables are in many instances highly interesting and valuable to the student of practical sociology.

The book has some important defects which are apparent on even the most hasty reading. A number of the chapters are so scant and sketchy as to be almost trivial. The early portions of the book might well have been condensed or omitted without loss of interest; they contribute little of value to the description. The reader will be impressed, however, with Professor Parsons' marvelous ability for absorbing, digesting and describing in an attractive way the principal facts relative to his theme. The book fairly bristles with suggestions of value to American statesmen and social workers. After reading even a few of the more important chapters one cannot help asking the question why so many socialistic proposals have been adopted in a new country with comparatively little manufacturing industry, and a population which, if not sparse, is certainly not dense.

Professor Parsons tells us much of the growth of the ideas prevalent in New Zealand, but little of the fundamental causes which have led to the adoption of these ideas. The New Zealanders have begun their social and economic life at a point only reached by other countries after the most laborious evolution. The "vested interests" of New Zealand have not had time to reach that high point of organization and development which has been attained in other lands. The "social impetus," if such it might be called, has, therefore, been greater, while the opposition has been weaker. It may be hoped that Professor Parsons will

give us a condensed summary of the more important sections of the book and thus render possible for it a wider circulation and a greater influence. Great credit is due both the author and the publisher, Dr. Taylor, for the preparation of a work of high educational value.

JAMES T. YOUNG.

University of Pennsylvania.

Traité élémentaire de Législation Industrielle. Les Lois ouvrières. By PAUL PIC. Second edition. Pp. xi, 1065. Price, 12.50fr. Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1903.

Readers not familiar with the peculiar meaning of the French "législation industrielle" are apt to be led astray by a literal translation of this expression, which, as a matter of fact, applies to the laws of industrial property, patents, copyrights, etc. It is for this reason that the author has added the sub-title "Labor Laws" to the present volume, thus indicating that he proposes to deal with the laws governing the conditions of labor, the nature and form of the wage-contract, legal provisions with regard to conflicts between employers and employees, labor insurance, etc. This volume, in other words, gives an account of all those tutelary measures by which nations have endeavored to improve the conditions of the working classes through systematic intervention in industrial affairs.

In the "Introduction" to the book, the author discusses the attitude of economists of the various schools toward the principle of intervention. This is followed by a sketch of labor legislation from the beginning down to the present century. Here begins the systematic part of the book, devoted to a detailed statement of, and commentaries on, the present laws governing labor. Of the four sections of this part of the book, the first concerns the "administrative regulation of industry" and discusses the freedom of contract, laws regarding coalitions, trades unions and productive associations; factory hygiene, monopolies, regulated industries, child labor, female labor, and the limitations on adult male labor.

The second section treats of apprenticeship, the wage-contract, domestic labor, the sweating system, etc. The third is devoted to the institutions and methods devised for preventing industrial conflicts between employers and laborers, and for terminating these conflicts when once they have broken out. The fourth and last section deals with those social institutions, due to the influence both of the State and of private initiative, which aim to improve the economic, legal, and moral condition of the workman or employee; it discusses saving, co-operation, and labor insurance.

The whole book is an excellent specimen of that clearness of style, that attractiveness of presentation, and that love of system, which characterize French scholarship. With a widening and accelerating tendency everywhere for legal authorities to interfere in the industrial world, and a growing disposition on the part of social reformers to accept and apply the principle of mutual

responsibility among the members of society, there is need for a careful systematic survey of the whole field such as Professor Pic has tried to give us.

Those economists and sociologists who believe in the existence of uniform laws of social development applicable to all nations will find valuable material in support of this doctrine in the striking similarity in the labor laws of most civilized nations, even in the absence of conscious imitation. Six important aims underlie the laws of nearly all nations with regard to the control of industrial life. (1) They aim to provide employers and laborers with permanent means for bringing their demands to the attention of public authorities, by the creation of "labor bureaus," industrial commissions, and boards of arbitration and conciliation of one sort or another. (2) In order to bring about more perfect equality and harmony between laborers as a class and employers as a class, they encourage the formation of organizations of laborers, of capitalists, or of laborers and capitalists together. (3) They lay down certain rules in the interest of safety and hygiene, and undertake to protect certain classes of laborers against the undue exploitation of employers or against their own carelessness and improvidence. The systematic endeavor to accomplish this results, necessarily, in the creation of a class of officials charged with the enforcement of these protective laws,—such as factory inspectors, health officers, etc. (4) They subject contracts to a system of restrictions designed either to establish general rules for their legal interpretation, or to protect the wages of labor from all manner of encroachments, such as the truck system, undue fines and penalties, irregular payments, etc. (5) They set up courts with special powers and jurisdiction, to settle industrial conflicts between employers and employees. (6) They favor the development of all institutions for improving the condition of the workingman,—such as co-operative associations, building and loan associations, savings banks, homestead laws, workingmen's insurance.

In carrying out his elaborate programme, the author extends the scope of his investigations to the following countries: France, England, the United States, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, Germany, Russia, Holland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the British Colonies.

The chief qualities, manifestly, which such a book as this should possess are accuracy and completeness. So far as I have been able to judge from a careful examination of the parts of the book relating to American conditions, it is entirely accurate—so far as it goes. The author could not, of course, present American conditions so exhaustively as those of his own country. Particularly the fourth section is too sketchy in its nature. The book, nevertheless, is really indispensable to students of labor legislation, and throws a flood of light on the difficult but pressing problem of determining what the State, *i. e.*, organized society, can and should do to preserve social peace and establish social justice. The exceptionally complete bibliographical references scattered throughout the large volume give additional value to what is probably the most complete and authoritative work of its kind.

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The Political Theories of the Ancient World. By WESTEL WOODBURY WILLOUGHBY. Pp. xii, 294. Price, \$2.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

This work is the introductory volume in a series intended to cover the entire history of political theory, and includes a discussion of Oriental, Hebrew, Greek and Roman political ideas. In the treatment of the classical period, Professor Willoughby is somewhat unfortunate in having to work over territory which has been pretty thoroughly surveyed in very recent times. Loos' detailed study of Plato and Aristotle, Rehm's *Geschichte der Staatsrechtswissenschaft*, and Dunning's *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediaeval*, to say nothing of earlier and minor works, have covered the period in such a thorough way as to leave little room for originality in material, or freshness of discussion. Nevertheless, a complete history of political theories must begin with the beginning, and after all no two historians see the same facts or interpret them alike.

Professor Willoughby is already well known to political scientists through his *Nature of the State and Social Justice*, and is well qualified to write such a work as he has planned. His prefatory assertion, however, that the formulation of an independent scheme of political theory is a necessary qualification for an historian of political theories is open to question. One might with equal logic maintain that no one is justified in philosophizing on politics until he has examined carefully the thoughts of the great masters of political theory in the past. In fact the wealth of reference to past and present political theorists, found in Professor Willoughby's *Nature of the State*, indicates that his opinions were formed in precisely this way, and that he had first carefully scrutinized the historical development of political philosophy. Indeed, one of the many valuable features of that work is its frequent and useful summaries of the conclusions reached by earlier theorists.

The scope of the work undertaken includes not only an examination of systematic political philosophy, but also an inquiry into the "political ideas implied but not expressed in the systems of government and law of the times and people considered." With the exception of certain phases of Grecian and Roman *Rechtslehre*, however, the author has generally restricted himself to the field of *Staatslehre* traversed by his predecessors. On the other hand, he has somewhat slighted the connection between political theories and the social and political conditions under which they have been developed.

The style of the volume is on the whole attractive, but the general effect is marred by a few blemishes. One of these is the frequent insertion of page-long quotations from various authorities, sometimes from the thinker under discussion, sometimes from an historian of the particular period. It is also hard to see why the author should have preferred to use Ellis' translation of Aristotle in the presence of so many better ones, notably that of Jowett, which is certainly less painful than the one actually used.

The discussion of the theories of the period covered is generally adequate and satisfactory. If some exceptions are taken, it is not to be inferred that these are typical of the whole work. Thus the statement that the Hebrew priests

wielded no political authority (p. 26) is contradicted by the author himself (p. 28). It is questionable whether the Sophists were a sufficiently unified body of thinkers to be regarded as constituting a "school" of philosophy or politics, as the author indicates. Again in the discussion of Aristotle, the author seems to have mistaken his idea of the "polity." This was not properly the rule of the poor (p. 172), but was conceived as a mean between the rule of the many poor and the few rich. It was the rule of the middle class rather than government by either rich or poor. It may further be questioned whether Aristotle ever had in mind the distinction now drawn by some theorists between the "State" and the "government" (p. 167). Aristotle's theory of revolutions is passed over with a few words, although this constitutes one of the most important and instructive parts of his work; likewise Aristotle's defence of democracy which exerted such a pronounced influence on later political theory is very scantily treated. Another omission is the author's failure to place in proper perspective the characteristic Greek doctrine of the "philosopher king" the ever-recurring idea of the political Messiah, so frequently found in both Aristotle and Plato.

The consideration of these defects of the work should not blind us to the many excellent features of the volume. It is on the whole a careful and painstaking study, adequate to the author's purpose of presenting a review of the history of political theories during the classical period. The projected series of volumes will, when completed, make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the various stages through which political speculation has passed.

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NOTES

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

THE PARK SYSTEM OF AMERICAN CITIES

Baltimore.—*Park System.*¹ The park system of Baltimore consists, roughly speaking, of four larger parks, set almost geometrically upon the four corners of the city, and of some dozen smaller parks and squares scattered irregularly throughout the residential sections. As has been long remarked, the value of these open places depends not so much upon their size as upon their accessibility, and judged by this test Baltimore is not altogether fortunate. Druid Hill Park, in the northwest, and Clifton in the northeast, monopolize between them nearly a thousand acres, about two-thirds of the total park area; and while they serve most admirably the northern portion of the city, it is in the southern, the more crowded portion, that the need for park space is most pressing. The larger part of this section is inhabited by laboring people, chiefly factory workers, and although there is but little approach to a slum condition, the section is æsthetically barren and lacking in proper sanitary advantages. Patterson Park, of 106 acres, and several minor parks of much less size are inadequate and unequal to the demands made upon them.

It is only of recent years that any effort has been made towards systematic park development. Druid Hill and Patterson Parks were early acquired, but then there was a lull of some thirty years before any marked additions were made. The purchase of Carroll Park, in 1890, and of Clifton, in 1895, filled out fairly well the largest gaps in the system. In 1902, several citizens of Baltimore, in making a gift of land in the northern suburbs for a future site of the Johns Hopkins University, donated the fifty western acres of this tract to the city. The idea was that this should be made a link in an extensive chain of boulevards and parkways; and the gift accelerated a movement then latent to improve and enlarge the entire park system. As a consequence, Mr. Frederick Law Olmstead was engaged by the Municipal Art Society to make a study of the park needs of Baltimore and the best means of meeting them. The plan submitted was approved in substance by the city administration, and an Enabling Act for a suitable loan was before the Legislature when the February fire put a stop to the undertaking. It is believed, however, that the delay will be but temporary, and there is little doubt that ultimate development will be along the lines laid down by Mr. Olmstead.

The basic ideas of his report are the utilization of the valleys of two natural water-sources which skirt the eastern and western sides of the city, and the connecting of these with the older parks by a chain of broad boulevards. This

¹ Communication of Mr. H. S. Hanna, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

would give a continuous line of park-ways around the city, bordering close upon the residential sections and developing increased utility with the expansion of the city. The report further contemplates the establishment of many smaller parks, principally in the outlying districts, and the enlargement of Patterson Park to double its present area. Unfortunately, the close-built character of the city offers little opportunity, without prohibitive expense, of any radical extension of centrally located parks.

The idea of a park as a well-groomed, well-policed lawn for unobtrusive communion with nature was long dominant in the minds of park managements. But it is now beginning to be realized that to a vast number of city dwellers the park appeals less as a garden than as a play ground, less for its placarded grass-plots than for its possibilities of amusement. To the landscape artist this craving may be a low one, but it is natural and wholesale; and in a city like Baltimore where the taxpayers are unwilling or unable to provide special recreation grounds in the more congested sections it seems most feasible to use portions of the existing parks for this purpose. Considerable headway has lately been made in this direction, and open-air gymnasiums, athletic fields, children's playgrounds, outdoor concerts, etc., are being provided with commendable liberality.

The management of the parks is in the hands of a Board of five Commissioners appointed by the Mayor for a term of four years. The entire expense of care and maintenance is met out of a special fund derived from a 9 per cent. tax on the gross receipts of the street railways.

Buffalo.—*Park System.*² The parks of Buffalo have always been managed by a Commission appointed by the Mayor of the city. For a long time this Commission consisted of fifteen members, but this proved to be an unwieldy body, and in February, 1902, the number was reduced to five* by act of the Legislature.

During the last twenty-five years, Buffalo has spent over five and a half millions of dollars upon its park system, of which a little over a million represents the cost of the land taken, the rest being expended upon construction and maintenance. There are six large parks, varying in size from 22 to 362 acres, the total area being 749 acres. There are also 23 open squares covering in all 74 acres. To these should be added the area of the park approaches, which amounts in all to 224 acres, making the total park area in the city, 1,049 acres.

The parks, big and little, are distributed all over the city, and many of them are connected by beautiful roads and boulevards. The largest and most beautiful single one is Delaware Park, which has a great variety of surface, comprising broad open meadows, wooded slopes, a beautiful lake, and many thickets of shrubbery. A part of it is occupied by the accommodations furnished for a small, but interesting zoological collection, and two very fine buildings have been added within the last three years—that of the Buffalo Historical Society, which was erected by the State of New York as its official building during the Pan-American Exhibition of 1901, and the Albright Art Gallery, which is the

² Communication of Professor A. C. Richardson, Buffalo, N. Y.

gift of a public-spirited citizen. This is by far the finest edifice in the city. Besides the parks, there are also five or six municipal playgrounds, some of which were established upon land already owned by the city, and others upon leased ground. One of these latter plots will be purchased this year, but aside from this no extension of the park system is contemplated at present.

Cincinnati.—*Park System.*³ In Cincinnati, the administration of the parks is local; the Board of Public Service, composed of five men, elected at large by the city, are charged, among other things, with the care of the parks. This Board elects an official known as Superintendent of Parks. There has been little growth within the past twenty-five years in the system.

The parks are accessible to all citizens of the city proper; the two largest parks, Burnet Woods and Eden Park, being on street car lines running from the centre of the city. The smaller parks are located in the central and western parts of the city. When the new parks in contemplation shall have been completed, every part of the city will have sufficient park space. The present park area of Cincinnati is about 395 acres. During the past few years there has been considerable agitation for increased park area, and within the last year this has been successful; \$1,000,000 has already been appropriated for this purpose, and property within the city proper will be condemned, so that new parks will be located in the east and west ends of the city, and in the central part. Next year, in all probability, there will be a park connecting Avondale and Walnut Hills, two of the leading suburbs. At present the authorities deem it best to locate small parks throughout that residence portion of the city occupied by workmen.

Cleveland.—*Park System.*⁴ The care and maintenance of the park system belong to the Board of Public Service, the chief administrative body of the city. The Board of Public Safety has supervision of the policing of the parks, and for this purpose employs a small number of special policemen. Such control of the parks has obtained since May of 1903, when the new municipal code went into effect. Just prior to that time the system had been under the jurisdiction of the Director of Public Works, and preceding his control the parks were, by a special statute, placed in charge of a commission appointed by the Mayor. The system is very largely the product of the past twenty or twenty-five years. Twenty years ago the city owned but few parks and they were little more than public squares. These parks were not fully adapted to park purposes. The city now owns 1412 acres of park lands, driveways and boulevards, containing 28 miles of roads and 33 miles of walks.

With the exception of the small squares in the congested part of the city, the greater area of the parks is found in the city's outskirts, and they may be said to comprise the border land between the city and its immediate suburbs. While, however, the parks are located near the outskirts of the city, there is no section of the city from which one or more parks are not conveniently accessible.

The public is greatly interested in the extension of its park system, and while

³ Communication of Max B. May, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁴ Communication of F. E. Stevens, Esq., Cleveland, Ohio.

no enactment provides for it, there is a sort of unwritten law or definite purpose carried forward from time to time to create a system of parks and boulevards, which shall completely surround the city. Extensive parks are now located on the lake front, the western, the southwestern, the southern, the southeastern, the eastern and the northeastern radia of the city. This system so nearly comprises a circle that the completion of the circle presents no insuperable difficulties.

A marked change of policy has taken place in the control of the parks. "Keep off the grass" signs have everywhere been removed; free band concerts are provided in summer; in certain parks religious services are held, in which representative ministers take part. The public is encouraged to make these parks their playground; harmless sports of various kinds are permitted. The result is that the parks are now used as never before, and the great freedom permitted is not abused. They are carefully maintained and their natural beauty and healthful utility constantly enhanced by employing the services of experts on the various phases of park development.

Grand Rapids.—*Park System.*⁵ Grand Rapids has a little over 140 acres of park lands. This is much less than the park areas of some smaller cities. The park system is under the immediate control of a superintendent of parks appointed annually by the Common Council. The Council Committee on parks has the duties of a Park Commission, with the exception that all of its acts are subject to strict control by the Council as a whole.

The principal park lies at the western extremity of the city and covers about 107 acres. Twenty years ago the original 40 acres of this park was left to the city by Mr. John Ball, for whom the park has been named. The pieces of land added to the original lot have been purchased from time to time. Most of this park is beautiful hill land covered with the original forest. Only a narrow strip along the front is open to improvement. The park committee has long felt the need of procuring for park purposes some of the open level lands lying between the park and the built-up portions of the city. The question of buying a tract of thirty acres of this land was to have been submitted to the people this spring, but was withdrawn by the Council on account of the disastrous flood that covered a large portion of the city on the west side of the river during the last week of March. The city has a number of small parks in various sections, but not as many as are needed. However, Grand Rapids is a city of beautiful trees and well-kept lawns, and the need of parks is lessened by this fact. There is considerable difference of opinion among the citizens as to whether further expenditures should be devoted to the extension and improvement of John Ball Park or to the acquisition of more small parks or the extension of school grounds. An influential body of citizens is now working for the development of a boulevard system. The city is quite in need of a Park Commission to devise and perfect a general plan of park extension for the future.

Milwaukee.—*Park System.*⁶ The administration of the park system of Milwaukee is purely local. Section 10 of chapter 488 of the Wisconsin Laws of

⁵ Communication of Delos F. Wilcox, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

⁶ Communication of John A. Butler, Esq., Milwaukee, Wis.

1889 authorized the Mayor of Milwaukee to appoint, on or before the first day of June of that year, five Park Commissioners; one for a term of one year, one for two, one for three, one for four, and one for five years; one Commissioner to be appointed annually thereafter for a term of five years. In case of a vacancy, the Mayor was authorized to appoint a Commissioner for the unexpired term.

Under the provisions of this law all lands acquired by the city for park purposes since its passage are managed and controlled by said Board, subject to rules and regulations which it is authorized to adopt. Section 2 of Chapter 179 of the laws of 1891 gives the Board exclusive power to manage, control, and improve the parks, and also the boulevards of the city, and to employ such skilled labor as may be necessary. Section 6 of the same chapter provides that the Common Council shall include in the annual tax levy a special tax, not exceeding one-half of a mill, which shall be paid into the city treasury as a distinct fund, known as the "Park and Boulevard Fund." The Board is authorized to disburse such fund, in its judgment, in the maintenance of the parks and boulevards. The fund amounts to about \$85,000 a year at present, and is obviously inadequate. The results obtained with such meagre resources are surprising, and the parks, already very beautiful, are constantly becoming more attractive. This is largely owing to the taste and influence of the late Christian Wahl, a wealthy and cultivated man, with a natural talent for landscape gardening, who was the father of the Milwaukee park system.

Prior to 1891, the city possessed ten inconsiderable squares or parks, ranging from one acre to twenty-nine acres in extent, which were, and are still, managed by the Board of Public Works. Since 1891 the following additional parks have been purchased and improved.

Lake park	area	124.0	acres
Riverside park	"	24.0	"
Lincoln park	"	5.1	"
Washington park	"	147.7	"
Sherman park	"	23.7	"
Mitchell park	"	57.4	"
Kosciuszko park	"	36.9	"
Humbolt park	"	45.7	"

464.5 "

The Board has improved and developed these parks with great skill and taste, and has also laid out and beautified several broad and extensive boulevards. The Milwaukee parks are, in the main, somewhat remote from the center of the city. Some of them are really on the "outskirts," but are easily accessible to large bodies of the population. It is proposed to connect them by a system of boulevards which will practically girdle the city, extending from Lake Park, which overlooks Lake Michigan from the high bluffs on the north, to Humbolt Park, which is not remote from the Lake Shore at a point about five miles south of Lake Park. The Milwaukee park system reflects credit on the city, and the progress made in the brief space of a dozen years is deserving of commendation.

Washington.—*Park System.*⁷ A greatly increased interest has been manifested in the development of the park system of Washington during the past five years. This interest is more than local. Washington is the National Capital, and the past few years have witnessed a remarkable growth of the sentiment in Congress, on the part of both Representatives and Senators, for the beautification of the city. There is reason to believe that it is now the fixed policy of Congress to make Washington the most beautiful capital city in the world.

When the American Institute of Architects held its convention in Washington in 1900, one of the principal topics of discussion was "the future grouping of Government buildings and the park treatment of Washington City." At this meeting, a committee of the Institute was appointed to bring the matter to the attention of Congress, and Congress authorized the appointment of a commission, which was known as the "Park Commission." This Commission consisted of Messrs. D. H. Burnham, F. L. Olmstead, Charles F. McKim and Augustus St. Gaudens. The Commission spent over a year on the study of the subject, visiting, in this connection, the principal American and European cities. Its report was submitted to the Senate in January, 1902. The report contained a comprehensive plan for the future treatment of the entire park system of the District of Columbia. The development of the plan outlined by this Commission would cost many millions of dollars; but the intentions of the promoters of the plan are that the scheme outlined should be kept in mind, as a guide, in the development of the park system, for all time to come, and that when new Government buildings are needed and enlargements of the park areas are required, this plan should serve as a guide for all future work in this direction. The action of Congress, during the present session, on pending bills for the erection of additional Government buildings, has been in conformity with the plan outlined by the Park Commission.

The total park area of the District of Columbia is approximately 3,350 acres. This area is exclusive of several hundred small park spaces—circles, triangles, etc.—at the intersection of streets and avenues. These spaces add very much to the beauty of the city. These small park spaces vary in size from a few thousand feet up to nearly an acre. They are set with shrubs and flowers, and many of them are furnished with benches.

The park area of 3,350 acres, above referred to, is made up of twenty-five separate park spaces, varying in extent from one acre to sixteen hundred acres. Six of these parks are public squares and circles, covering only about one acre each; eight of them are parks varying in size from twelve to seventy acres; while four are parks of more than one hundred acres each. The principal parks are the Zoological Park, consisting of 170 acres; the Soldiers' Home grounds, 502 acres; Potomac Park, 739 acres; and Rock Creek Park, 1600 acres.

The greatest acquisition to the park system of the District of Columbia is the Rock Creek Park, which was established by Act of Congress, in September, 1890. This is to be the future great park of the National Capital. It lies along both banks of Rock Creek, extending northward from the edge of the city

⁷ Communication of George S. Wilson, Esq., Secretary Board of Charities of the District of Columbia.

to the northwest corner of the District of Columbia, a distance of about five miles. This park is still unimproved, except that several good roads have been built, and these roads are among the most attractive driveways about the city. The Potomac Park, which consists of over 700 acres, has been made, very largely, from land reclaimed along the banks of the Potomac River. There is in contemplation a plan to make another large park area by the reclamation of the flats along the banks of the Anacostia River, known as the "Eastern Branch" of the Potomac. Zoological Park, Soldiers' Home Grounds and Rock Creek Park are all easily accessible by street car. All the other parks are within the limits of the city proper and are readily accessible. Considering the wide streets and the many small parks scattered throughout the city, Washington is undoubtedly better provided with breathing spaces for its people, than any other city in the country, if not in the world.

There is, however, need for public playgrounds, either in the parks or in places especially set apart. Considerable interest in this matter has been manifested and several public playgrounds have been established within the past two years. In the larger parks, there is need that tennis courts, ball grounds, and other facilities for athletics should be provided.

The future plans for the development of the park system contemplate a formal treatment of considerable areas of park space within the city proper. These are the areas where will be located the future public buildings. The plans include, also, park connections between the various park spaces now available, or hereafter to be secured. It is hoped, also, that a series of military forts, surrounding the city of Washington and within the District of Columbia, will be purchased by the Government and set aside for park purposes. These forts are, at present, well outside the city of Washington; but the street extension plan, as well as the plan outlined for the future park development, contemplates a city covering practically the entire District of Columbia. Several city streets have already been extended, and are improved and lighted to the borders of the District. The entire District comprises less than 70 square miles.

The administration of the park system in the District of Columbia, like the administration of almost every other department of the local government, is wholly unique as compared with the administration of the system in other cities. Nearly all of the smaller parks, within the city proper, are under the jurisdiction of an engineer officer of the army, detailed as "the officer in charge of public buildings and grounds." The Capitol grounds are under the jurisdiction of the architect of the Capitol. The Zoological Park is under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The great Rock Creek Park is under the joint control of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army. There is a great diversity of jurisdiction, therefore, vested partially in the officials of the Federal Government and partially in local officials. The system is centralized only in the fact that Congress has exclusive jurisdiction over all.

II. DEPARTMENT OF PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Probation for Girls.¹—Much has been said and written during the past two or three years about probation, especially probation for men and boys who are in court for their first offense. Comparatively little has been heard of probation for girls, and it has even been said that probation does not succeed in the cases of young women, for the reason that the police do not usually arrest a girl until she has become so notorious as to be a subject for jail or reformatory. That, when a girl appears in court, it is for some offense more serious or persistent than those for which a majority of the boys are "run in," my experience has led me to believe; but I believe, also, that probation is universally desirable, and is actually essential in communities where there is no reformatory for women, and where the county jail is the alternative. Such a community is the State of New Jersey.

A year ago an investigation was made in Union County to ascertain the number of women arrested during 1901-2. Several significant facts were brought out in the investigation. It was found, for instance, that of the 247 arrests 26 were under 20 years of age, 59 were under 25, and 88 were under 30. 368 of these were arrested for disorderly conduct or drunkenness, or both. 27 women were known as "rounders"—that is, they had been arrested two or more times during the year. Of these, 7 were under 25 at the time of their first arrest. One girl, who is now 24, was first arrested when she was 16 for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, and she has been sentenced five times during the last five years. She was arrested twice in 1901-2 and spent sixty days in jail. Another woman was arrested first when she was 20 years old; she is now 30, and has been sentenced for drunkenness and disorderly conduct eight times during five years.

One fact to which these cases point is the entire failure of the county jails to effect any permanent reformation in the character of the girls. With the almost universal lack of proper classification in jails, women hardened in vice and crime come into close contact with girls sent up for their first offense, and the effect of such association on the latter can only be debasing and corrupting.

Another fact to which these figures point is that a large number of those arrested are women under 30; in other words, women young enough to be strongly influenced for good if taken hold of in the right way *at the time of their first offense*. The seven "rounders," who were under 25 when first arrested, would probably not be "rounders" to-day had there been a probation officer when they began to go wrong.

A third fact shown by the above statistics is that 183 out of 247 arrests were for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. It is just such cases as these that need probation, for an offense of this sort is the result of weakness, bad environment, evil companions, not necessarily of depravity; and it is certainly the probation officer, not the jail, that is most likely to see that this environment and these

¹ Contributed by Amy Wentworth Stone.

companions are changed. It is quite probable that what these girls have always needed and always lacked is the moral brace which contact with a strong, wise woman will give.

There are only two agencies by which these girls can be reached; one is the woman's reformatory, the other is the probation officer. It is of fundamental importance that the officer who is to handle the cases of girls should be a woman—a woman, furthermore, who, while maintaining her authority as probation officer, can at the same time win the love and confidence of the girls committed to her care. She should get into close personal touch with them in their homes, make them feel that they are her friends, and that their well-being and well-doing are matters of deep personal interest to her. A girl's discovery that the friend she cares for, cares also for her, and expects much of her, acts as a tremendous moral incentive. It is this personal friendship, built upon the firm foundation of authority given by the court, that may be made a powerful weapon in the hands of the probation officer.

A girl arrested for the first time should unquestionably be put upon probation rather than sent to jail. If she is re-arrested, and there is a state reformatory for women, it may seem best to send her there; but, where there is no reformatory, I should advocate repeated trials on probation before resorting to the county jail. Whatever she may have been before serving her term in the degrading surroundings of the jail, she will probably be incorrigible after her discharge. There is in New Jersey one woman, now over 60 years of age, who has served 67 terms in the county jail for drunkenness; this is a significant comment upon jails as agencies for reform.

If the women actually brought into court are in many cases pretty hard to handle, there is another class of girls among whom the probation officer may find a large field for work. While it is most desirable to get hold of a girl at the time of her first arrest, it is still better to gain influence over her when she first begins to go wrong and before the police courts know her at all. In other words, there is opportunity for a probation officer, through her expert knowledge of the handling of wayward girls, to do valuable preventive work. The police, as has been said, usually know of a girl long before she is arrested, which does not occur till she is more or less notorious. If such girls were regularly brought to the attention of the probation officer, she, with skill and experience, might settle the cases out of court, and for the thousandth time verify the old proverb about the ounce of prevention. At the present time the average probation officer is overburdened with court work without the addition of outside cases, and this is because the public will not support enough probation officers. This, in turn, is because public opinion is not yet sufficiently educated to perceive that, as was once said, it is regeneration from within, not reformation from without, that forms the sure foundation of character, and that for the work of regeneration a probation officer must have time and opportunity to go to the very root of the evils she is trying to conquer.

Reformatory and Industrial Schools.—The London *Times* comments quite fully upon the annual report of Mr. James G. Legge, His Majesty's Inspector of Re-

formatory and Industrial Schools. These schools have a population of 29,135 boys and girls, besides the 3,423 children attending day industrial schools, and are, says the *Times*, "agencies for manufacturing decent citizens out of possible criminals." The reformatories provide for juveniles up to 16 years of age, who have been convicted of an offense punishable by imprisonment, while the industrial establishments are for children up to fourteen who are likely to be drawn into crime by their surroundings.

By the Act of 1899 preliminary imprisonment was abolished; in other words, juvenile offenders who go to reformatories do so without passing through prison. Truancy is decreasing, and this fact is attributed to the Education Act of 1900, which has raised the fine on parents from 5 shillings to 20 shillings, and has thus had the salutary effect of making them take more trouble to secure the regular attendance of their children at school.

The Inspector refers to the progress made in the matter of industrial education. Effort is being made to give the girls better training in needlework, and two arithmetic schemes have been prepared, by which instead of teaching purely commercial arithmetic, the boys shall be instructed in such mathematics as is essential for them in the workshop, and the girls in such as fit them to keep accurate and tidy household accounts.

Careful physical observations and measurements of children in reformatory and industrial schools, made both in 1901 and 1903, tend to show that, as compared with similar results in 1883, there has been no physical deterioration during that time. If anything, there has been improvement. Since the class from which these children come is, perhaps, the lowest in the social scale, this is an encouraging fact in reference to the slum population.

The report of 1903 of the inspector appointed to visit the reformatory and industrial schools of Ireland is a most exhaustive statement of the good work being done for delinquent children in that country. There are in Ireland 69 industrial schools and 6 reformatory schools. Of the latter, two are for Roman Catholic boys, with a total of 384 inmates; three are for Roman Catholic girls, with a total of 60 inmates; and one is for Protestant boys, with 117 inmates. There are thus 561 delinquent children.

The Youthful Offenders' Act of 1901 provides that no child under 12 years, not previously convicted, can be sent to a reformatory; a wise provision, and one in line with the probation work done in this country. The children committed are given a common school education, and industrial training is receiving constantly more and more attention. A beginning has been made in one reformatory to give the boys a practical knowledge of agriculture, based upon a course of elementary science as far as it bears on the work in which they may be engaged, and experimental plots within the school-grounds have been established for this purpose. In several of the boys' schools manual instruction is being given with most satisfactory results. An effort is made to require parents to pay toward the support of their children. During the year 1902 there was collected from parents for children in reformatory schools 443 and for children in industrial schools 878, making a total of 1321. The Inspector has adopted the plan of classifying the

schools in the order of their merit, and in this way the managers have been influenced to bring their school up to a good standard, that they may stand high on the classified list.

Of the 118 children committed to reformatories during 1902, 62 were between 14 and 16 years of age, 50 were between 12 and 14, 5 were between 10 and 12, and only one was under 10; 73, or nearly 62 per cent. of these children, were committed for larceny; the remainder were committed for one of twenty different offences, including assault, arson and vagrancy; 24 were sentenced for 3 years, 36 for 4 years, and 58 for 5 years.

Of the 153 children discharged during the year 58 went to service, 65 returned to friends, one died, and the remainder enlisted or went to sea. During the years 1899, 1900 and 1901 there were discharged 411 children. Of these, 372, or 90 per cent., are known to be doing well, and only 19, or between 4 and 5 per cent. have been re-convicted for crime—a record of which the reformatories may well be proud.

Children are committed to industrial schools for begging, keeping bad company and being found without a home, proper guardianship or visible means of support. 1,318 were admitted during 1902. 180 of these were under 6 years of age, and nearly all the rest were between 6 and 12. As in the case of the reformatory schools, the greater number of discharges were to service or to friends. Of the 3,528 discharged during 1899, 1900 and 1901, 3,179, or 90 per cent., are known to be doing well.

The Work of the Board of Charities of the District of Columbia² is unique in many respects, because of the unique character of the government of the District of Columbia.

The District of Columbia is a territory of about seventy-three square miles, and has a population of three hundred thousand people. The government unit is the entire District, there being no separate municipal government for the city of Washington. The work which the Board of Charities has to do is, in many respects, more of the character of the work performed by a Municipal Board than by a State Board; and yet, it differs, in some respects, from either. So far as governmental functions are concerned in the District of Columbia, the functions of City, County and State are all necessarily combined. This condition is entirely unique. The Board of Charities exercises supervision over all charitable agencies receiving support from the public treasury. The Board also has found it necessary to assume a good deal of executive work, because it seems impracticable that there should be separate executive and supervisory agencies in such a small community, the population of the entire District being only about three hundred thousand persons, or much less than the number found in many of the larger cities.

The Board was organized in 1900, and in its three annual reports has urged a more centralized control of the public charities. The subsidy system has been the predominant feature in the charitable work of the District of Columbia. The Board is opposed to this system and has urged modifications looking to the ultimate elimination of subsidies. It has succeeded in having the payments made

² Contributed by Geo. S. Wilson.

to the principal hospitals upon a contract basis, allowing so much per capita for indigent patients cared for, instead of the lump sum appropriations heretofore granted.

One result of the subsidy system has been the growth of private hospitals at the expense of the public hospital. The city hospital of Washington is a small institution connected with the almshouse, with a capacity of about one hundred and forty beds.

This is the only hospital to which the public officials can demand the admission of patients. As a result, the various large private hospitals aided by the Government devote themselves almost exclusively to the care and the treatment of acute cases, and the city hospital is wholly inadequate to supply the demand for the care of chronic and incurable cases. There is absolutely no proper provision for the care of patients suffering from tuberculosis. A site has been purchased for a city hospital and the Board of Charities earnestly urges upon Congress an appropriation to commence the work of construction. It was recommended that the first building erected should be for the care of persons suffering from tuberculosis. It is earnestly hoped that Congress will make sufficient appropriations from time to time to erect such buildings on the new site as will be necessary to meet the growing demands upon the institution. It is the desire of the Board that the hospital at the almshouse should be discontinued as a general city hospital, and the work there should be transferred to the city hospital to be erected on the new site.

The Board recommends the passage of a bill creating a Juvenile Court in the District of Columbia and providing for the commitment of children to the Reform Schools and to the Board of Children's Guardians. It is recommended in this connection that several subsidies now granted to private child-caring institutions be discontinued, and that public appropriations be made only to be spent through the authorized public agencies.

The Board has been active in the work of the deportation of the non-resident insane. The District of Columbia, being the seat of the National Government, attracts many cranks and demented persons from all parts of the country to the Capital to see the President or others of the high officers of the Federal Government. Such persons are arrested and confined at the Government Hospital for the Insane, at the cost of the District of Columbia. The number of such commitments is so great that the burden would become enormous if active measures were not taken with a view to sending to the places of their proper residence all such persons whose residence can be determined. During the past two years the Board has returned to their relatives, or the authorities in the places where the persons had a legal residence, more than 150 such persons.

Jewish Charities in Chicago.³—Chicago celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in the fall of 1903, but received its charter as a city only in the year 1837. The first Jewish settler appeared here in 1840. In 1844 there were about twenty Jewish families living in this city. The Jewish immigration began after 1848, and in the year 1851 the first society with charitable intents was formed under the

³ Contributed by E. Rubovito, Superintendent United Hebrew Charities, Chicago, Ill. "

name of "Hebrew Benevolent Society." Similar societies sprang up here and there, and of these, the United Hebrew Relief Association was formed in the year 1859, changing its title in the year 1888 to that of the United Hebrew Charities of Chicago.

With the great increase in the Jewish population, it was found necessary to establish a Hospital, a Home for the Aged and Infirm, an Orphan Home, and a Free Dispensary. The large influx of Russian refugees which marked the beginning of the last two decades of the 19th century created urgent need of special schooling for the children of Russian Jews, and a training school was established for them.

All of these institutions were, however, independent of each other and the usual wasteful methods of raising money for them separately by fairs, entertainments and private subscription prevailed. After considerable agitation, the members of the various societies got together four years ago, and formed the Associated Jewish Charities of Chicago, with the object of raising money solely by subscription for the maintenance of all of the Jewish institutions. The plan has worked very well. About \$150,000 is raised annually, which is apportioned according to the needs of each institution. Some of the institutions have endowment funds, but none have a sufficient endowment to be self-sustaining. The institutions which receive appropriations from the Associated Jewish Charities are as follows:

The United Hebrew Charities Relief Department, which makes loans without interest from \$10 to \$150 to applicants who have prospects of helping themselves and are likely to repay the loans in small installments. It acts as an employment agency, and cares for the poor and needy generally.

The United Hebrew Charities Hospital, called the Michael Reese Hospital, after its founder, one of the best hospitals in the city, has a children's ward in a separate building, equipped with all modern improvements; it also maintains an excellent training school for nurses, and a free dispensary.

The United Hebrew Charities Free Dispensary, on the West Side, which is one of the most efficient institutions in the country.

Chicago Home for Jewish Orphans, founded in 1893, has a fine fire-proof building, on beautiful grounds, with a capacity for 250 children. The present number in the Home is 175. The children attend public schools and are not uniformed. The establishment of this institution is due to the efforts of Jewish women.

The Home for Aged Jews, established in 1891; capacity 100 persons; present number of inmates 75. Buildings are modern and on fine grounds. This is a real home for the aged. Men and women of the Jewish community visit the old people constantly.

The Training School is known as the model school of Chicago. It includes manual training besides the usual public-school course. 550 children of the Jewish settlements are attending daily. On Saturday, religious instruction is given.

Home for Jewish Friendless and Working Girls, established 1901, in rented quarters. There are at present 80 children and 20 working girls in the Home. A site, 300 by 165 feet, in the best location in the city, has just been bought, and the heirs of the late B. Kuppenheimer will erect the necessary buildings, on the cottage plan.

The Ninth Ward Bureau of Personal Service was organized in 1897. This institution is doing great service to the Jewish community. The officers attend to Juvenile Court work, as probationers, furnish legal assistance in cases of wife abandonment and divorce proceedings, and look after delinquents in general.

The Maxwell Street Settlement is located in the Jewish settlement on the West Side, is keeping up a Kindergarten and is doing good "Settlement Work" in its sphere. The endeavor of those engaged in this work is stimulated to a high degree by its inspiring neighbor, the "Hull House."

The Chicago Lying-In Hospital is a non-sectarian institution and is only partly maintained from the funds of the Associated Jewish Charities. Doctors and nurses are sent to the houses of the needy, caring for the mothers and their babes, and teaching the ignorant sanitary and hygienic rules.

The Woman's Loan Association is the most successful among the many who are working on these lines. A borrower can obtain a loan from \$5.00 to \$25.00 without interest. He is required to furnish a guarantor, who need not be a real estate owner or a shopkeeper. It may be a man or a woman who is earning his or her living honestly and is known by the investigator to be of good character. The borrower is required to pay 5 per cent. weekly on the principal. This association is loaning out from \$3,000 to \$5,000 yearly and its losses do not amount to one-quarter of one per cent.

The Jewish Orphan Society was founded by the late Mrs. Eliza Frank, who in her will testated \$40,000.00 as a permanent fund, the interest to be used for the purpose of caring for and educating orphan children in private homes, or in their mothers' homes. This small society stands for a great ideal: it is to point toward the modern idea of educating orphan children without institutionalism. Although the fund has as yet not been increased since 1884, there is hope that in course of time others who hold to this principle of educating orphans will increase the means to afford more support to this noble work. There are 25 orphan children, mostly under the care of their mothers and especially appointed guardians. The mother in whose care her child is placed is not allowed to receive assistance from any other society. The guardian is charged with the duty to see to it that the necessary comfort of living is afforded the family.

The Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, which has a national reputation as one of the best institutions of its kind, has 70 Chicago orphans among the 500 who are under its care, and receives a contribution from the Chicago Charity Fund.

The National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives, at Denver, Colo., which cares for quite a number of Chicago consumptives, also receives a contribution from the Associated Charities.

The following figures, taken from the last report, May, 1903, show the amounts

appropriated by the Associated Jewish Charities to the different institutions mentioned:

To United Hebrew Charities for Relief	\$40,000.00
To United Hebrew Charities for Hospital	35,000.00
To United Hebrew Charities for Dispensary	5,000.00
Home for Aged Jews	11,500.00
Chicago Home for Jewish Orphans	14,000.00
Jewish Training School of Chicago	14,250.00
Chicago Lying-in Hospital and Dispensary	3,000.00
Maxwell Street Settlement	2,000.00
Bureau of Personal Service	2,750.00
Cleveland Orphan Asylum	4,500.00
National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives, Denver, Colo....	3,000.00
Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America	350.00
Council of Jewish Women	750.00
Womens' Loan Association	250.00
Home for Jewish Friendless	2,500.00
	<hr/>
	138,850.00

Besides the charity institutions mentioned and supported by the Associated Jewish Charities, whose subscribers are mostly the so-called German-American Jews, there are quite a number of similar institutions maintained by the Russian Polish-Roumanian-American Jews.

The Old Peoples' Home, "Moshabh Zekenim," is a modern institution, kept strictly orthodox "Kosher," opened a year ago. There are now 40 inmates in the Home; its capacity is 75. The cost of maintenance is between ten to fifteen thousand dollars per annum.

"Gomle Chesed Shel Emeth," a society for the burial of the poor, consisting of three thousand members, each contributing 5 cents weekly. The society has a large burial ground at Waldheim, near the city.

"Chebhra Lachem Larebhim," a society furnishing "Victuals to the Hungry." The needy receive here, on Friday, victuals and candles for the Sabbath and tickets for bread for a whole week. The society also furnishes coal during the winter months. Total expense, \$2,000.00 yearly.

"Chebhra Malbish Arumim," clothing the naked. This society furnishes clothes and shoes to the poor school children, expending annually \$1,500.00.

"Hachnasath Orchin" Sheltering Home. This institution gives shelter and meals to every Jewish applicant, without any investigation, from one to three days. The society has its own building and expends \$2,500.00 annually.

There are several "Talmud Thora" Institutions, "Free Schools for the study of Hebrew," for children whose parents cannot afford to pay a tuition fee. It is remarkable to what degree these, our brethren, cling to the old Jewish principle. "The study of the Thora goes above anything." Over \$25,000.00 are spent

annually for this purpose. The Moses Montefiore Hebrew Free School alone costs \$10,000.00 to maintain every year.

There are a great many small institutions in this city, almost too numerous to mention, such as ladies' sewing societies, for the care of poor women in child-bed. It is safe to state that the Chicago Jews, numbering 150,000, spend annually for public charities \$350,000.00. The American Jewish Year Book estimates the Jewish inhabitants of the State of Illinois at 75,000, including Chicago. It has done this for the last three years, while the influx of Jews to the city for the past three years has been not less than 8,000 annually. About 2,000 new-comers and drifts from other cities apply for work and assistance at the office of the United Hebrew Charities of Chicago.

Report of New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.—A full and interesting report is that just issued by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, which has completed sixty years of relief work in New York City. The Association occupies offices in the United Charities Building, and operates there a large relief department. In the same building is an Application Bureau, maintained jointly by the Association and the Charity Organization Society. All applicants for aid go first to this Bureau, which acts as a sort of clearing house, sending the cases, according to their needs, to the various charitable agencies. To the Association are sent those persons who require emergent relief or such material aid as the payment of rent, purchase of clothing, a physician's care, etc. During the past year 13,481 such individuals were helped, at an expense of \$29,682.51, of which over \$15,000 was for food supplies and over \$3,000 each for coal and rent. The sewing bureau is a valuable part of the relief work. Poor women who require aid, and are unable to work out because of home duties, are supplied with plain sewing which they can do at home. The garments thus made are distributed to applicants or sent to other societies. A number of Ladies' Advisory Committees work in connection with the relief department, taking under their charge individual families who need protracted advice, help and encouragement. These ladies keep in constant touch with their families until the problems are solved, and the personal interest thus awakened is often the means of securing country board for a convalescent mother or a surgical operation for a sickly child.

Sea Breeze, the Fresh Air Home at West Coney Island, maintained by the Association during the summer, is a source of help, the great value of which can hardly be estimated. A large part of its value is due the fact that whole families come together for the outing—tired mothers, anæmic children and sickly babies. Two weeks of rest, fresh air and plenty of wholesome food, mean to these women renewed strength and courage for the coming winter, and the babies take a new lease of life. The staff of workers at Sea Breeze includes a superintendent, three trained nurses and a kindergartner, besides visiting physicians and volunteer workers. Under the nurses' direction, mothers' meetings are held to discuss the care, feeding, bathing and clothing of infants. In addition, patient and kindly individual instruction in hygiene is given to mothers by the nurses, who teach constantly the value of fresh air and cleanliness and the great necessity for feeding

infants with regularity. Many of the children are in a pitiable condition when they arrive at Sea Breeze, simply because of the ignorance of their mothers. The kindergartner oversees the children's play on the beach and in the large pavilion, and on rainy days entertains them indoors with games and marching and basket work. The Association also sends day excursions to Sea Breeze, of which 17,699 persons had the benefit last summer. The number remaining a week or more was 2,754, of whom 744 were women and 2,010 were children. Of the children 814 were five years and under, and 425 were babies under three years. Many persons are selected for the vacation by other societies or physicians; others come through personal application. Every application is investigated and the physical and financial conditions ascertained. Then from the thousands of appeals are selected those families who most urgently need the outing. A careful examination by a physician is made of each person in order to eliminate contagion. Parties remain at Sea Breeze from one to three weeks, according to the need of the individual cases. As the report truly says: "Better far the early prevention of illness or decline than the surest cure of that illness later. Better the timely prevention by the Fresh Air Department than the most skillful cure by the Relief Agency."

The Joint Committee on the care of Motherless Infants (under the auspices of this Association and the State Charities Aid Association) now receives from the city foundlings and abandoned infants that were formerly cared for on Randall's Island, and places them either for adoption or at board with foster-mothers. Under the old system, 99 per cent. died before reaching their second summer. Under the present system, the death rate is 11 per cent., or 2 per cent. lower than that for all children in New York City. This low death rate is attributed in large measure to the use of wet-nurses, and more convincing proof of the wisdom of the family plan of caring for infants could hardly be demanded.

The Association takes an active interest in the campaign for more municipal baths, and maintains, besides, at its own expense, one public bathing establishment, which was patronized during the year by 124,991 persons. A second is now under course of construction.

The following platform, formulated for the Association in 1843, is an excellent summary of the work now being accomplished: "The particular business and objects of the Association are the elevation of the physical and moral condition of the indigent, and, so far as is compatible with these objects, the relief of their necessities."

III. NOTES ON COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Filipino Students in the United States.—The first report to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, of Wm. A. Sutherland, the Agent in charge of Filipino students in the United States, reviews the early results of the measure passed in August of last year, by the Philippine Commission, for the education of a number of Filipinos in the United States at the expense of the Insular government. This act has already been noted in a previous number of the *Annals*. The boys were carefully selected from thirty-three provinces by examination, both mental and physical, English being one of the studies in which they were obliged to have good grades.

Great enthusiasm throughout the Philippines was aroused by the sending of these students to America and many attentions were shown them both at their home towns and in Manila before embarking. A special operatic performance was given in their honor, and on the morning of their departure, a meeting was held at which addresses were made by Governor Taft, Commissioners Smith and Tavera, and prominent Filipinos, after which they marched to the wharf in a body, to the music of half a dozen brass bands, and accompanied by civic organizations and thousands of citizens.

Ninety-six students embarked October 10, 1903, and reached San Francisco, November 9, leaving on the 11th for Southern California, where they remained for the winter. They were distributed among the public schools of the southern counties.

It was thought best not to subject them to the rigors of a northern winter at once, but during the present summer they are to be brought to the Middle States.

The report concludes with the following language: "It is especially desired to call the attention of the educational authorities of the Philippine Islands to the necessity, in the selection of students to be sent to America, for exercising the greatest care. The standard set by those who have already come to America should be upheld; the exceedingly favorable impression created by the members of the first expedition, without exception, should not be impaired. The Filipino students now here are cited continually by parents and by teachers to their young American associates as models of gentleness, thoughtful politeness, studiousness, and of seriousness of purpose. Right here I desire to say that no other class of Filipinos whom I have known have in any degree compared with the Filipino students sent to America, in their appreciation and gratitude for the benefits conferred upon them, for the forbearance and patience shown them, and the opportunities offered them for progress, by the government. I have reports from their teachers and housekeepers at every place, that the danger is not that they will study too little, but that they will study too much. They were uniformly successful in the examinations held by their schools just prior to the holidays, despite their late entrance to the schools and the short time that

they have been studying their texts in English. They are all working with splendid seriousness for the accomplishment of the lofty purposes for which they are in this country, and I only ask that as good material be furnished in the future; that not one young man or young woman in whom the fullest confidence may not be placed, and whom fitness, mental and physical, is not of the very highest order, be sent by the government for education in the United States. There is no scarcity of such material and if it be sent, I feel that there can be no question as to the final result."

The Anglo-French Colonial Agreement.—A series of conventions, which for their importance in the colonial world, are second only to those governing the delimitation of the spheres of influence in Africa, were signed between the British and French Governments on April seventh of the present year. A number of vexatious colonial questions have disturbed the relations of the two countries for several decades. The most important of these are the status of England in Egypt, the French relations with Morocco, the exact control exerted by Great Britain over the Suez Canal, the French rights on the Newfoundland fishing shore, the serious injury wrought by the French government on British commercial interests in Madagascar and the limitation of the French sphere of influence in the neighborhood of West Africa. These questions have never been satisfactorily settled, a condition which has on several occasions threatened to interrupt the friendly intercourse between the two countries. The present agreement comprises three conventions, in each of which a bargain is struck in the shape of a compromise fairly satisfactory to both parties. The first balances the Morocco question against the status of Egypt, and is probably the most important of the three. The British position in Egypt has, for years, been an extremely delicate and difficult one, the British representative, Lord Cromer, being merely an adviser of the Khedive in name, but a Prime Minister in reality. It is well known that the re-organization of the Egyptian army, the establishment of a more tolerable system of taxation, the re-habilitation of the financial budget, and the commencement of an immense system of irrigation works, based on the great Nile dam at Assouan, have been primarily the results of Lord Cromer's initiative. In all of these undertakings, however, he has been obliged to work indirectly and with great slowness. The Public Debt Commission, composed of a large number of international representatives of various European creditor nations, has frequently interfered with the British plans and required that all surplus income be retained in the public treasury as a reserve fund. The new Anglo-French convention will enable a fund of millions, accumulated under British administration of Egyptian affairs, to be used for railways and irrigation works in the internal development of the country. France also formally withdraws her repeated protests against British supremacy in Egypt and thereby removes the greatest obstacle to complete British control of that country. In return for this important concession Great Britain is to guarantee the neutrality of the Suez Canal and France is to have freedom from British interference in Morocco.

During the last five years rumors have repeatedly circulated that the French

were intriguing in Morocco with a view to establishing a protectorate and fortifying a point between Tangier and Ceuta, thereby sharing in the control of the entrance to the Mediterranean at Gibraltar. This rumored plan is now abandoned, but the more substantial concession of French control of the entire country of Morocco, subject, of course, to possible objections from Spain or other European countries, is gained. It should be pointed out regarding this first convention that both England and France in their respective enterprises in Egypt and Morocco, may still encounter strong opposition from other European countries, notably from Russia and Germany. The German government is already reported as preparing to take a firm stand regarding German interests in Morocco, while it is by no means certain that Russia and Austria will consent to undisputed British control of Egypt.

The other conventions relate to a recognition of the French position in Annam and the Siamese border, the early extinguishment of the French fishing claims in Newfoundland, a measure which has long been pressed by the Newfoundland government, and the abandonment of the British attempts to restrain the protectionist policy in Madagascar hitherto pursued by France. When the French protectorate over Madagascar was declared, representations were made by France to foreign governments to the effect that foreign trade interests in Madagascar would be safeguarded. In consideration of this fact, a general recognition of French suzerainty followed, which, however, was very reluctantly renewed after the protectorate was abolished and Madagascar became a simple possession or colony of France. The British trade interests, which were large, immediately experienced the restrictive effects of French influence, and a series of protests had been lodged with the French government in consequence. The present convention is designed to mark the final settlement of this dispute.

Revolt in German Southwest Africa.—On the twelfth of January, the native tribe, known as the Hereros, in German Southwest Africa rose in insurrection, surrounded several of the principal European settlements, and destroyed the telegraph and railway communications with the coast. Over fifty settlers and officials were massacred in different parts of the colony, and many more are missing. The exact cause of the uprising has not been determined, although the German press has published numerous letters from settlers in the colony, giving various explanations. The ground assigned by most of the writers is the dishonest and extortionate and oppressive practices resorted to by various traders in traveling through the country. These statements are confirmed by the evidence given by missionaries. It is declared that native discontent has been steadily growing for a considerable time, and the wide extent of the insurrection, together with its simultaneous outbreak at different points, would seem to bear out this view. A small force of about three hundred soldiers was posted at different points in the colony, and additional forces were early brought to the scene of hostilities by the gunboat "Habicht." These were dispatched from Swakopmund, the principal seaport of the colony, into the interior and succeeded, after repeated attempts, in relieving many of the principal towns which

were besieged by the natives. The Hereros by the success of their early attacks obtained considerable quantities of ammunition, numerous rifles, and large herds of cattle. It is believed that they were also secretly supplied with guns and ammunition purchased from the portugese. Although losing heavily in each conflict they were thus able to inflict severe losses upon the European forces sent against them. A re-enforcement of eight hundred cavalry and two battalions of artillery has been dispatched to the colony from Berlin, but it is doubted whether this aid will prove adequate.

The Hereros, though undisciplined and without proper leaders, show the greatest courage and obstinacy in repelling the advance of the German troops, and the casualties on the German side have already reached serious proportions. In Germany the insurrection has produced a most painful impression. The opposition in the Reichstag has made ample use of the occasion to point out the weakness of the German settlements in Africa, and the mistakes which have been made in the treatment of the natives. The German Colonial Society, however, has started a fund for the purpose of relieving the distress existing in the colony, and for the collection of supplies for the troops.

The outbreak has served to revive somewhat the discussion of German policy in Africa. Public opinion is still fairly divided as to the advisability of continuing the present plans for encouraging emigration to Africa; it is observed that only those fitted by experience for agricultural pursuits should be sent, as other elements only weaken the colonies, and discourage, by their failure, the emigration of more desirable settlers.

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ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following Abbreviations have been used: *pap.*, principal paper by the person named; *com.*, communication by the person named; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author; *n.*, note by the person named; *r.*, review by the person named; *p. n.*, personal note on the person named.

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